HISTORY *of the* MONGOLS

FROM THE 9th TO THE 19th CENTURY.

PART II.

THE SO-CALLED TARTARS OF RUSSIA

AND CENTRAL ASIA.

DIVISION I.

BY

HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

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TO

COLONEL YULE, C.B.,

AND

AUGUSTUS FRANKS, F.R.S., F.S.A.

I DEDICATE the following pages to two friends whom I deem it a singular privilege to have known. Colonel YULE, who has restored to us so much of the romantic history of the East, and whose accuracy and breadth of view have made his works European classics. He has proved to the letter the truth of the adage, that he who seeks to bring home the wealth of the Indies must fill his galleons with corresponding wealth before he starts. He will not blame a scholar who wishes to put his master's name on the threshold of his work. Nor will my other friend, Mr. FRANKS, *facile princeps* as an archæologist within our four seas, who distributes his bountiful knowledge with the generous prodigality that becomes the possessor of an overflowing store. Those who know him best will not dwell, however, on what is so well assured as his reputation, but will rather revert to that urbanity and unfailing kindliness which knits men closer together than all the wisdom of Solomon.

PREFACE.

IT is with great diffidence I venture to publish a second instalment of this history, an instalment dealing with a singularly unfrequented chapter in the great drama of human life, which, so far as English literature is concerned, may be said to be completely unexplored. I know its faults and shortcomings too well to permit me to claim for it more than a modest reputation. I believe that it condenses the results of some honest labour, perhaps of more than the casual reader would imagine; that it deals with a complicated and intricate subject; that it attempts to arrange in logical sequence and continuity a series of hitherto disintegrated and broken facts; and I hope that it may furnish some future historian with a skeleton and framework upon which to build his palace, when he shall clothe the dry bones with living flesh. Beyond this I make no claims. My critics have been singularly forbearing in their treatment of my former volume, and it is a supreme satisfaction to me to have made through it a number of friends, whose tenderness to my failings has been as conspicuous as their own learning. Perhaps I may claim their general consent that underneath the superficial faults there remains a substantial addition to historical literature which future researches will not entirely displace. If a few remarks have seemed unfair, it is only a very small element compared with the great number of suggestions which have been not only fair, but generous. As some of the criticism passed upon the former volume will apply equally well to this, I would hold a parley beforehand with those who wield the scalpel upon points in which the patient may perhaps claim to be heard as well as the doctor. One has complained of my style, that it has not the majestic ring of Gibbon, or the easy flow of Macaulay. It is indeed easy for me to plead guilty to this charge. I question whether either Gibbon or Macaulay, gifted as they were, far beyond my capacity, could have traversed the arid steppes of Asiatic history, tracked out the rivulets and streams which must be traced if its course is to be known at all, and dealt with unfamiliar localities, uncouth names, perpetual and monotonous fighting, and with materials such as these have presented a pleasant picture to the fancy. To embroider a glorious quilt we must not only have fine colours, but a chaste pattern; but when the colour is uniformly dull, and the pattern is uncouth and rude, we cannot hope to attract the casual eye. But why this mass of details? why not paint a few generalities, grasping the main story in a few choice phrases, and leaving the rest to oblivion? Here we have an issue on which I must not cry quarter. Generalities, broad deductions, the philosophy of history, that is pleasant reading enough, and for that pleasant writing too, but it is surely as vicious as the dialectic of the schoolmen, until we have mapped out the details of our

subject. He who comes after, who can epitomise, who can point the moral of the whole story, whose view of the wood is not blunted and obscured by the profusion of trees, may do all this, and will assuredly gain the reward of being read for his pains; but before he can begin it is necessary, especially in such fields as those of Asiatic history, that some one should trace out, step by step and link by link, the crooked story, and spend nights and days in doing the work of the backwoodsman, in clearing away the tangle, in cutting down the rude forest, in running his plough through the virgin furrow; and when he has made all more or less clear, then his children will come and plant gardens and orchards where he toiled. They will not remember perchance the work that went before, they will grumble if some rude stump that defied the pioneer's axe still blocks their way, but the harvest will be none the less largely due to his labour; and when he lies down to sleep, if he have done no man, dead or living, an injustice, if he have not stolen what he displays as his own, and bravely confesses that his rough-hewn chair is not so comfortable to sit in as that made by a more practised hand, he will perchance have the satisfaction which some say is worth living for, of having done his best at what his hand found to do.

Style I profess in this work to have none. In some places, where perseverance has almost succumbed under the load of monotonous detail, I feel on reading the phrases again as if they had been written in the unsophisticated days of early school life, when style and punctuation were both contemned. It has been as much as patience and vigilance could secure, that the narrative should be intelligible, and in many places where the pen would willingly have run riot, where a little poetry might have been scattered among the phrases, the temptation has had to be sternly resisted, for fear the facts should be distorted, and lest what is necessarily a very compressed narrative should swell over untold volumes. The facts I have tried to make clear and accurate. In many places I know I have failed, *non omnia possumus omnes* — sometimes through the frailty which all suffer from occasionally, sometimes when ill health has made the task of revision irksome and difficult, sometimes when new material has reached me after the story was irrevocably printed; but I have at least this excuse, that none of the giants under whose shadow I have walked have escaped similar casualties—all of them are found tripping sometimes. It would be a poor and a mean victory for their scholar to drag out and pin down the occasions of their faltering, and it is no ambition of mine to do so. In nearly all cases I have told the story as I thought it should be read, giving my authority, and passing by my master's mistake without calling attention to it. It would be blind indeed to attribute to merit what is the mere result of good fortune. Perfection is indeed beyond our grasp, as the most shallow philosophy will teach one; but if it be so, it becomes doubly true, as the proverb says, that "the best is the greatest enemy of the good." He whose fastidiousness prevents him giving the world no product which is not perfect, is not only postponing publication to eternity, but is robbing the world of its due heritage in utilising the advance, faulty as it may be, which he has made. I am conscious, therefore, that the following pages are full of faults: but I

would ask the more caustic of my critics, before they tie my scalp to their girdle, to at least look at my too ample table of errata and additions, especially those attached to Chapter IV., which deals with such a difficult section of this history. The book has had to be both written and printed under considerable difficulties, while the resources of the author, upon whom the burden and cost of such a work naturally fall, have been too small to allow him to have an unlimited number of proofs for correction. If some blunder therefore seems more than usually stupid, do me the favour, most benevolent critic, who would be nothing if not frank, to turn to the calendar of sins at the end, where I have committed "The Happy Despatch," and saved you the trouble of running your steel into me.

In the spelling of the names I have had even greater difficulty than before. It is a peculiarity of the Turkish dialects that familiar proper names assume different forms among them, and that the names which good Muhammedans give their children from the Koran become distorted in different ways by the Tartars of Kazan, by the Kazaks, etc., etc., and, therefore, add another difficulty to the usual sources of embarrassment in regard to Eastern names. With every deference to the arguments I have seen on this subject, the difficulty remains at present insoluble, and our way must be a compromise—too often an inconsistent compromise. This I know has been the case with me. I can only hope that some reasonable solution may sometime be forthcoming, and that in the following pages, bristling with proper names, that this frailty has not caused any serious errors of statements of fact.

Fault may, perhaps, also be found with the number and iteration of my references. Here, again, I have a theory which may not be that of my critics. The greater part of history is an induction from certain facts. It comprises, therefore, besides the actual data of our authorities, the personal equation of the historian. For the student, the critical student, it is absolutely necessary that he should be able to separate these two elements. In science, at least, we can admit of no infallibility. In such inquiries as ours, there is no court of final appeal, which can decide once and for ever the truth or falsity of any position. The prejudice and the bias of the historian's political and social theories inevitably colour his arguments, and make him, even when most judicial, more or less an advocate; nor can any man be omniscient, even in the limited range of one historical panorama. While it is quite certain that, however well finished the work, it must inevitably, before many years, become in part, if not altogether, obsolete from new discoveries. A coin, an inscription, a mere trifle in appearance, may dislocate the whole of a long chain of inference, and demand that the work shall be redone. For these reasons, therefore, it is assuredly necessary that a history, which is more in the form of mosaic than aught else, in which the various pieces have had to be brought together from many sources, should contain references for every fact. But there is another and a more important reason—one which has a moral aspect rather than a critical one—and that is that no man has a right to appropriate the work of others, the deductions of others, even when slightly altered by himself, without assigning them due credit for the same. For a man to parade himself in a costume that he has borrowed from a thousand sources, and to

which he has added a mere feather or two, or even two hundred, and to make believe before the world that he, "Jupiter omnisciens," is the author of it all, is to act, indeed, the part of the cormorant, and to invite a fierce onslaught from the critical anatomists of the future (such an onslaught as Leibnitz made on Descartes, for instance); when they pull his work in pieces, and show whence he has drawn his matter, and how unjust has been his appropriation. It is not a mere shadow I am arguing against, it is the active theory of a large school of historians, especially in Germany; and I may instance one famous example without hesitation, since I greatly venerate him and his immense learning, and look upon him as the profoundest and most accurate writer which historical science has in our day produced—I mean Mommsen. His *Magnum Opus* is a work of genius such as has hardly been matched in historical inquiry, but it is literally of very little value to the student. From end to end there is scarcely a reference; the whole, which is a masterly condensation of most heterogeneous and scattered materials, has to be accepted on the *ipse dixit* of its author. This is well enough if we are reading "Ivanhoe" or "Romola," but assuredly it is unfair to the reader and useless to the student of *serious history* unless we know on what data certain views are propounded, while it is eminently unfair to those who went before. Will anyone say that Mommsen's work would have been possible if Niehbuhr had never written, and yet the name of Niehbuhr occurs hardly once throughout the book; nor do the names of others who have followed up certain difficult inquiries. To reap their harvest, to put it all in our own corn-rick, and then to label it with our own name, is assuredly not quite right, whatever scheme of historical casuistry we adopt. It is not right in a small man, but it is grievously wrong in a giant, whose knowledge overshadows that of all others, and whose reputation is dwarfed rather than enhanced thereby.

Another writer from whom I have learnt a great deal more than I can tell, and whose praises I have sung in a former volume, is a second example of this fault. It is only after going through the intricate mazes of a difficult ethnographic problem that one can thoroughly appreciate the skill and knowledge of Klaproth, but the preparation for the same work at the same time brings vividly before us how very much of his material has been taken from other sources without a word of acknowledgment. Thus, in his "Travels in the Caucasus" there is a graphic account of the Kalmuks running through nine chapters, which is literally transferred from Pallas's little known work, entitled "Samlungen Historischer Nachrichten ueber die Mongolischen Volkerschaften" without acknowledgment. Elsewhere he has similarly laid under contribution the translations from the Chinese of the Russian archimandrite, Hyacinthe Biturinski. This is assuredly unworthy of such a man.

There is another charge of which I feel inwardly guilty, and to which I would make a reply beforehand, and that is as to the focus of various parts of the work. It may be said that I have enlarged too much upon the obscurer and less important parts of the story, and thus by comparison dwarfed the relative importance of the other parts—that in some cases, in fact, I have looked through a telescope, and in others through a microscope; in some have

sketched in the whole wood in broad lines, in others elaborated separate trees in monotonous detail. This is true enough, and it no doubt affects the artistic symmetry of the picture very materially. The excuse is perhaps only a partial one, but such as it is I offer it. Some parts of the journey are over well trodden and well surveyed ground. We have not to make sure of our foothold in a quaking morass by driving in piles before we step. Here, therefore, we can march with greater freedom and safety, and need not elaborate our road as we go along. Other parts are less known, and, although politically less important, are ethnologically not so, and it is absolutely necessary to trace them out accurately and fully if we are to grasp the whole subject firmly—here we necessarily have to link together details, and to labour small facts, which are the only materials we possess, and thus to fashion ourselves a roadway through the virgin swamp. It is assuredly very wonderful that the heritage of Jingis Khan, broken as it is into so many fragments, should be capable of being cemented together again by a continuous story; that we should be able to recover the pedigrees of so many lines of princes claiming descent from him in their entirety, and thus to aggregate into one historic whole a landscape that seems at first all broken into substantive units. This can only be done by the collection at many points of the story of obscure details, and this alone justifies their collection, a labour which, if tedious to the reader, has been tenfold more tedious to the writer, who has had to glean over acres of barren and unproductive ground to secure here and there a solitary ear of grain.

I will now condense briefly a syllabus of the contents of the following pages: The volume may be considered almost a separate work from that which went before. The greater part of it has only a collateral connection with it. Jingis Khan had four sons. Of these, the eldest, Juchi, died before him, but he had already been assigned his portion of the inheritance by his father. That portion consisted in the tribes encamped in the district formerly composing the empire of Kara Khitai. In this inheritance Juchi was succeeded by his eldest son, Orda. After the deaths of both Juchi and his father, Batu, a younger brother of Orda's, undertook an expedition into Central Europe, and conquered a wide area of the country, which he left to his descendants. This comprised the country from the Yaik to the Carpathian mountains, and included a suzerainty over Russia. Another brother, named Sheiban, was assigned the tribes living in the country of the Kirghiz Kazaks, while another descendant of Juchi, Nogai, was given the various tribes of Turks once known as Pechenegs, and in later times called Nogais from himself. These various tribes were recruited sometime in the fourteenth century, on the break up of the special appanage of Ogotai, Jingis Khan's second son, by a large migration from Sungaria. These various tribes and peoples were subject to a hierarchy of chiefs, all owing more or less supreme allegiance to the ruler whose metropolis was Serai, on the Volga, and the whole are comprised in the phrase, the Golden Horde. The first chapter of this work contains an ethnographical account of the different tribes and clans composing the Golden Horde in this its widest sense. The second chapter gives a history of Juchi Khan, of Batu Khan, and of his son Sertak, and

describes the early campaigns of the Mongols in Central and Eastern Europe. The third chapter deals with the history of the Golden Horde during the reign of Bereke, the brother and successor of Batu, and of the latter's descendants to the time of the extinction of his family, during which time Russia was virtually a Mongol province. The fourth chapter deals with the struggles that thereupon ensued between the descendants of other sons of Juchi for supremacy in the Khanate, which ended in the triumph of the family of Orda. The fifth chapter traces the history of the Golden Horde during the period of its decay, and until it had by various secessions dwindled down to the small Khanate of Astrakhan, and traces the history of this petty Khanate till it was overwhelmed by Russia. In these four chapters I have endeavoured to trace out the story of the original conquest of Russia by the Mongols (whom I have here called Tartars),* the condition of Russia during the Tartar domination, and the interesting process by which it gradually emancipated itself from this yoke, and eventually trampled under its oppressors; and have tried to point out how far the conquest has affected the history and the social economy of that great and interesting empire. I have also tried to show how during the Tartar supremacy the South of Russia, under the influence of a strong rule, was the focus of a vast trade and culture, and the means by which Cairo, Baghdad, and Peking were brought into very close contact with Venice, Genoa, and the Hanseatic towns; and have described the terrible campaign which the Great Timur waged in Europe, and which broke the power and prestige of the Golden Horde.

As I have said, the empire, connoted by this phrase, broke asunder into several fragments. Of these, one was the Khanate of Kazan, on the Middle Volga, which, with its subordinate satellite, the Khanate of Kazimof, forms the subject matter of the sixth chapter. The chief interest of this is the perpetual struggle it carried on with Russia in the very heart of that empire, until it was conquered and appropriated in the sixteenth century. The conquest of the Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan carried the borders of Russia, which had hitherto not extended further east than the river Sura, as far as the Volga, and immensely increased its resources. A more important fragment of the Golden Horde is that whose history is told in the seventh chapter, namely, the Khanate of Krim, or the Crimea, which was only crushed and annexed by Russia at the end of the last century. This Khanate, which became an outpost of the Ottoman Turks for several centuries, barred Russia from access to the Black Sea, as the possessions of the Swedes and Danes, and of the Livonian knights, barred it from access to the Baltick, and thus prevented an immense community from partaking readily in the fruits of culture and civilisation, which were the heritage of Western Europe.

East of the Volga, the Kirghiz Kazaks are a race whose history is difficult to follow, and yet who form one of the most interesting of nomadic communities. They are the descendants for the most part of the tribes subject to the eldest son of Juchi Khan. The history of these tribes, from the time when they first became a distinct entity until they were absorbed by Russia, occupies

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* For a justification of this see *infra*, page 37.

the eighth chapter, which, I believe contains a considerable amount of matter new to English readers. The tribes who were governed by Sheïban, and who were afterwards known as Uzbegs, under which name they have filled such an important *rôle* in Asiatic history, are the subject matter of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters. The ninth chapter deals with the history of the important Uzbeg Khanates of Bukhara and Khokand, and of the various petty Uzbeg principalities which have broken away at various times from the former. It traces the history of these areas from their invasion by the Uzbegs, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, down to our own day. The tenth chapter deals with the Khanate of Khuarezm, or Khiva, which was also founded by the Uzbegs shortly after that of Bukhara, and traces its crooked and difficult history down to its virtual conquest by Russia a few years ago. The eleventh chapter deals with the Khanate founded in Siberia by a branch of the Uzbegs, and contains a full and detailed notice of its destruction by the Cossacks in the sixteenth century. The last chapter is devoted to the Nogais, the most disintegrated, broken, and scattered of any of the branches of the Golden Horde, and traces out their dry and monotonous history as far as our materials will permit.

Thus we complete our survey of the various fragments into which the Golden Horde was broken. It will be seen that, with the exception of three or four comparatively unimportant links, we are able to trace out the genealogies of the many princes who have ruled over this area and its sections back to their great progenitor Jingis Khan, and thus to give unity and completeness to a vast mass of details which almost evade logical treatment from their sporadic and dislocated nature. We by this means, as it were, thrust our hand into a vast complicated and knotted skein of cords, and by seizing one knot, the key of the whole, drag out a portion and arrange its threads in symmetrical order. A second portion occupied us in our former volume, dealing with the Mongols proper and the Kalmuks; a third, treating of the khanates of Jagatai and Kashgar, of the empire of the Ilkhans of Persia, of that founded by the great Timur, and lastly, of its more famous daughter, the Moghul empire of India, with an index to the whole, will complete our task, and we hope that we may have strength and patience to compass it.

As this work is professedly a collection of details, it will not be deemed unprofitable that we should try and abstract some general lessons from them. These lessons are of two kinds—ethnological and political. In tracing out the migrations of a strong-backed race of nomades, in tracking them from the steppes and prairies, where the herdsman and the shepherd are alone at home, until we find them invading the latitudes of cities and of cornfields, gradually changing their method of living and becoming citizens and settlers, we naturally follow in the spoor of the great human procession which comes out of darkness, and is marching whither we cannot tell. Not in Mongolia only, and not among Tartars only, has the herdsman and the nomade been the progenitor of the ploughboy and of the *quidnuncs* that gather together in cities. This seems to be a general law of human progress. So, at least, it has been considered by many reputable writers on public polity, and we need not

waste our rhetoric in proving it. We may garner a more profitable harvest by a less ambitious survey. What, then, are the facts, stated briefly? A broken race of shepherds occupies the country round the southern shores of Lake Baikal and the district to the east of it, a race numbering perhaps half a million souls at the outside. This race, broken into various fragments, is welded together into a homogeneous whole by a strong hand. It has the usual virtues of those who have to labour hard for their livelihood under harsh circumstances. It is strong and healthy and enduring, as all races of nomades are. It has few wants, and little culture. Its life is a variation between tending camels and cattle and fighting for its own against robber neighbours. Its home is between the polar wind of winter and the unbearable sun of the steppe in summer. With it, frugality and temperance, perseverance and a belief in rigid obedience and discipline, are elementary virtues. Courage to face all odds, supreme confidence in itself, supreme contempt for the weak and the frivolous, without any traces of mere philanthropy in its national spirit, and with all the stiff-necked assurance of the prosaic Philistine. These are not amiable virtues, but they are at least strong and moving ones: they secrete the underlying marrow in the bone which enabled three uhlans to enter a hostile town with a laugh on their lips, which nerved that famous soldier who seized the Great Moghul by the collar and dragged him forth from the midst of a crowd of fanatical followers, and which was the companion of Colonel Stoddart when he madly rode his charger into the royal square at Bukhara during the solemn season of Ramazan, as we shall show further on. It explains all those acts of heroic courage and pertinacity where a man has dared to face outrageous odds—the Thermopylæ of history: the sustaining examples when in difficulty of those brawny races who have made their neighbours bow the neck and have dragged their country to the fore. Of this hard grit were the Mongols made. When such folk have been manipulated by a master hand, who has been a born-warrior, who could invent a new system of tactics and devise a commissariat that is still the wonder and riddle of the inquirer, could plan vast schemes, and have the courage to face any difficulty, who trained a crowd of subordinates with few other ambitions than to receive his favour from whom their own skill and resources seemed inspired; when the soldiery he commanded were ready to do anything he ordered them, were never cowed or disheartened by momentary checks or defeats, but seem to have looked upon their leader as a god, and lost all sense of individual aim in eagerly struggling to be his servants, and when by a series of victories that most potent of all human motives is begotten, namely, the confidence a people has in its own invincibility, the feeling that the earth is its special heritage and that all other races and peoples who will not obey must perforce be swept away like stubble, that underlying reserve of power which, according to Beranger, makes the Gallic cock crow the loudest when gashed with the deepest wounds—then you get such an extraordinary movement as took place in Eastern Mongolia in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Jingis Khan, Timur, Nadir Shah, in the East—Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon, in the West—are the symbols of such movements, having a common explanation and teaching a common lesson; but the revolution effected by Jingis Khan was far more potent than the rest.

What did he in fact do? Having organised and consolidated his Mongol countrymen, he speedily conquered the various Turkish tribes of Central Asia. Differing in language, there was yet a common bond of union, in common customs, and in the fact which has been too little observed, that he and his race were of Turkish origin, and not Mongols. The Turks in all parts of Asia, after a momentary resistance, collapsed altogether and joined his army. It thus grew like a rolling snowball in the Alps. Every tribe that it encountered and defeated fell into rank behind him and joined in his triumphal march, just as Hessians, and Poles, and Italians followed Napoleon, and as the various races of Europe were enrolled in the Roman armies. There was little outbreak or rebellion among them, and where it occurred it was mercilessly repressed by the extirpation of the whole race. The perpetual success of his arms was the most potent of consolidating forces, and when he died those whose master he was, were not a disintegrated mob, but a nation—a nomadic nation, no doubt, but bound together by a fanatical loyalty to himself and his family, and linked also by a singularly ingenious and practical hierarchy of rulers.

His empire was divided into four sections among his sons. These divisions subsisted long, and were all feudally subservient to the senior house, which reigned in the far east. Then they broke asunder. Then each one disintegrated into smaller fragments, and eventually into still smaller. One extraordinary feature, however, as I have stated, ruled meanwhile—a feature which made the work we are writing possible. All these sections, great and small, were ruled by princes of the sacred caste, and had an aristocracy of the same descent. Jingis Khan was the fountain of all their princely houses, while the upper caste, equivalent to the aristocracy and middle-class with us, which there as everywhere in history kept alive the love of freedom, the aspiration after other things than those which distract the ambition of the bovine masses, who added the salt to the lump, the iron to the blood, who formed the steel-head of the wooden spear, were also in the main of Mongol descent. They belonged in the language of the Kazaks, the proudest and most illustrious of robbers, whose polity is the most democratic of oligarchies, to the class of white bones; while those whom they led and taught and commanded belonged to the class of black bones. This was more universal than is generally supposed. The fragments of the Mongol empire may be roughly divided into two classes. Those which continued nomadic as before, whose people perforce remained herdsmen and shepherds, since their country was beyond the limits of cultivated land; of these the Kazaks and Kalmuks are notable examples to this day, and the rule about white bones and black bones is universal amongst them. In the other section the Mongols overran and conquered settled countries—Russia, China, and Persia. Here the same law applied in a disguised form. Here also the ruling caste, the aristocracy and upper strata of the country, were descended from the vigorous invaders; the handicraftsmen and hinds who worked and suffered for them were the old indigenes whom they had conquered, and their descendants. In China and Persia it was notably so. In Russia it was so also on a smaller scale, as the note on page 362 will partially evidence. The invaders in all cases were of course a fraction merely of the old inhabitants. They

for the most part accepted wives from the latter, and thus their language and other superficial qualities disappeared. They were, in fact, in ordinary phraseology, absorbed; but this word must not be taken too literally. We can test its meaning by a parallel instance elsewhere—England, for example, at the Norman Conquest. The aristocracy, the upper caste, in this country was virtually swept away or trodden under, and was replaced by a more vigorous and energetic one. This substitution in the class which alone has wealth and leisure, the two foster mothers of the arts; which can alone indulge in the luxury of education and display, means a huge impulse given to progress of all kinds. It is a curious feature in the history of civilisation that it is not continuous, that it should have to pass through periods of stagnation and decay, and have to be renewed by fresh ideas, sown by rough and unsophisticated hands. Just as in nature the most bountiful harvests of summer are generally garnered after the severest winters, just as the proverbial green of the Nile valley needs that periodically the river shall overflow its banks, and cover the remains of last year's crops with a layer of mud, so it is with human progress. Worn out and sophisticated communities require to be overwhelmed for awhile by a wave from the deep water which has not been tainted nor disturbed, and apparently the deeper the ground is torn up, the greater the desolation for the moment, the longer the fields lie fallow, the more generous will be the harvest. The instance of the Mongols is only a type of a general law. As a rule the several strata or layers which form a human community represent the several waves of successive conquerors or immigrants who have fertilised and strengthened the race. Where the country is small and homogeneous, these social strata are generally arranged in vertical fashion, the aristocracy and middle class, who are virtually drawn from the same source, representing the later, and the hewers of wood and drawers of water the earlier streams of migration. Where the area is large and its surface much diversified, these layers have rather a horizontal distribution; the remoter, more rugged, and inaccessible parts of the country being the refuge of what remains of the earliest inhabitants, the more fertile and desirable parts being appropriated by the latest comers. England, excluding Wales, may be taken as a concrete example of the former rule, and India of the latter. The Calabrian peasant and the Milanese noble, the Gallician boor and the Castilian hidalgo, the Galway squatter and the Norman peer, are European instances of a contrast which is universal, and which the historian explains by the contemporaneous existence, side by side, of a primitive indigenous, and an invading and more developed type of human being. In Russia the Mongols have produced examples of both laws; not only have they largely recruited the upper ranks in the country, but they have planted large colonies in the valley of the Volga, which will no doubt be as easily assimilated by that most absorbent of Arian races, the Eastern Slavs, as the other races whom it has swallowed up. Presently this mixture may develope a human type which our philosophy has hardly contemplated. The Slavs as a race are notoriously as mobile as mercury—so notoriously that a national saying compares them to junket. Wherever they have proved themselves a strong-willed and coherent race, they have been led and governed

by strangers, who have given bone and sinew to the invertebrate mass. The old Russian aristocracy, as is well known, was of Scandin- an origin; the later has a cosmopolitan pedigree, and it may well be .at the mixture of Russian with Tartar that is taking place on the Volga and in Western Siberia will evolve "the coming race," which shall have its day when our children have ceased to be—

"The heirs of all the ages in the foremost ranks of time."

There is another ethnological problem of a wide and general interest, of which the study of the Mongols helps us to a solution. When we examine for the first time the race changes which have taken place in such a complicated area as Central Asia, we are baffled by their seeming perversity and aimlessness. A close and detailed study of these movements, which alone is of any value, will show that they are not so irregular as they at first seem, but that a more or less general law underlies them. Movements of races are limited very sharply by physical considerations. Mountains and deserts are practically as great barriers as the ocean itself; they thus govern very largely the direction of migration. Again, the existence of strong powers at certain points act as potent breakwaters to the drifting of nomadic tribes. Hence it follows that when we have tracked out a large migration like that of the Mongols through its various eddies and fluxes, we can more or less map out the general route which other similar migrations must have followed. We can not only gauge the direction of the gravitation, but also put our fingers on the weak parts of the embankment, where the tide is the most likely to have broken through. We thus find that with the Mongols who came from the banks of the Onon and the Kerulon, although they eventually fought with and won China, yet that that powerful empire acted for a time as a barrier, and a large division of various tribes which were set in motion by Jingis Khan moved westward with the sun until it reached the Carpathians; another great wave, turning round the great outliers of the Pamir plateau, flooded over the Jaxartes and the Oxus, and stopped not till Baghdad was in their power; while a third and later wave, an afterflow of the main tide, swept over North-western India and put the great Moghul on the throne of Delhi. This involved a vast movement, which shifted the centre of gravity of the Turkish tribes many degrees to the west of its former position. If we now remit the Mongols to their original home, and restore things to the condition they were in at the accession of Jingis Khan at the end of the twelfth century, and analyse the race revolutions of the centuries preceding that date—a work which I have tried to do in some detail elsewhere—we shall find that the Turks who preceded the Mongols as the dominant race in Asia followed the same lines. They, too, pushed westwards to the Carpathians; they, too, flooded over the Jaxartes and the Oxus, and overran Syria and Asia Minor, thus stretching their hands even beyond the Mongol reach, while at the other end of Persia they crossed the Indus, and also founded an empire of Delhi; and as if to make the parallel complete, although they did not conquer all China, they did overrun its northern portion and ruled it for awhile. This carries us back to the sixth century.

Before the Turks, the various Hunnic races were the most influential in Central Asia. Here we reach a difficult, and as yet but partially explored, ethnographic region; but so far as we have information, the story, on a smaller scale, is the same; and I have tried to illustrate it partially in a series of papers in the journal of the Ethnological Society on "The Westerly Drifting of Nomades." This, then, seems to be a law of some generality, and we can at least carry back the story to the days of Herodotus, who, in explaining the eviction of the Cimmerians from Southern Russia, tells us how they were pushed on by the Scyths, the Scyths by the Massagetæ, they by the Issedones, and they in turn by the Arimaspi.

Is this law the cardinal law of human migration? It may well be so. We dare not say more until the ground has been closely scrutinised and mapped out, but *a priori* it seems most probable, and, if so, it is clear that the revolutions we have traced are most important, as the latest, and perhaps the widest, and that if we are to enter and trace out the long and diminishing avenue leading back to the cradle of our race—a goal to which many longing eyes are turned—the traveller must first pass through the countries which have occupied us so long, and make the history of the Mongols his starting-point.

Let us now consider some political lessons, more attractive than these speculations to those who in the guise of the men of Gath are ever crying out "Cui bono" to ourselves and such as we. A portion of the area whose history is covered by this volume is very interesting as the battle ground of current diplomacy, and the subject of rival aspirations on the part of England and Russia, and political problems are waiting for solution here which cannot be solved satisfactorily or finally without due regard to certain historical considerations. Nor is this the only political problem which our studies throw some light upon.

It is assuredly an interesting inquiry to analyse the conditions under which such a community as that of Russia was moulded. We shall not fail to trace many of those singular social characteristics which repel or attract us to the discipline which the race has suffered, and the crimes of which it has been the victim. When the Mongols invaded the West, Russia was broken up into a number of feudal principalities, owning but a slight allegiance to the over-chief of the whole, the so-called Grand Prince. The Mongol invasion was accompanied here, as elsewhere, by ruthless destruction and havoc, for it was their wont—to use a phrase of Sir Thomas Browne—"to treat human beings as flies, and to convert whole nations into wildernesses." It was a fortunate thing for Europe that the greater part of Russia had no attractions as a residence for the shepherds and herdsmen of Tartary. Its forests and marshes were a hindrance to them, and when they had laid it waste they withdrew from Russia proper to the Ukraine and the level plains of never-ending grass which extend from the Dnieper to the river Ural, ever the paradise of herdsmen. The wreck and ruin which they had caused, the backs they had harrowed so deeply were abandoned to their own resources, and the gaping wounds had to heal as best they might without aid from the outside.

When the Mongols withdrew they left behind them commissaries to collect

dues and taxes from the various towns and districts—publicans who farmed out the revenue, and who, like this famous genus throughout the East, had a common ancestor in the horse-leech that ever cried for more, and who drained the very vitals of the land. These gadflies, and the ruin caused by periodical raids for plunder, were the main economical hindrances to the nation's progress. A hindrance of another kind was the fierce inquisitorial and jealous supervision which the Mongol suzerains exacted at every turn from the ruling caste, and which was aggravated by the jealousies and strifes of the various princes, who outdid each other in sycophancy. Those ignoble vices which men who crawl inherit became naturally prevalent, and spread with natural rapidity to the lower strata of society—deceit, chicanery, servility, and mutual distrust, the common property of slaves. Nor is it easy for those who have never had the ploughshare run through their own flesh and that of their children; who have had a strong arm to lean upon, and have not been perpetually linked arm-in-arm with suspicious and treacherous neighbours, to preach homilies on such a state of things. Presently, two potent reforms began the work of lifting the nation out of the slough. By their address, and by their ample promises and faithful services, the Russian princes obtained from the Tartars the privilege of being the farmers of the tax. They made themselves answerable for it, and thus got rid of the hateful presence of the commissaries. At the same time the culture which was grafted upon the Tartars by their conversion to Muhammedanism, and the intercourse that ensued between Cairo and Sultania on the one hand and the banks of the Volga on the other, together with the wealth and luxury induced by the great trade route from India and China passing through their country to the marts frequented by the energetic merchants of Genoa and Venice, introduced a much milder *régime* and more humanitarian views at the Tartar court, which was reflected in their treatment of their *protégés*. Meanwhile the line of princes at Moscow had secured for themselves the hereditary position of Grand Prince and of imperial tax masters to the Mongols, who were not loath to encourage the strengthening of the hands of such faithful and devoted servants. On the other hand, the feeling grew apace in Russia, and especially among the ecclesiastics and better educated and more far-seeing men, that if the hated shadow which overhung the land was ever to be dissipated, if the servile chains that hung about their limbs were ever to be struck off, it could only be by consolidating the power of Russia in one strong hand, and by concentrating in it every form of authority until that aggregation of very ignorant and very superstitious peasants should look upon their ruler as a Messiah whose mission it was to lead them out of the land of bondage where they lay, and who could claim from each one the sacrifice of everything he possessed. This was the creed that was gradually and firmly implanted in every breast. It first enabled the Grand Prince to crush out and destroy the various appanaged princes, and to create a homogeneous power out of them, with its metropolis at Moscow, and then to show a bolder front to his patrons. While this was going on in Russia, the power of the Golden Horde was being sapped by internal decay, and received a staggering blow from the hands of the great Timur. Under these influences it broke into several

fragments. After a tedious struggle the Grand Prince of Moscow, in the middle of the eleventh century, succeeded in destroying and annexing those parts of the Golden Horde known as the Khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberia; and within less than a century, through the enterprise of the Cossacks, the national flag was carried as far as Kamskatka and the Yellow Sea.

These external conquests were effected by the famous Tzars Ivan the Third and Ivan the Terrible, who probably carried the autocratic theory of government more completely to its logical conclusion than it was ever carried before. Russia in their hands became in fact a mere multitude of abject slaves subject to a most tyrannical master, who crushed out and destroyed the old aristocracy, while almost every trace of municipal and social freedom disappeared. The servility which had been exacted by the Mongols was transferred to the Tzar and his officials: all power was directly dependent on himself; birth, reputation, wealth, were of no influence when in opposition to his whim, and every trace of liberty was uprooted. Serfdom was introduced, the peasant was tied down to the land, and the whole nation, by an ingenious hierarchy of officials, was made a mere machine, of which the key was in the hands of one irresponsible person, and during one long reign in the hands of a madman and a monster. All this was perhaps necessary to the consolidating of sufficient power to expel the foreigner whose heel was on the nation's neck, but it meant something much more. Just at the very epoch when, through the influence of the Renaissance and of the Reformation, Western Europe was entering upon an entirely new era of progress and culture, Russia was beginning to settle down into that long period of stagnation which followed the expulsion of the Tartars, when every man's individuality was crushed out of him, and ignorance and social degradation prevailed everywhere. Learning practically disappeared. The Church shared in the general arrest, and the whole land was steeped in Bœotian darkness, a veneer of superficial luxury of a gross and sensual character making the stagnation below more revolting.

Such was the land which Peter the Great was called upon to govern at the end of the seventeenth century—the uncongenial soil in which he endeavoured with such persevering energy to plant German and French civilisation, endeavouring to transplant the vine and the fig-tree to the frozen soil of Moscow; and is it wonderful that he failed very largely, as the great body of Russian historians confess he did. The soil was not ready for such plants. The country needed a remedy of another kind first, and this Peter the Great did apply with a success that has scarcely been appreciated.

When he mounted the throne the Russians were enclosed on all sides by hostile neighbours, and had no access to the outside world. Choked, as it were, in an iron girdle, they were literally compelled to "stew in their own gravy," to vegetate alone; and those who believe, as all students of history must, that under such conditions progress is impossible, must feel some sympathy with the struggles—rude and brutal no doubt very often, but yet the justifiable struggles—of the young Colossus to break through the barriers which enclosed it, and to get a breathing space where the fresh air from the outer world could inflate its lungs with a new and virgin sensation, that of having vast needs and vast wants, the prelude to having them supplied.

It is almost incredible how shut in Russia was at this time. On the south, the Crimean Tartars barred all access to the Black Sea. In the west and north-west, the Swedes and Danes, the Livonian and Prussian knights, and the Germans, created a cordon of fiscal and other barriers which absolutely closed all ingress and egress for the arts and humanities except through the narrow portals of the Hanseatic league. The best test perhaps of the isolation of the empire at this time is to be found in the great influence exercised upon its internal condition when such an uninviting entrance to it as the White Sea was discovered by Chancellor and the other English navigators in the sixteenth century.

Peter began his work by forcing his way to the Baltic and to the Sea of Azof. The foundation of St. Petersburg—which was perhaps the greatest mistake of his life, since it planted the heart of the empire in one of its extremities, instead of near its centre of gravity; planted it, too, in an extremity which was numbed and enfeebled by the harshness of its surroundings—was merely an attempt to create a great emporium for western culture at a point easily accessible from the sea. What Peter began was only completed by Catherine at the end of the last century, when she conquered the Krim, and for the first time enabled Russia to have perennial intercourse with the world, undisturbed by intermittent close seasons of frost. This is the story we have traced out in detail in the following pages. It is assuredly a very instructive story. It is only yesterday that Russia's sun began to emerge from behind the cloud-banks which have overshadowed it so long. The glacial period in its history, when the Tartars were its masters, was followed by a terrible period of oppression, supplemented by exclusion from the world of culture. Is it to be wondered that so much remains behind that is uncouth and barbarous, and almost hopeless. Those who try to plant roses in its uncongenial soil, and find them wither, are apt to break out into jeremiads, tempered by abuse; while others who see in its homogeneous, ignorant, happy-go-lucky, servile, drunken peasants, nothing but the natural incapacity of the race, forget the social chaos from which these weeds have been inherited. It is a very crude philosophy which fancies that every race, however invertebrate, and every community, however guiltless of public virtue, is fit material for the nostrums of our day—parliaments, juries, self-government. Because the Anglo-Saxons, who have always been free men, have worked out a form of government that essentially requires the virtues of free men for its support, it does not follow that those who have been ground down by ages of terrible oppression should also be fit for the same heritage. It is impossible that culture which is to reach not merely the superficial layers of a community but the lower grades of the social edifice can be produced at once, and before the plough has gone deep down below the sod, and the broad furrows have been disintegrated by many a frost and many a burning sky. The work is being done slowly, and amidst immense difficulties. Those who will turn to the sardonic phrases Voltaire applied to the Russians, or the character which the history of the last century gave the Cossack; those who have read the story of Suvarof's murderous campaigns with an unbiassed mind, and compared it with that of the campaigns of Russian armies lately; those who will put side by side the

Russia of Catherine the Great and of Alexander the Third, must feel that the Russian race is immensely altered, and that the metaphorical Tartar apostrophised by Voltaire is no longer the prominent feature in it. We shrink no doubt from many of the characteristics of Russian public life—from its Oriental system of diplomacy, from the atmosphere, tainted with corruption, in which its bureaucracy lives, the want of genuine patriotism among its masses, the crass ignorance of its people, and the degraded position of its Church in the rural districts. We would see these things disappear, and we believe they are disappearing, and that a genuine leaven is gradually leavening the lump. Meanwhile, the too level mass of ignorance and Philistinism can only be kept together at present by a strong hand, and to import Western specifics among its untrained people is to court inevitable failure. Those who like myself are privileged to know many Russian scholars, and to feel how very close akin in many ways they are to Englishmen, and to have seen the kindly, unselfish, hospitable Russian peasant at home, will continue to hope, and feel a justification in hoping, that the slough in which the race was so long buried, and which we have tried to explore, will not always leave its mud spots upon it, but that presently it will stand shoulder to shoulder with our own people, which it rivals in fertility and numbers, and which it must be the hope of every decent person it will rival in the noble work of making humanity bow its neck to nobler and more ideal idols than it has hitherto done.

When we leave this historical survey to consider the critical questions of policy which embarrass the present moment we at once enter a region where dispassionate and judicial language is so unusual that it almost sounds inappropriate, and we feel that our judgment may be easily warped by the passing fanaticism of the hour. The rivalry of England and Russia in the East is an old story, and one which has not very attractive features for those students who endeavour to look beyond the ephemeral politics of to-day and to view the wider horizon in which these incidents are mere details. It involves two distinct factors—the policy of Russia on the Bosphorus, and in Central Asia. The two are very often named together, much to the confusion and misapprehension of the subject. Let us first briefly consider the former. Russia's links with Byzantium, "that sublime theatre of religious and political vicissitude," as it has been well apostrophised, are co-extensive with her history. From Byzantium she first received her Christianity. Byzantium was the object of piratical attack on the part of her early Scandinavian princes. During the long period of her degradation it was the perennial intercourse of her priesthood with Byzantium which created the mere twilight of culture which alone illumined her unfortunate provinces. When the Turk captured Byzantium and trod under foot the centre and focus of Greek Christianity, Russia became the most powerful and important home of that Church, the hope and the support of its priesthood. Many cultured Greeks then made their way to Russia, and finally in 1472 the Tzar Ivan the Third married Sophia, the niece of Constantine Palæologus, and thenceforward looked upon himself as having hereditary claims upon what he described as "that imperial tree whose shadow had once covered all orthodox and brother Christians."* He

* *Vide infra*, 313, etc.

also adopted the double-headed eagle, the blazon on the old imperial standard, as the national arms of Russia. Meanwhile, the Turk (who held the Bosphorus), was hated for his religion—that of the Tartar, who had so long trampled upon Russia—and was hated also because he held all the approaches to the Black Sea, and thus created a barrier between the frozen land and the sun, which was unbearable. He was hated, further, because he dominated over and ill-used the Slavs, who lived south of the Danube, and who were near akin in blood and language and faith to the Russians. It is true the Latin Christians of the West were even more hated than the Turk, and that their stronghold in Central Europe—Poland, was a constant thorn in Russia's side, and that her Machiavellian princes did not scruple to utilise a Turkish alliance very often, as the following pages will testify; yet the great underlying current remained as we have sketched it, and Tzargorod, the city of the Cæsars, was, in the popular creed of Russia, long before Peter the Great, and his more or less problematical will, the object of yearning ambition.

On the other hand, we must remember that until recently the only strong arm which the Southern Slavs could lean upon was that of Russia. Austria was ambitious of being not a Danubian power, but a great German empire, and habitually sacrificed her other vast provinces to satisfy the natural leanings and sympathies of the petty archduchy out of which she grew. This threw the Southern Slavs into the arms of Russia, as well as another race whose exceeding fertility is such a marked feature in its character, and which is far other than Slav in tradition and blood. I refer to the Rumans or Vlakhs, whose only point of contact with Russia, besides their geographical position, is their religion. All this is matter of history, and cannot be disputed. It explains a great deal of what has recently happened in the East, and it might lead captive our judgment, if history and sentiment were the only factors in politics. Russia is not, however, the cynosure of every eye. Its past has been a cruel one, and it naturally lags far behind much of the rest of the world in culture and civilisation. Its foot is heavy, and few daisies grow where it has trod. We feel that that foot is doing effective service when it stamps on the incorrigible robbers of Asia, but we feel more strongly that its presence is unwelcome and hurtful where more cultured races have already settled. When Russia annexes a province, it ceases to be a part of the world's common capital of culture and wealth, and sinks into the common Philistinism that more or less inevitably surrounds races trained as the Russians have been. She not only closes the door, but buries the key, with the narrow political selfishness which supposes that a nation is poorer which allows the stranger to warm his hands at its fire, and forgets that the barter of mental gifts is as necessary to human progress as the exchange of material commodities.

Again, there are certain critical geographical positions which in all history have been of vital consequence to others than their mere possessors. What Gibbon has said about the position of Byzantium is too familiar to need quotation, and his panegyric assuredly contains a momentous truth, enshrined in splendidly coloured phrases.

It is felt by politicians of all schools that Constantinople in the hands of

Russia means the freezing up of one of the most important channels the world possesses, and the consequent shrinkage of the world's stock of wealth and resources. The possession by Russia of the mouths of the Danube means giving over the gateway to the chief thoroughfare of Central Europe to the most backward and unscrupulous of its communities. In both cases a corporate interest is threatened which is of far higher value in every way than the mere historical sentiment which has been nursed for so many generations, and at all costs and sacrifices it is necessary that this sentiment should not bear too luxurious fruit, and that the Bosphorus and Dardanelles should not be in the grip of a giant who could close them when his whim so dictated, and create an arsenal in the Black Sea which would imperil the world's peace for many a decade, and retard proportionately the growth of freedom in Russia itself. We do not affect to feel much pain at the blows which have fallen on the Turk. We have no sympathy with his antecedents and his history—or, to speak more faithfully, his history in Europe. Here he has done little but destroy and devastate, and where he has not done this the musty incense which arises from stagnation and decay, and which harbingers his coming shadow, is more in harmony with the Philosophy of Sir Thomas Browne than our own. We have not, on the other hand, any leaning towards that heroic policy which consists in perpetually and unceasingly thrusting out bricks from the bottom of our neighbour's wall until it falls in glorious ruin, and then philosophising with unctuous insincerity on the sins and follies of those whose apple croft is in the way of our envious eye, as has been so often the case in the Foreign Office of Russia, nor with the art of leading astray too honest and unsuspicious strangers with a pretence of philanthropy when we really mean aggrandisement. Our sympathy for many years has been with another solution, one which is in process of accomplishment at this moment. Austria has ceased to contend in the futile struggle for Charlemagne's crown with the broad-shouldered Pomeranians. She has begun to turn her eyes elsewhere. Her very name suggests that she is an Eastern Empire. Her Slav peoples, the most cultured and civilised of all the Slavs, are the most powerful element in her population. It is round her that the Danubian nationalities will inevitably range themselves. Thus shifting her centre of gravity further East she will become the mother of the southern Slavs, who have a much closer common tie of blood,* and a tie which binds them more closely to the Magyars, who are so jealous of them, than generally supposed. She will thus pay back in some measure the debt the Western world owes to the Eastern, by forming the link between the two, and handing some of the treasures that have overflowed on her ample knee while she lay between the Adriatic and the Carpathians, to the less fortunate although more energetic dwellers in the valley of the Lower Danube. Presently Russia will face the inevitable at least with composure. She has enough work on her hands already. Her empire is already too vast and unwieldy. The possession of Constantinople would be a temptation to shift her metropolis away from her

* See Papers on the Migrations of the Slavs, by H. H. Howorth, Journal of the Anthropological Institute.

own people to the sunny latitudes of the Golden Horde, and thus to repeat the blunder of Peter the Great. Her great strength now is due to the homogeneousness of her people. It would be a source of weakness, and not of strength, for her to be hampered with the contending ambitions of Rumans, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Turks. She has already got a splendid sea board on the Euxine, and ports for her southern provinces, as well as her Trans-Caucasian ones. What advantage save a sentimental one would the possession of Constantinople bring unless it be deemed an advantage to make the Euxine a private Russian lake altogether. The case seems so plain that it will need no great sacrifice of vanity or of repute if the direction of the nation's ambition is directed elsewhere; and meanwhile, if prudence, statesmanship, and foresight be brushed aside altogether by Russian diplomacy, and if its eye still turns towards the city of Constantine, the world has one gauge for its own security in the undisguised alliance of Germany and Austria, an alliance dictated not by philanthropy, but by mutual interest, which is a far more potent factor in politics than philanthropy.

Let us now turn our view further east. The progress of Russia in Central Asia has been the subject of much rhetoric, inflated and otherwise, recently, in which its more important elements have been a good deal overlooked. The Russian advance in Central Asia comprises two periods and two sets of conditions entirely differing from one another. The appropriation of the steppes of the Kirghiz Kazaks, the so-called independent Tartary, is quite a different matter in origin and in character to the Russian attack upon the Uzbeg Khanates of Central Asia.

In regard to the former, I hold most completely that the course adopted was amply justified in every way. The Kazaks, whose very name is a synonym for freebooters and robbers, have been the scourge of all their neighbours for generations, habitually given to robbery and pillage, bound by no promise and no oath, and constantly disintegrating under the solvent of rival chiefs, with rival reputations, as leaders of bandits. The Russians were long-suffering for years (as we shall amply prove),* to their habitual treacheries and deceits. They tried means of various kinds to secure peace among them, and to protect their own frontier populations from perpetual harass, but with no avail. Murder, robbery, harrying of women and children, of cattle and goods, waylaying of caravans of merchants, all the vexatious and irritating forms of border marauding which a long inheritance of robber habits had taught them, were continually being practised. Under such circumstances annexation was inevitable. The stamping out of these practices could only be compassed by the complete conquest of the race, and by putting it under surveillance, and this was done effectually, and with humanity and prudence. Those who affect to admire the savage in his unsophisticated condition, generally live upon velvet, and write their allegories far away from danger. To the backwoodsman and pioneer, who live in immediate contact with him, the picture has a much more lurid light, and it is assuredly inevitable and right that where a great empire has an uncertain boundary, across which its predatory neighbours

is a general impression abroad everywhere in England that Russia's great object in her Eastern policy is the eventual conquest of India. This may be so; I can find little to support such a view in public documents. It is true that in the time of Peter the Great, before the English had an Indian empire, there was a notion prevalent in Russia, as elsewhere, that India was an El Dorado whence stores of fabulous wealth were to be obtained, and he no doubt sent officers to try and explore the route thither. This is not only true, but it was assuredly most justifiable. Again, it is true that a constant tension and irritation having existed in the mutual relations of Russia and England for many years, involving one terrible war and the preparations for another, Russia has endeavoured to create trouble for us in the weakest part of our armour. It is true, also, that the diplomatic language and amenities of Russia are of that tortuous character which a fervid popular orator once described as attorneyship rather than statesmanship. All this we grant freely, but it does not involve the notion that the current aim and object of Russian policy is the conquest of India.

India is known to involve burdens as well as responsibilities which the Russian back is by no means able to support, while the advantages it holds out in the shape of trade are but poor attractions to a nation whose manufactures are a sickly plant. The glamour that affected many European eyes in regard to India is fast disappearing. It is now known that the chief virtue of that fruit is in its external attractiveness, and that its juices have been long ago exhausted by generations of hungry robbers. When we grant this, does it imply, however, that we may fold our arms and close our lids, and let our ship sail with the nearest current and the nearest breeze, as if we were the companions of the ancient mariner? Those who navigate after this fashion inevitably run their ship on the rocks. Assuredly not. We cannot leave India if we would; there is no one to take our place, and while there we are bound by every sacred tie to secure the safety of its inhabitants, not only from external attack, but from perennial panic. The people of India know well what a menace Afghanistan has been to them; that it has been from Afghanistan that every invading horde has come, which has spread desolation over the country, and made slaves of its peoples. If Afghanistan is turbulent and unfriendly, and if, further, the exigencies of rival policies elsewhere make it prudent and desirable for Russia to employ it as an advance guard, and to keep a sword of Damocles hanging over our two hundred millions of helpless fellow subjects, it becomes not only our right, but our manifest duty, to interfere. It is almost puerile to discuss the right or wrong of interfering with our neighbour, who, we know, is undermining our wall, and lodging dynamite there to blow down our homestead. To speak of his right in such a case is to pervert the language of morals and of law altogether. My neighbour may do his will so long as he does not menace me and my interests; when he does so, I, who am a trustee for a nation of feeble men and women, am a criminal if I do not warn him, and if he will not listen, run my rapier through him? War is wholesale murder, we are told. If it be murder to strangle a person who has seized us by the throat, or is planning our destruction, it is a form of murder which no law but that of

inanity will deem unjustifiable, whether it be retail or wholesale. When it became clear that the Amir of Kabul, the ruler of a brutal fanatical nation, was unfriendly to us, and intriguing with Russia against us, and when this became a possible danger to India, we were bound to interfere, and if need be to smite him to the ground. We have done so, and the question remains, what are we to do with his inheritance? In the first place, as we have seen, the notion of a neutral zone between the frontiers of England and Russia is one which has been found to be impracticable, and full of constant menace. This view is felt as strongly in Russia as here, and has lately been urged with force by Professor Martens, of Moscow. The only prudent solution of present difficulties to which things are inevitably tending, is that England and Russia shall have a common frontier. This solution has pressed upon me more and more in writing the history of recent events among the Uzbegs.

Let us now consider some of the practical bearings of this hypothetical solution.

Under the name Afghanistan we include three districts, varying in history and traditions. 1. Afghanistan proper, bounded on the north by the magnificent frontier of the Hindu Kush, the most perfect scientific frontier in the world, which is traversed by the difficult passes of Bamian, etc. This includes Kabul and Kandahar, the Sulimani mountains, and the country occupied and inhabited by the Afghans proper. 2. Afghan Turkestan, lying north of the Hindu Kush, and watered by the head streams of the Oxus, and including *inter alia* the well-known districts of Balkh and Badakhshan. This, as we shall show further on,* is but a recent Afghan conquest. It is inhabited by a race which is not Afghan in blood, and is dominated by a warrior caste of Uzbegs whose connections and sympathies are with Bukhara. These districts once formed a part of the Uzbeg empire, of which Bukhara was the focus, and have never submitted quietly to the ruler of Kabul. 3. Herat, and its surrounding district. This, also, is but a recent Afghan conquest. Herat was for many centuries the eastern buttress of Persia. It was the ancient capital of Khorasan, the richest of the Persian provinces. It has been long coveted by the Persian ruler, and its natural destiny is to be joined once more to Persia.

To attempt to make these three sections obey one sovereign, and he a nominee of the hated Kaffirs, is impossible, unless we employ an army continually, and then it will be the old story of yoking discordant elements to the same plough. There can be no good reason why Afghan Turkestan should not be allowed to gravitate into its natural alliance and to be absorbed by the Khanate of Bukhara. The country south of the mountains, largely homogeneous in race and in sentiment, would be very manageable under British tutelage, either ruled by one chief at Kabul or controlled after the fashion which has been so successful in Beloochistan. The Hindu Kush would then be the virtual boundary between England and Russia, Bukhara being a *protégé* of the former and Afghanistan proper of the latter.

Herat might most reasonably be restored once more to Persia, with the inhabitants of which its citizens have close religious ties, both belonging to the Shia sect, while the Uzbegs, like the Osmanli Turks, belong to the

* *Infra*, page 853, etc.

hated rival sect of the Sunnis. I confess that nothing would be more likely to give stability and prestige to that dislocated country which has been so much neglected by English diplomacy of late years, and where our interests are so closely involved, as the addition to its area of a district which it once possessed, and which in the hands of the Afghans has been a perpetual thorn in its side. This separation of Afghanistan into its constituent elements and their readjustment is so feasible, would meet so perfectly the aspirations of the inhabitants, and would secure such a magnificent frontier between England and Russia, that it has a singular attractiveness. In Russia, as in England, public opinion is weary of this perpetual embroglio in Central Asia. The defeats in Turkestan, the ever-recurring petty wars in which no glory is reaped, while the resources of the country are drained, and the adventurous policy of border commanders, have been a terrible burden to the country, which has enough and more than enough territory, and which in reaching the Hindu Kush would reach the term of its natural extension, while to all right-thinking folk it would be indeed a new leaf in the book of statecraft if the tension and irritation that separate two such mutually sympathetic races as Englishmen and Russians always prove themselves to be in private intercourse, should give place to a more amiable temper. When our memory reverts to the days of good Queen Bess and her intercourse with the Tzar of Muscovy, which I have described later on; reverts to the days of Chancellor, of Jenkinson, and "the Russia company" of Horsey and of Hanway, and sums up the vast amount of cordial good-fellowship that once united the two countries so closely, it is more than a chimerical dream that would wish to see these ties renewed on a firmer basis, and a scheme developed by which we might be again close friends, and work hand in hand, if by different methods, in restoring to Asia, the nursery of the human race, some of its ancient prosperity and renown.

Having made this survey of some of the lessons suggested by these studies, I must now enumerate the authorities which I have chiefly used.

In the first place, my thanks are due to Von Hammer Purgstall, the historian of the Turkish empire. In January, 1833, the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg offered a prize for a work on the history of the Golden Horde, to be composed from Eastern and Western authorities, from coins, etc. Apparently the only response to this was made by Von Hammer, who composed his famous work, the basis of four of the following chapters, entitled "Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kiptschak," which he published at Pesth in 1840. This great monument of erudition and skill, carved out an entirely new country, and with singular insight and capacity. I am only echoing the language of the great Eastern numismatist Soret in speaking in indignant terms of the unfair and small spirit in which the Imperial Academy received this work, which has never been equalled in its own line, and which more than amply met the conditions of the prize. Von Hammer speaks in naturally strong language of the slight that was put upon him, but he enabled posterity to judge better of his claims by printing the reports of Fraehn, Schmidt, and Krug, upon which the prize was withheld. There breathes through them all a littleness which is unworthy of such names, and beyond and behind this

a jealousy of the fact that some other than a Russian had done for the most difficult part of Russian history what no Russian had then or has since accomplished. Of course, the book contains mistakes; so in all conscience do the writings of the three Academicians; but the surprising fact in a work involving such immense research is that they should be so few, and it is at least a satisfactory lesson which Nemesis will dictate to every candid inquirer that Von Hammer's work towers in the mind's eye of the historian far above any of the works of his critics as a contribution to the history of Eastern Europe, and there is a home-thrust which meets with genuine sympathy from those who shrink from injustice when Von Hammer, in replying to one of Fraehn's small, carping criticisms, says sharply, in the language of Molière, "Vous êtes orfevre M. Josse."

Besides this work I have also quoted frequently Von Hammer's "Osmanische Geschichte," from the Pesth edition of 1834, and a third work by him, "Geschichte der Chane der Krim, Wien, 1856," which is a standard work on its subject. I have also used the edition of Wassaf, by Von Hammer, and his history of the Ilkhans, noticed in the former volume. Next to Von Hammer, I have in the earlier chapters most frequently quoted Karamzin, the well-known Russian historian, whose work closes abruptly at the beginning of the seventeenth century. I need not stay to praise the conscientious accuracy, skill, and patriotism of his narrative, which have made it a classic. I have consulted it constantly, both in the French and the German editions, the latter of which contain a larger number of Karamzin's original notes. Wherever a reference is made to this work, unless the words "Germ. ed." follow, it is to the French edition.

In the later chapters of this work I have been most indebted to my honoured friend; he will allow me to call him so, M. Veliaminof Zernof, himself a descendant from one of the old Tartar princes, and now a member of the Imperial Academy. It is a subject of great regret that his works are still untranslated. They are vast mines of carefully-arranged material, and will more than sustain the reputation of the Academy of which he is an honoured member. His *magnum opus* is the history of the Khans of Kasimof, in three volumes, published by the eastern branch of the Russian Archæological Society. The first volume was translated into German by Dr. Julius Theodor Zenker, and published at Leipzig in 1867, and wherever the first volume is quoted here, it is from this German translation; the second and third volumes have been translated for me by two of my friends, to whom I shall presently refer. They have also brought within my reach the well-known monograph on the coins of Bukhara and Khiva, with its great wealth of illustrative matter, by the same author, and a memoir on the coins of Khokand, also by him, both published in the series just referred to. I have to regret that I have not been able to meet with a work on the Kirghiz Kazaks, published many years ago by M. Vel. Zernof, and often quoted in his larger work. In the sources last quoted, is condensed the result of Russian researches upon large portions of Tartar history, and I feel that I cannot express my gratitude too much for them. Another Russian scholar, whom it is my privilege to know, is Professor Grigorief, well-known as a sturdy patriot, as an able administrator of a

difficult Eastern province, and as a profound writer on the history and literature of the various Turkish tribes. His memoir on Serai, the capital of the Golden Horde, is too well known to need mention. I have consulted his notes to the journey of Blankennagel to Khiva, which throw much light on the darkest period of the history of that Khanate, his translation into Russian of the narrative of the Murza Shems, dealing with the history of Khokand, and his criticism of Vambery's history, published as an appendix to Mr. Schuyler's Turkestan, and I shall have to turn to him again for help in the concluding part of this work.

One Russian writer, who lies prostrate with paralysis, I must not forget:—M. Lerch, whose kind urbanity and genuine good heart have made him so many friends. His memoirs on the history of Khiva and on the archæology of the valley of the Jaxartes will be found quoted in the following pages. I hope sincerely it may be given him once more to prosecute his studies, and, if not, that the sun may always shine brightly on his head.

M. Schmidt has collected together from Russian sources, in a series of memoirs in the *Russische Revue*, a detailed account of the Russian campaigns against Khiva. These I have largely used.

Fraehn, who was the creator of Eastern numismatics, and of whom I have spoken some heated words above, has done too much to make my way certain and clear for me not to doff my cap to his memory. I have constantly consulted his famous "Resentio," and supplement, his catalogue of the Fuchs collection, as well as his memoir on the town of Uvak in the "Transactions of the Imperial Academy," and I must express my great regret that his works in MS. are not made available for students. The papers of M. Soret on the coins of the Tartar dynasties, published in the *Revue de Numismatique Belge*, have been of great service to me, as has the famous catalogue of the coins in the Odessa collection by the late Professor Blau.

To the Russian scholar, Des Maisons, we owe the best edition and translation of the indispensable history of Abulghazi. This was published at St. Petersburg in 1870, and has been constantly at my elbow. I have also consulted the older edition of Leyden.

Müller's famous collections for Russian history, in eight volumes, published at St. Petersburg, have been of great service to me. I have also consulted Fischer's history of Siberia, which work, however, is founded almost entirely, and with but scant acknowledgment, upon Müller. Levchine's well known history of the Kirghiz Kazaks, which was translated into French by Ferry de Pigny and published at Paris in 1840, has been the main foundation of the history of the Kazaks in the following pages. It will be seen, however, that, thanks to recent researches, this history is now much more completely known than when Levchine wrote. *Inter alia* I have been able to illustrate it largely in its earlier portion from the well known "Tarikhi Rashidi" of Haidar. This I have consulted in a MS. translation in the British Museum, which is apparently in the handwriting of Erskine, and which unfortunately has such a confused pagination that I have only been able to give general references to it. The "Tarikhi Abulkhair," which contains an interesting account of the origin of the Sheibanids, has been consulted for me by my friend Dr. Rieu,

who for this and other favours (at all times granted with the lavish generosity that becomes one richly gifted), I cordially thank him. Baber's "Memoirs" I have consulted in the admirable edition of Erskine, Makrizi in that of Quatremere, and Ibn Batuta in that published by the Oriental fund.

My most esteemed friend, Mr. C. Schefer, who has lately been elected a member of the French Academy, it would be an impertinence in me to praise. He is *facile princeps* among living Persian scholars, while his knowledge of the literature and arts of the East is encyclopædic. I deem his friendship one of the chief privileges which I have secured by my Eastern researches. His edition of the work of Abdul Kerim on the Khanates of Bukhara and Khiva, etc., has been of great service to me. With Mr. Schuyler it has also been my good fortune to have had friendly intercourse, which I much regret has been interfered with by his migration to Italy. His work on Turkestan is one of the most masterly books of travel in our language, not only from the insight and power of observation it displays, but also from the very valuable Russian materials he has collected and translated. I am greatly indebted to the Memoir on the History of Khokand, which is appended to that work, and for details on Khiva, Bukhara, and especially the obscure and little known Uzbeg principalities south of Bukhara. In the French translation of Forster's Voyage to Bengal, there is an appendix by M. Langles, giving an account of the Khans of the Golden Horde and of Krim, and chiefly founded on the work of Abdul Ghaffar, which has been too little consulted by Von Hammer. I have quoted from it frequently. Also from a rare work entitled "Histoire du royaume de la Chersonese Taurique," by M. Stanislas Siestrzencewicz de Bohucz, Archbishop of Mohilef, published at St. Petersburg in 1824. It contains much interesting matter on the history of the Krim Khans, from Polish and other sources. The history of Krim has also been largely extracted from the well-known account of that Khanate, translated from Turkish into French by M. Kazimirski, and published in the twelfth volume of the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique;* from the Memoirs of the Baron de Tott (English edition); from the well-known work of Peyssonel on the Commerce of the Black Sea, Paris, 1787; from the "Histoire des Kosaques," by Lesur; the "Annales de la Petite Russie," by Scherer; and the anonymous "Histoire de la Nouvelle Russie;" as well as from the well-known travels of Pallas, Gmelin, Guthrie, Clarke, Seymour, and De Hell. Among the standard works, unnecessary to detail, which I have gleaned over, are St. Martin's "Mémoires sur l'Armenie;" the "Ugrische Volkstamm," of Müller; the great *corpus* of extracts from the Byzantine historians, by Stritter; Lelewel's "Poland," Erdmann's "Travels," the "Histoire des Huns," of De Guignes, and especially the supplemental volume, by Senekofski, containing the history of Bukhara in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mr. Tracy Tornirelli's mistaken loyalty, which has made him lately a prominent figure in popular cartoons, must not make us forget his valuable and interesting work on Kazan and its history. Klaproth's various works, especially his "Journey to the Caucasus," have been scoured for plunder. For Timur's campaign in Europe, I have consulted the well-known and very exhaustive memoir by M. Charmoy, in the third volume of the transactions of the St. Petersburg Academy, and also the "History of Timur," by Sherif ud din, translated by Petis de la Croix,

For the history of the Khanates of Central Asia, besides the works already quoted, I have freely used the "Travels," of Frazer and of Ferrier, of Wood and Moorcroft, of Burnes and Conolly, of Abbott and, Wolff, of Khanikof (edited by Bode), of Muravief, Meyendorf, Vambery, etc., Malcolm's "Persia," and Elphinstone's "Caubul," Erskine's "History of India" and Michell's well known essays on Central Asia, translated from the Russian, Hellwald's "Russen in Central Asien," Wathen's well known paper in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Ritter's "Asien." The "Tabakat i Nasiri," as edited by Major Raverty (when are we to see the concluding part?), has furnished me with some valuable matter for my first chapter. I have been greatly indebted to the Hackluyt Society's publications for the travels of Barbaro, Contarini, Herberstein, Horsey and Fletcher, and, most important of all, for "Cathay, and the Way Thither," by Colonel Yule. The edition of Schiltberger, which it has just brought out, I have only been able to utilise in the notes; in the text the quotations are from Neumann's edition. The older Hackluyt collection has supplied me with the travels of Jenkinson and Johnson. Jonas Hanway and his famous quartoes are too well known to detain us. Bell of Antermony has been consulted in "Pinkerton's Voyages." The admirable editions of Carpini and Rubruquis by D'Avezac have been constantly at my elbow, as have the various volumes of the *Journal Asiatique*, and the *Melanges Asiatiques* of the St. Petersburg Academy. Klaproth's *Magazin Asiatique*, the *Geographical Magazine*, the *Russische Revue*, Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, Baer and Helmersen's *Beiträge*, and the "Mémoires sur la Chine," by the French Jesuits, will be found quoted for several valuable papers.

Vambery's "History of Bukhara" and his "Travels" I have found very useful in the later chapters. It is to be regretted that the former work, which is full of graphic power, was written with such want of care. It ought not to be forgotten that Senkofski, in his well known supplement to De Guignes, had already given from the "Tarikhi Mekim Khani" the history of the Astrakhanids, which M. Vambery claims as a discovery of his own. These are my principal authorities; others, such as Erdmann, Wolff, D'Ohsson, Pallas, Yule, etc., I have already mentioned in my former volume; others which I may have here overlooked will be found duly mentioned in the following pages, when I have drawn inspiration from them.

On looking over the roll of great men, living and dead, whose garners I have rifled, I feel more than ever how small my efforts have been compared with theirs, and how much I am indebted to them. I hope I have done them no injustice. If my readers find anything of value in the following pages, let them assign it to those under whose shadow I have found shelter, and leave the rest to me. In many places, I may say with Charron, I only claim the form and method, and not being able to say the thing better than my authority, have without scruple used his words. A man is not jealous of his father, or a scholar of his master. What they have taught me I have tried to interpret for others. I shall be well content to have cast some seed from their baskets into corners where nothing grew before, and to make men

understand the value of the gold which they laboured to carve out of the rock and which they sometimes left barely visible, while the easy task remained of chipping off a few splinters and laying it all bare.

I must now return my thanks to others who have assisted me. In the first place, these are due to the kind good friends who have opened up for me sources which were otherwise a sealed book. I mean the various works here quoted from the Russian. None can exaggerate the dreary labour involved in spending many days and nights in translating from another tongue, and purely out of good nature, for the writer of a book whose very enthusiasm for such an arid subject is near akin to madness in their eyes. Among those who have assisted me in this way, I have to mention my friend, Mr. Fairbrother, whose unaffected goodness has left him stranded without an enemy, which is as great a temptation to one's virtue as authorship would be in the absence of criticism. He has now migrated to Moscow, where my gratitude I hope may reach him. Next, my younger friend, Mr. Kinloch, who is not only a good Russian scholar, but an ingenious chemist. He has not spared himself for me, and a great deal that is of value in the following volumes would have been hidden in Egyptian darkness but for his assistance and zeal. I have also received help at all times in the most free and generous manner from my friends, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Robert Michell, and Mr. Delmar Morgan, all well known as Russian scholars, and from whom the world expects a rich harvest of translation in the future. To Dr. Rieu, of the MS. department of the British Museum, I am much indebted for a translation from the Persian of several pages of the Tarikhi Abulkhair, for some long passages of Khuandemir, and for a perennial good nature which has never flagged towards me and my work. Dr. Rost, of the India Library; Mr. Vaux, of the Asiatic Society, and Mr. Edward Thomas, I have to thank for unfailing urbanity, and for the loan of rare books, a loan on the only condition that is of any value to a student doing original work, namely, for an indefinite time.

Lastly, there are those who live closer to our hearth, and who know us better than the rest. A Chinese proverb says, "The conjuror never takes in the man who plays the gong for him." On his own carpet there is not elbow room for an impostor to play the hero, or to formulate the pretences with which he can mystify the crowd. On the other hand, the ties that bind him there are not so ephemeral as the bonds which connect him to those whose lions never live beyond the conventional nine days. It is no part of the world's business assuredly, but it is none the less a part of our duty to think at this time of those who have meanwhile made our home happy and bright. When a terrible calamity has thrown a shadow across our lives, it is a great temptation to invoke oblivion, by burying one's life in a work like this, and to forget meanwhile that others are in the shade perhaps more deeply than ourselves. More thanks for the overflowing kindness and gentleness which never grumbled or complained. As for other justification for what many deem wasted hours, health, and money, there is a ring of something like a great truth behind, which I would shelter in the quaint and rugged words of Sir Thomas Browne: "There is no *sanctum sanctorum* in philosophy," he says, "the world was made to be inhabited by beasts, but studied and contemplated

by man; 'tis the debt of our reason we owe unto God, and the homage that we pay for not being beasts. . . . The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar heads that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire his works. Those highly magnify him, whose judicious inquiry into his acts, and deliberate research into his creation, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration. Therefore—

"Search while thou wilt; and let thy reason go,
To ransom truth, e'en to the abyss below
Rally the scattered causes; and that line
Which Nature twists be able to untwine.
. . . .
Give thou my reason that instructive flight
Whose weary wings may on thy hands still light.
Teach me to soar aloft, yet ever so,
When near the sun to stoop again below.
Thus shall my humble feathers safely hover,
And though near earth more than the heavens discover.
And then at last, when homeward I shall drive,
Rich with the spoils of nature, to my hive,
There will I sit, like that industrious fly,
Buzzing thy praises; which shall never die
Till death abrupts them, and succeeding glory
Bids me go on in a more lasting story."

Derby House, Eccles, January, 1880.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter is devoted to an account of the various races which formed the heritage of the eldest son of Jingis Khan, and his descendants. This heritage was called Togmak by the Mongols, apparently from a frontier town on the river Chu with which they came early into contact. It was called Desht Kipchak, or the Steppe of Kipchak, from the tribe of Kipchak, which was once its most prominent occupier, and was known in the West as the Golden Horde.

Such of my readers as are not interested in minute ethnology and the dry discussions of details which chiefly constitute it, will do well to pass on at once to the next chapter, in which the narrative properly begins. I have used the name Tartar as the generic name of the race described in this volume. A justification of this I shall give later on. Here it will suffice to say that the tribes to which attention will be confined are of Turkish race, the aristocracy and leaders alone being of Mongol descent. The aim and scope of our work are to integrate a large part of the broken history of the Asiatic nomades around that of the famous imperial race which claimed descent from Jingis Khan.

The Mongol word yurt meant originally the domestic fireplace, and according to Von Hammer, the word is identical with the German herde and the English hearth, and thence came in a secondary sense to mean house or home, the chief's house being known as Ulugh Yurt or the Great House.

An assemblage of several yurts formed an ordu or orda, equivalent to the German hort and the English horde, which really means a camp. The chief camp where the ruler of the nation lived was called the Sir Orda, *i.e.*, the Golden Horde.*

The name is applied by Carpini and Benedict of Poland to the great tent tenanted by Kuyuk Khan. *Tentorium præparatum quod apud ipsos Orda Aurea appellatur: ubi Kuyuk debebat poni in sede, etc.*, says the former.† *Invenerunt imperatorem apud tentorium magnum quod vocatur Syra orda*, says the latter.‡ The name was apparently similarly applied to Batu's chief tent, whence it came about that eventually the whole nation was known as the Golden Horde.

As I shall show further on, the Golden Horde was from the beginning divided into two main sections; that subject to the older branch of

* Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 32, 33. † Ed. D'Avezac, 757. ‡ *Id.*, 777.

Juchi's family dominated in the east, had a titular suzerainty over the other, and was known as the Ak Orda or White Horde, while that living in the western part of the Khanate, which held the real, although not the nominal, authority, was styled the Kok Orda or Blue Horde. These were, however, political divisions, and not ethnographic ones.

The ethnography of the Golden Horde is not very difficult to make out. In the first place, the tribes who composed it may be divided into two well marked and distinct sections, one of which, the Manguts or Flat-Noses, formed the patrimony of Nogai Khan and his family, and the other and much more numerous one comprised the remaining Tartars, who were distinguished by a variety of names.

We will first consider the Nogais, who are also called Manguts. All observers have agreed in separating them sharply from the other Tartars. Thus, Dr. Clarke says of them: "They are a very different people from the Tartars of the Crimea, and may be instantly distinguished by their diminutive form and the dark copper colour of their complexion, sometimes almost black. They have a remarkable resemblance to the Laplanders, although their dress and manner has a more savage character."*

Pallas enlarges also upon their specially Mongolian features. Klaproth says: "Of all the Tartar tribes that I have seen the Nogais bear by far the strongest resemblance in features and figure to the Mongols, a circumstance which authorises the inference of an intermixture with that nation, which perhaps took place during their residence to the north and north-west of the Caspian."†

These extracts will suffice to show that the Nogais differ essentially from the other Tartars in physique. They differ also in language. Thus, Pallas says: "The language and writing of the real Tartars differ little from those of the Turks, and the dialect of the mountaineers who are subject to the Turkish dominion, bears a still greater analogy to that of their masters. On the contrary, the tongue of the Nogais deviates more remarkably, as they have retained numerous Mongolian phrases, and make use of an ancient mode of writing, likewise mixed with the latter, and called Shağaltai."‡ This mixture of Mongol with their language is denied by Klaproth, and with justice. "On the other hand," he says, "you still find among them some remains of the old Tartar dialect, which they make use of in writing and which is called Jagatai, or as it is there commonly pronounced, Shagaltai."§ This is very interesting. As is well known, the Turkish race is divided by ethnographers into two great sections, the western Turks, of whom the greater part of the Tartars of the Golden Horde are good examples, and the eastern Turks, of whom the Uighurs and the so-called Jagataians, of whom we shall have much to say in our next volume, are the type.

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* Clarke's Travels, i., 588.
† Travels in the Caucasus, 161.
‡ Travels in Southern Russia, ii., 356.
§ Op. cit., 161.

It follows, from what has been stated, that the Nogais speak a dialect closely allied to that of the eastern Turks, with whom they also agree in physique. This view is supported by another curious circumstance. In the mythical traditions of the Turks, the race is descended from two stem-fathers, Nokus and Kiat, who are said to have been brothers. The Turks proper are apparently comprised under the head of Kiats, and thus we read of Kiat Kungrads and Kiat Kanglis. Nokus, on the other hand, seems to be the representative of the eastern Turks and Uighurs. In this view, it is curious to find one division of the Uzbegs called Nokus Mangut.

From all these circumstances it would seem probable that the Manguts were in fact a section of the eastern Turks who had found their way into the west, where they are an intrusive element. Have we any direct proof of such a migration? I believe such a proof exists. The empire of the eastern Turks or Uighurs, according to the Chinese, was overturned by the Hakas in the year 840. Thereupon, we are told that Pingtele, or Pangtele, one of the ministers of the late Khan, fled at the head of fifteen tribes of Uighurs, to the Kololu or Karluks.* This migration, I believe, first brought the Manguts into the west. Now, on turning to western writers, we find a new and aggressive race of Turks appearing shortly after this very date on the Volga, namely, the Pechenegs. I propose tentatively to identify the Pechenegs with the followers of Pangtele, and with the later Manguts.

The first appearance of the Pechenegs in Europe is dated by Constantine Porphyrogenitus about the year 894-899, when, as he tells us, they were attacked by the Khazars, and Uzi in alliance, and driven from their ancient seats.† Previously, according to the same author, they had lived on the Atil, *i.e.*, the Volga, and the Geech, *i.e.*, the Jaik, and were the neighbours of the Uzi and the Mazari.‡ In another place he tells the story in another way. He says that "the Patzinakitai, who were formerly called Kangar, which name," he adds, "among them meant nobility and strength, having taken up arms against the Khazars, were beaten, and deserted their country, and were obliged to enter the land inhabited by the Turks."§ By Turks Constantine always means the Magyars.

After a while, Constantine goes on to say, the Pechenegs quarrelled with the Turks, and having defeated them, drove one section towards Persia, *i.e.*, as I believe, to the north of the Caucasus, and the other towards the Carpathians. The Pechenegs now definitely occupied the old Turkland on each side of the Dnieper, and divided their country into eight provinces—four east of that river called Tzur, Culpee, Talmat, and Tzopon; and four west of it, namely, Chopon, [illegible]la, Kharoboe, and Ertem,‖ and thus occupied the very country held by the Nogais in later

* Bretschneider, op. cit., 118, 146. † Stritter, iii., 797. ‡ *Id.* § *Id.*, 798. ‖ *Id.*, iii., 806-7.

times. Elsewhere Constantine tells us the name Kangar was not applied to all the Pechenegs, but only to three of their tribes who were stronger and nobler than the rest.* This shows that Pecheneg and Kangar, which is apparently only another form of Kankali, were not quite convertible terms. Nestor, the early Russian annalist, confirms the account of Constantine, except as to the date; in dates, however, he is often astray. He says the Pechenegs appeared for the first time in Russia (*i.e.*, in the principality of Kief), in the year 915. They made peace with Igor the Russian chief, and advanced as far as the Danube, and had intercourse with the Greek empire.† Zeuss thus gives the synonymy of the Pechenegs. They were called Pizenaci by Liutprand, Pecenatici by Cosmas of Prague and Pincenates, Pecinei, Petinei, Postinagi, by other western writers; Patzinakitai, by Constantine Posphyrogenitus; Peczenjei, by the Slavs; and Bisseni, or Bessi, by the Hungarians. This last form of the name probably gave its appellation to Bessarabia; Snorro calls the race Pezina vollr. That the Pechenegs were Turks there cannot be any doubt. Ibn el Vardi describes them as a Turkish race who had separated from the other Turks, and settled between the Khazars and Krim. He calls them Beknakije, and tells us, that although they had lived there so long they had not any houses.‡ Anna Comnena tells us they spoke the same language as the Comans. The meaning of the word Pecheneg is explained very plausibly by M. Vambery as being a corruption of bash mak, *i.e.*, chief prince.§ Von Hammer, and Dr. Schott, in his memoir on the Kangar, say the name Bejnak means the related, or allied. It is undoubtedly a personal name; thus we read that when the Cossack Yermak attacked the Siberians on the Tawda, a prince called Pecheneg was among the slain, so that it is exceedingly probable that the race was named after some chief named Pecheneg, as it was at a later day after Nogai. It will be noted also that the chief who ruled on the Volga at the time of Batu's invasion, was called *Bachiman*, which seems another form of the same name.

The Pechenegs occur for the last time, *eo nomine*, in the Russian annals in the year 1152, but in 1162, and in that section of Nestor, written by the fourth continuation, we find a new name applied to the rivals and enemies of the Comans, in the steppes of southern Russia, who can be no other than the Pechenegs, namely, Chernoklobuks or Black Caps.‖

They are also mentioned in the years 1174, 1187, 1190, 1192, and 1200.¶ We again meet with the name in the accounts of Batu's invasion, when we are told that in the autumn of 1239 he with the other princes marched against the Russians and the Karakalpaks or Black Caps.** This name of Black Caps, or Karakalpaks, is actually a well-known tribal name among

* Stritter, iii., 808.
† Op. cit., ed. Paris, i., 53.
‡ Zeuss, op. cit., 743.
§ Geographical Magazine, iv., 78.
‖ Nestor, xi., 98.
¶ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 454-6.
** D'Ohsson, ii., 627.

the Turks, and applied to an important section of the Nogais.* One of the principal features of the Karakalpaks, distinguishing them from the other Turkish tribes, is the possession of a considerable quantity of hair on their faces; and Bakui says of the Pechenegs, they had long beards and large mustaches. He adds, that their food consisted chiefly of millet.† Vambery says the favourite food of the Karakalpaks is kazan djappay, *i.e.*, meal baked in a pan with fat.

One of the tribes of Kipchak, as given by Novairi in 1325, was named Kara Burkli, *i.e.*, Black Caps; and lastly, Strahlenberg‡ tells us that east of the Jaik there survived when he wrote places called Talmasata and Curcutata, which are clearly identical with the Talmat and Tzur of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which he names as two sections of the Pechenegs. For these reasons, I am disposed to identify the Manguts and Karakalpaks as the descendants of the Pechenegs.

Having separated the Manguts and shown how they were an intrusive element in the population of "the Kipchak," we may now turn to its remaining Tartar inhabitants. These have a more or less homogeneous history. Of course, in certain areas, as in the Krim and at Kazan, they have been largely sophisticated in blood by a mixture with other races, but in the main they are under their various names very pure and typical specimens of the Turkish stock. We will now consider some of their divisions, and begin with—

The *Kazaks*. The name Kazak has no ethnic value. It is applied to Turkish tribes, to the Slavic Cossacks of the Ukraine, the Don, the Volga, etc., and to the Circassians, a part of whose country was called Kasachia by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, while they themselves are called Kessek or Kazak by their neighbours the Ossetes, who affirm that the Circassians called themselves Kasak before the coming of the Kabardian princes from the Krim.§ Klaproth argues that the word has been adopted by the Tartars to denote a man who leads a martial and roving life like that of the Circassians, and he adds further, that in the old Tartar and its kindred Turkish dialects it is not to be found, and many Tartars even know nothing of its meaning.‖ Erskine says distinctly that the name is formed of two Arabic words, and adds that the Russian travellers call them Tartar words, as they do many Arabic and Persian terms which have been introduced into the Tartar or Turkish language.¶ This Arabic etymology is a very probable one, and accounts for the word being found both on the banks of the Sir and north of the Caucasus in early times, Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century and Firdusi somewhat later both using it. It no doubt passed from the Circassians to the Russian Cossacks. The name means merely freebooter or nomade soldier. Haidar, in describing the young days

* *Vide infra*, chap. xii. † D'Ohsson, Abul Cassim, 117, 118. ‡ Op. cit., 282.
§ Klaproth, Travels in the Caucasus, 310-11. ‖ *Id.*, 311. ¶ Erskine's Baber, xlv., note.

of Weis Khan, when after his father's death he took to robbery, uses the word kazaki. The term was also applied specially to the hired soldiery employed by the various appanaged princes in Russia. Thus we read of Cossacks of Riazan,* Cossacks of Ustiuge, etc.† Similarly, we read of Kazaks of Gorodetz or Kasimof,‡ and Abulghazi speaks of the vagabond soldiery in the service of the princes of Urgenj as Kazaks.§

We thus see that the term "kazak" has in its origin no ethnic value. We have now to consider how it came to be applied as a race name to those who are often called Kirghiz Kazaks (they are called Kirghiz by the Bashkirs, while I believe the Great Horde is also so called by the other Kazaks), but who are now properly known as Kazaks. This has been explained for us by Haidar, the author of the Tarikhi Rashidi. He tells us how on the death of Abulkhair the Ulus of the Uzbegs fell into confusion, and how many repaired to Girai Khan and Janibeg Khan, the representatives of the White Horde, to the number of 20,000 persons, and how they thus got the name of *Kazak* Uzbegs; and he afterwards refers to the same tribes merely as the Kazaks. Their history from this time can be followed out in detail.|| Before this date no reference is made to any such race so far as I can make out, and it is in every way certain that they so called themselves at this time, as being fugitives and vagabonds, *par excellence*, and that the name as a *race*-name is no older than the second half of the fifteenth century. Before this the greater part of the so-called Kazaks constituted the "White Horde," subject to Orda Ichen and his descendants, from whom, as we shall show, the chieftains of the modern Kazaks claim to descend.

As I have said, they call themselves Kazaks, and by this name they are known to the Persians, Bukharians, and Khivans, while the Chinese soften the k, and call them Khassaki, and also Hakas. I will now give a list of their divisions. They are, in the first place, divided into three sections, respectively known as ulugh iuz, urta iuz, and kichik iuz, *i.e.*, the Great, Middle, and Little Hordes, iuz meaning literally a hundred or a century,¶ and being applied to a horde, as the Mongols apply the terms minggan, tuman, etc.

Originally, we are told, the Great Horde comprised the three sections of Uisun or Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam. Eventually, the horde of Kunkurad or Kungrad detached itself from the Middle Horde, and joined it.

The Middle Horde consists of the four sections named, Arghin, Naiman, Kipchak, and Uvak-Girai.

The Little Horde originally comprised the powerful tribe of Alchin, with seven petty clans, who were united into one tribe by Tiavka, in order to protect them from the aggressions of their neighbours. They were

* Karamzin, v., 476. † *Id.*, viii., 125. ‡ Vel. Zernof, i., note 99, etc.
§ Op. cit. 247. || *Vide infra*, chap. viii. ¶ Levchine, 150, note.

given the name of Semirodsk, *i.e.*, the seven tribes, while the Alchin tribe was itself divided into two branches known respectively as the Alimuli and the Baiuly.*

I will now enumerate the names and habitats of the smaller divisions of the Kazaks as given by Levchine, etc.

I.—THE LITTLE HORDE.

The tribe of *Alimuli* consists of six divisions, called Kara Sakal, Kara Kissiek, Kitié, Dort-Kara, Chumekei, and Chikly. When Levchine wrote, it encamped in winter on the Sir, the Kuvan, the dried up bed of the Jany Daria, on the sands of Karakum and Burzuk, and at the mouth of the Yemba. A small section lived on the Ilek, the Or, and the Ural, from the fort of Krasnogorsk as far as Verkhni Ozernaia. Their summer camps were on the rivers Temir, Yemba, Saghiz, Uil, Ilek, Khobda, Or, and Irghiz, in the hills of Mugojar, and the Karakum sands. The tribe of *Baiuli* is divided into twelve sections, and comprises the clans of Adai, Cherkes, Tana, Baibakti, Shikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-kurt Issen-Témir, a part of that of Jappas, and the greater part of those of Alacha, Tazlar, and Bersch. All nomadised over-against the fortified line of the Lower Ural passed the summer between the Ural and the Yemba, near the lakes of Karakul, and the rivers Kuldaghaiti, Buldurti, Ulenti, Jusali, Chungurlaou, Ankati, and Uilu, as far as Khobda; the winter on the Caspian, at the mouths of the Ural and the Yemba, and near Gurief. A part of the tribe Adai lived at Mangushlak; the sections Tazlar, Alacha, and Bersch on the Sir, the Kuvan, and the Karakum sands. The greater part of the Yappas encamped in summer on the Tobol, and the Turgai opposite Troitsk, and in winter on the Sir and the Kuvan.† As we shall see later on,‡ a part of the Baiulis detached themselves about 1801 and 1802, under their leader Bukei, and settled in the government of Astrakhan, and in the district of Rin Peski. Wahl says the emigrants originally numbered 1,500 kibitkas, which number rapidly increased, amounted in 1820 to upwards of 7,500, and in 1862 to 25,000 kibitkas, or upwards of 100,000 souls. Their number would be still larger had it not been for the disastrous winter of 1822, when the whole steppe was turned to ice, and frightful snow-storms and icy blasts destroyed all animal life. The losses of the horde during that dreadful season amounted to 280,000 horses, 73,000 head of cattle, and 1,000,000 sheep. Overwhelmed with terror they fled into the Government of Saratof, but have been quietly settled again in their old territory since 1863.

The *Semirodsk*, or *Seven Tribes*, comprise the Tabin, Tama, Kerderi, Jagal-Baiuli, Kerait, Tiliaou, and Ramadan. They for the most part wintered near the Irghiz, the Or, the Kumak, the Sugunduk, and the hills of Karacha. They passed the summer near the Russian frontier between the forts of Verkhni Ozernaia and Verkhni Uralsk, and thence southwards

* Levchine, 302-4. † *Id.*, 304-6. ‡ *Vide infra*, 671.

to the Irghiz. The winter camps of the clans Kerder and Tama were on the Ural between Orenburg and Uralsk; and their summer ones, on the Donghuz, Khobda, Kanlis, and Ilek.

The greater part of the clan Tabin camped near the two preceding tribes, another portion on the Tobol, Sir, Kuvan, and Yemba, while the rest lived with the Middle Horde on the Issel, Chu, and the sands of Aremetei. The clan Kerait wintered on the Sir, and passed its summer on the Irghiz and the mountains of Karacha and Troitsk.

The clans of Tilief or Tilieou, and Ramadan, wintered on the Sir and Kuvan, near the Keraits, and summered on the Turgai, and in the neighbourhood of lake Urkach-Kandikli.*

II.—THE MIDDLE HORDE.

The tribe or division *Arghin*, comprises the sections Kara Kissiek, Karavul-Kissiek, Charjitim, Janjar, Chakchak, Dort-Avul, Atigai, Altai, Tebich, Tabakli, Borchi, Karpak, Bassantien, Aghich-Kalkaman, Kanjigali, Koziugan, and Kukshal. These clans, according to Levchine, lived near the mountains Ulugh, Boyan-ula, Ireimen, Kizil, Kuyucha, Mukcha, and the districts of Uch-Burlik, Kilchakti, Uch-Kundan, Bikchentei, and the banks of the Turgai, Nura, Tobol, Irtish, Sarisu, Ishim, Issel, Ubagan, Ulkoiak, and Ayati, the sands of Kara Tussun, and the borders of the lakes Kizil, Kurjan, Tiba, and Bishkun.†

The *Naimans* comprised the clans of Akbura (*i e.*, White Wolf), Bulachi, Kara-Girai, Tirs-Tamgali, Dort-Avul, Kuk-Jarli, Irghiniekli, Semis-Baganali (*i.e.*, possessors of fat lambs), and Sadir. The greater part of the Naimans lived in the mountains of Tarbagatai, the Upper Irtish, and other places on the Chinese frontier; the remainder on the upper Ishim, the Turgai, Kara Uziek, Sir, Kuvan, Lap-su, Kuk-su, the borders of the lake Ak, and the mountains of Ulugh, Kichi, etc.‡

The *Kipchaks* comprised the clans of Tori-Aighyr, Tuiuchka, Kitabak, Bultun, Karabalik, Kundelien, Tana-Buga, Uzun, and Kuk-Boron. They lived on the Issel, the Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Munyunli, and Uya, near the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust Uiskoi; and on the sands of Karakum, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagai, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekli.§

The *Uvak-Girais* consist of the clans Uvak, Girai or Kirai, and Tarakli. They nomadised on the rivers Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzac, Irtish, Issel, Sari Su, and Chu; on the sands of Ich-Kungur, in the neighbourhood of lake Kechubai-Charkar, and near the fortified line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho Uralsk; and also near the forts of Zuerinogolofskoi and Presnogorkofskoi.

III.—THE GREAT HORDE.

The lesser divisions of the Great Horde comprise the clans of Botboi, Chimir, Janis or Yanish, Sik-Am, Abdai Suvanc, Sara-Suli, Chanish-Kili,

* Levchine, 307. † *Id.* ‡ *Id.*, 303-8. § *Id.*

Kanli or Kankli, Jelair, etc. The tribe of Kungrad, which, as I said, joined the Great Horde in recent times, includes the clans of Bailar-Janjar, Uras Gheldi, Kuljegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulad, Iman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, and Kuyush-Kansiz. These various clans of the Great Horde wandered on the rivers Chu, Tala-Su, Ilé, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Sir, Sari-Su, near lakes Kara, Ala, Al-Su, Anamas, and in the towns of Kulja Kashkar, Khokand, Tashkend, Turkestan, near the mountains Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, Chinghiz-Tsazan, and in the district known as the Seven Rivers, as well as in other places on the borders of China, and in the old country of the Sungars. One portion of the Kungrads lived in these localities, and another encamped with the Naimans.*

In enumerating these sections of the Kazaks, we must not forget that they comprise smaller divisions, and these again still smaller ones, which are constantly altering in name, etc., so that the hierarchy of the various sectional divisions would require almost a volume to illustrate it. We will now turn to—

The *Uzbegs*. First, as to their name. Here I have to break a lance with Professor Gregorief, for whom I entertain the profoundest respect, and to whose wide researches and learning I am greatly indebted. In a fierce criticism of Mr. Vambery's History of Bukhara, much of which is, if severe, at all events unanswerable, he pours words of scorn upon those who derive the name of the Uzbeg confederacy from Uzbeg, the great chief of the Golden Horde. Nevertheless, the view so denounced I think is supported by irrefragable evidence. M. Gregorief denies that it is the custom of the Turks to name their tribes after noted heroes. I can hardly understand this phrase. If we go back to legendary times, we shall find that Oghuz, Kipchak, etc., are stated by the Turkish genealogists to have given their names to the tribes they governed ; but we need not go back so far. Assuredly the Seljuki and the Osmanli among the greater Turk races and the various lesser clans of Turkomans are instances of this practice ; while, if we turn to the Golden Horde, we shall find it even more the case. The Bereke Tartars are so called not only by Marco Polo, but by Abulfeda, and were so named from Bereke Khan. The Nogais are another instance in point, while the various tribes of Nogais are notoriously named from their founders as separate and substantive tribes ; so is it with a considerable number of the lesser clans among the Kazaks and Uzbegs.

Again, Professor Gregorief says the name Uzbeg does not occur till the second half of the fifteenth century, a hundred years after the death of Uzbeg. Sherif ud din, the historian of Timur, completed his famous Zefer Nameh in 1424, and was a contemporary of Timur ; he distinctly speaks of Idiku as Idiku the Uzbeg, and of the Kipchaks as Uzbegs.†

This shows us that the name was in use much earlier than M. Gregorief says. His third argument is that Uzbeg did not rule over the tribes called

* Levchine, 303-8.

† Charmoy, Mems., St. Pet. Acad., iii., 364; Sherif ud din, iii., 34.

Uzbegs. So far as we know, he was acknowledged as their over chief by all the tribes of the Ulus of Juchi Khan, and his coins are found minted at all the towns in the Horde which up to his date had struck money.

I cannot, therefore, see any good reason for rejecting the very natural and current account that the Uzbegs were so named from the Great Uzbeg Khan, while the etymology of Uzbeg generally suggested in lieu of this derivation, namely, from Uz, self, and bek, bek,* is exceedingly improbable and far-fetched.

Abulghazi tells us that Uzbeg converted his subjects to the Mussulman faith, and it was due to him that all the inhabitants of the land became converts to Islam, and that the Il of Juchi adopted his name, which it would retain till the day of judgment.† The name Uzbeg, therefore, like that of Kazak, is a comparatively recent name, and does not date back further than the reign of Uzbeg Khan, who died in 1340. Klaproth tells us the Uzbegs are divided into four main divisions, namely, the Uighur-Naiman, Kangli-Kipchak, Kiat-Kungrad, and Nokus-Mangut.‡

The following table of the various branches of the Uzbegs was taken from a work entitled "Nassed Nameti Uzbekia," by Khanikof:—

1. Mangut.	1. Juk-Mangut.	
2. Ming.	2. Ak-Mangut.	
3. Yuz.	3. Kara-Mangut.	
4. Kirk		
5. Ung.		
6. Ungachit.		
7. Jilair.		
8. Sarai.		
9. Kungrad.	I. Kanjagali.	1. Urus.
		2. Kara-Kursak.
		3. Chullik.
		4. Kuyan.
		5. Kuldauli.
		6. Miltek.
		7. Kurtughi.
		8. Galé.
		9. Tup Kara.
		10. Kara.
		11. Kara-bura.
		12. Nogai.
		13. Bilkelik.
		14. Dustnik.
	II. Omli.	1. Ax-Tana.
		2. Kara.
		3. Churan.
		4. Turkmen.
		5. Kuuk.
		6. Bishbala.
		7. Kara-kalpak.
		8. Kachai.
		9. Haj-becha.

* Schuyler, i., 106. † Op. cit., 184. ‡ See Polyglotta, 218.

III. Kushtamgali.

1. Kul-abi.
2. Barmak.
3. Kujahur.
4. Kul.
5. Chuburgan.
6. Karakalpak-Kushtamgali.
7. Saferbiz.
8. Dilberi.
9. Chachakli.

IV. Yaktamgali.

1. Tartugu.
2. Aga-maili.
3. Ishikali.
4. Kizin-Zili.
5. Uyugli.
6. Bukajli.
7. Kaigali.

V. Kir.

1. Juzili.
2. Kusauli.
3. Tirs.
4. Balikli.
5. Kuba.

10. Yelchin.
11. Arghun.
12. Naiman.
13. Kipchak.
14. Chichak.
15. Aurat.
16. Kalmak.
17. Kar-tu.
18. Burlak.
19. Buslak.
20. Samarchim.
21. Katagan.
22. Kalechi.
23. Kunegaz.
24. Butrek.
25. Uzoi.
26. Kabat.
27. Khitai.
28. Kangli.
29. Uz.
30. Chuplechi.
31. Chupchi.
32. Utarchi.
33. Upulechi.
34. Julun.
35. Jid.
36. Juyut.
37. Chil Juyut.
38. Bui-Maut.
39. Ui-Maut.
40. Aralat.
41. Kireit.
42. Ungut.
43. Kangit.
44. Khaleuat.
45. Masad.
46. Murkut.
47. Berkuut.
48. Kuralas.
49. Uglan.
50. Kari.
51. Arab.
52. Ulechi.
53. Julegan.
54. Kishlik.
55. Ghedoi.
56. Turkmen.
57. Durmen.
58. Tabin.
59. Tama.
60. Rindan.
61. Mumin.
62. Uishun.
63. Beroi.
64. Hafiz.
65. Kinghiz.
66. Uiruchi.
67. Juiret.
68. Buzachi.
69. Sihtiyan.
70. Betash.
71. Yagrini.
72. Shuldur.
73. Tumai.
74. Tleu.
75. Kirdar.
76. Kirkin.
77.
78. Uglan.
79. Gurlet.
80. Iglan.
81. Chilkes.
82. Uigur.
83. Aghir.
84. Yabu.
85. Narghil.
86. Yuzak.
87. Kahet.
88. Nachar.
89. Kujalik.
90. Buzan.
91. Shirin.
92. Bakhrin.
93. Tume.
94. Nikuz.
95. Mugul.
96. Kayaan.
97. Tatar.

In regard to the localities occupied by the principal of these tribes, Khanikof says the Manguts live partly near Karshi and partly near Bukhara, while others of them, especially the elder branches, have established themselves in both these towns. The Khan of Bukhara's family, as we shall see, belongs to this stock. The Khitais are settled between Bukhara and Kermineh; the Naimans live near Ziyan ud din; the Kipchaks between Katta Kurghan and Samarkand; the Sarai near the road leading from Samarkand to Karshi; the Kungrads partly in Karshi, and partly between that town and the mountains of Shehri sebz; the Turkmen on the Amu Daria; the Arabet between Karshi and Bukhara; the Buzachi near Buzachi, between the same places; the Durmans in and near Khijuvan; the Yabu partly nomadise near Bukhara and partly with the Khitai Naimans in Miankal; the Jid and Juyut are partly settled on the Amu Daria, and partly wander about with the Turkmen; the Betash are all settled near Bukhara; the Bakhrin in Miankal.* To this enumeration of Khanikof's I ought to add that made by Vambery, who tells us the Uzbegs are divided into thirty-two principal taife or tribes, viz., the Kungrad, Kipchak, Khitai, Manghit or Mangut, Nöks, Naiman, Kulan, Kiet, Az, Taz, Sayat, Jagatai, Uighur, Akbet, Durmen, Ushun, Kanjigali, Nogai, Balgali, Miten, Jelair, Keneguz, Kanli, Ishkili, Bagurlu, Alchin, Achmaili, Karakursak, Birkulak, Tirkish, Kettekeser, and Ming.†

As I have said, Haidar calls the Kazaks, Uzbeg Kazaks, suggesting that both confederacies were closely related. This appears more vividly when we examine the tribal names comprising each. Thus—

Uzbeg tribes.	Kazak tribes.
Kungrad.	Kungrad, a tribe of the Great Horde.
Kipchak.	Kipchak, a division of the Middle Horde.
Khitai.	Kitie, a clan of the Little Horde.
Naiman.	Naiman, a division of the Middle Horde.
Oshün.	Uzun and Usiun tribes of the Middle and Great Horde respectively.
Taz.	Tazlar, a tribe of the Little Horde.
Uighur.	Tori Uighur, a clan of the Middle Horde.
Kanjigali.	Kanjigali, a clan of the Middle Horde.
Jelair.	Jelair, a tribe of the Great Horde.
Kanli.	Kanli or Kankli, a tribe of the Great Horde.
Ich kili.	Chan ich kili, a tribe of the Great Horde.
Alchin.	Alchin, the main tribe of the Little Horde.

These lists will show that the confederacies were composed largely of common elements, but we must not exaggerate this fact too much and mistake a result due to the disintegrating and re-welding process

* Bokhara, by De Bode, 74-8.

† Vambery, Travels in Central Asia, 345-6, note.

which went on during the Mongol domination for an initial identity. When we examine the tribal names of the two confederacies closely, we shall find not only that they consist of very heterogeneous elements, but that these elements are separable into two main branches, those which inhabited the Kipchak before the Mongol invasion, and those who migrated thither in consequence of it. The great ethnological fact underlying the history we are dealing with is the thrusting of the Turkish community westwards. Before the Mongol period the Turks occupied all Sungaria, and (as we showed in the notes to the former volume) all the so-called Mongolian desert as far as the borders of Manchuria, the Mongols being confined to the country round Lake Baikal and to Dauria. The great effect of the Mongol conquests was to push the Turks out of the eastern part of their former country, and to drive them very largely into the west. A large portion of these more eastern Turks probably formed the Ulus of Ogotai and his family. When this ulus was broken up and destroyed, they seem to have migrated, or were perhaps driven by the advancing Kalmuks into the steppes of Kipchak. It was apparently in the main these new subjects who were converted by Uzbeg Khan, and who adopted his name. Let us examine this position somewhat more closely.

If we turn to the Uzbegs we shall find that two out of the four main divisions into which they fall belong to this category of immigrants, namely, the so-called Naiman-Uighurs and the Kiat Kungrads, while the Naimans, the Uvak Girais in the Middle Horde, and the Kungrads in the Great Horde among the Kazaks fall within the same class. If we examine the minor divisions of the race, as given by Klaproth, Khanikof, etc., we shall find a large number of names, such as Jelair, Khitai, etc., which also belong to this immigrant section. Now, it is curious that Levchine, in describing the origin of the Kazaks, tells us distinctly that the Kipchaks, the Naimans, the Kungrads or Kunkurats, the Jelairs, and the Kanklis, the Durmans and Karluks, formed no part of their race originally.* This confirms the view arrived at above from different data. We will now consider briefly these immigrant tribes.

To what I said of the Naimans, the Jelairs, the Durmans, and the Uighurs in the former volume I have nothing to add. The Naimans (as I there showed), at the accession of Jingis Khan, dominated over Northern Sungaria, from the Irtish as far as Karakorum. The Jelairs and Durmans were Turkish tribes living among the Mongols, while the Uighurs lived at the well-known Bishbaligh and its neighbourhood.

The conclusion I came to in that volume in regard to the Keraits has been strengthened by further consideration. I have no doubt that they were Turks and not Mongols. I ought here to mention that they occur in the pages of Haidar. In describing one of Timur's campaigns, he

* Op. cit., 138.

tells us that he sent Behram the Jelair, Khitai Behadur, and Sheikh Ali Behadur to the territory of Almatu. They engaged the Kerayets, *i.e.*, the Keraits, on the river Aishek Khatun. The t in Kerait is merely the Mongol plural, and the tribe still survives in Eastern Sungaria, under the name of Girai or Kirai. I have little doubt it also survives in the Uvak Girais of the Middle Horde.

The Kunkurats form such a notable factor in Mongol history, and one hitherto so neglected, that we may be pardoned for adding a few lines to our former account of them. Rashid ud din says expressly they sprang from the two people who came out of Irgene Kun, *i.e.* (in his legendary history of the origin of the Mongols), from Kian and Nokus.* The story went that before they left there they trampled on the hearths of the other tribes, whence the Kunkurads suffered greatly from pains in their feet caused by their having been burnt. As they migrated sooner than the Mongols, the latter in former times had been greatly at issue with them, and hated them. They themselves reported that they were sprung from "Bestui Zerrin," *i.e.*, the Golden Vase, which story Erdmann compares with that of the Golden bowl of Targitaos, etc. He argues that the tale is compounded of the notion of the noble Kumis bowl and the mountain-girdled valley of Irgene Kun.† Bestui Zerrin is said to have had three sons—Jurluk Mergen, the ancestor of the Kunkurads proper; Kabai Shireh, who had two sons, named Angiras and Olkhonud, the ancestors of the Angirasses and the Olkhonuds; and Tusbudau, who had two sons, named Karanut and Kungeliut. The latter, we are told, married his father's widow, by whom he had a son named Miser Ulug, who also married his father's widow, and by her had a son, Kurulas, whence sprang the tribe of the Kurulas. Miser Ulug afterwards married a Khitaian, by whom he had a son, Iljigin, the stem father of the tribe of the same name.‡ The interesting thing for us, of course, about the Kunkurads is that the Mongols trace the descent of their Imperial house from them.

Burtechino, the wolf-ancestor of the Mongol imperial stock, we are told, was a descendant of Kian, and belonged to the tribe Kurulas.§ The Kurulas, as we said, were a branch of the Kunkurads. Rashid ud din several times tells us that Alung Goa, who was the real ancestress of the Mongol Khans, belonged to the same tribe of the Kurulas,‖ whence it follows that the Mongol Khans were descended from the Turkish tribe of the Kunkurads. When we come down to later times, we find that the Mongol sovereigns constantly chose their principal wives from among the Kunkurads. Thus, Kabul Khan married Goa Gulka, who was a Kunkurat.¶ Yissugei married Ulun Egeh, or Oghelen Eka, who was an Olkhonud.** Temujin's chief wife, Burte Fujin, was also an Olkhonud.

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* Erdmann Temujin, 197. † *Id.*, 170, 197, 198. ‡ *Id.*, 201, 202. § Abulghazi, 33.
‖ *Id.*, 64, note 3, by Des Màisons. ¶ Erdmann Temujin, 170. ** *Id.*, 253.

The "Yuen chao pi shi" says she was of the tribe Unghir, *i.e.*, a corruption of Kungur, or Kunkur, and that her father enlarged to Yessugei, on the fact that it had been customary for the Mongol princes to marry the beautiful daughters of his house. This is also said by Ssanang Setsen.* The beautiful wife of Khubilai Khan, Jabun Khatun, was a Kunkurat.† Another of his wives, Nembui Khatun, was also a Kunkurat, as was Katakash, the wife of the Kutchu, son of Ogotai and Bulughan Khatun, the wife of the Ilkhan Gazan, etc.‡ On the other hand, three of Jingis Khan's five daughters, named Kujin Bigi, Tumalun, and Altalun, married respectively the Kurulat, Huladai Gurgan, the Kunkurat, Shenggu Gurgan, and the Olkhonud, Javer Sagan.§ Again, the soubriquet of Kiat, borne by the Imperial house among the Mongols, is also closely connected with the Kunkurats, who, as we have seen in the legend, are not only deduced from Kian or Kiat, but we actually find to this day that one of the four main divisions of the Uzbegs is called Kiat Kungrad. The Kungrads again are deemed at Khiva the senior and most noble tribe. All these facts concur in making it pretty certain that the Mongol rulers were in fact descended from the royal house among the Kunkurads.

A question which remains is as to the district occupied by this race. I have discussed this question in the former volume, with an unsatisfactory result, having no other authority, practically, but Rashid ud din. Since writing it, however, I have been able to cousult the "Yuen chao pi shi."

In note 69 to this work Palladius tells us that it is stated in the life of Dai Setzen, the father-in-law of Jingis Khan, as told in the Yuen Shi, that the Kunkurads lived in the place called Kulehrundurgin and Dalai Nur, and on the river Yehligun. Dalai Nur is the well known lake into which the Kerulon falls, and Yehligun is assuredly the Chinese transcription of the Argun, the river that flows out of the Dalai lake. In regard to the other name, Undur in Mongol means hill or elevation,‖ and Kulehr may perhaps be a form of Kerulon, the l and r being transposed. This, then, would make the home land of the Kunkurads on Lake Dalai, the Lower Kerulon, and the Argun. In confirmation of this, I may mention that the Chinese author translated by Gaubil makes Potu or Botu, the chief of the Inkirasses, live on the river Ergoné, *i.e.*, the Argun.¶ When Temujin set out to bring his wife home from her father's yurt, we are told in the Yuen chao pi shi that he went down the Kerulon. All this is conclusive as to the position of the Kunkurads, and we have only to reconcile it with the statement of Rashid ud din. As D'Ohsson says, Rashid uses the term ongu very loosely; sometimes he applies it to the Inshan mountains and to the great wall which separates

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* *Ante*, i., 50. † Erdmann, op. cit., 200. ‡ *Id.*, 200-3.
§ Erdmann, op. cit., 445. ‖ D'Ohssen, i., 82, note. ¶ Op. cit., 3.

China from Mongolia, at other times to the Khingan range, which separates Manchuria from Mongolia.* He doubtless treats Manchuria as a part of China, which it in fact was, during the domination of the Kin dynasty, who ruled it during the reign of Jingis Khan. He also gives the name of Jai *Alchia* to the same Khingan range; and in another place mentions "Alchia Kungur, which was formerly the winter quarters of the Kunkurads." D'Ohsson points out that a river Kungur, which springs in the Khingan range, is marked by D'Anville as falling into Lake Taal, about N.L. 43. I may add that the river Olkui, which is marked as springing from the same range somewhat further north, not improbably gave its name to the Olkhonuds, one of the divisions of the Kunkurads. I have little doubt, therefore, that the Kunkurads occupied the eastern and north-eastern part of Mongolia, west of the Khingan chain, and including the environs of the Dalai or Kulun Lake and the river Argun, being thus planted between the Mongols and the Tartars properly so called. Let us now return once more westwards.

Having discarded the various tribes which invaded and settled in the Kipchak during the Mongol domination, let us try and realise the condition of things there before that event. The Kazaks, as we have seen, were in the main the White Horde, under another name. The White Horde occupied the country of the lower Sir, the Chu, and the Talas. If we are to credit the express statement of Carpini, who travelled through the country, Orda, the founder of the White Horde, had a yurt east of Imil. It would seem, in fact, that his portion was largely conterminous with the empire of Kara Kitai, which was probably his father's ulus, and that the modern Kazaks are largely the descendants of the Kara Khitaians, whence we still find the name Khitai surviving as a clan-name in the steppes of Kipchak.

The Kara Khitaians, however, had only a short-lived empire; they had succeeded to the former power of the Turkish sovereigns of Turkestan, called the Ilkhanids, and who have been shown by Professor Gregorief to have been Karluks. The name Karluk survived as that of a tribe even down to the time of Jingis Khan, but in its wider and earlier sense it included the various tribes which obeyed the old Turkish sovereigns at Balasaghun and Almaligh, who were, as I believe, the ancestors of the Kazaks. These Karluks were called the Lion Hoei hu, or Lion Uighurs of Kashgar, by the Chinese. Their supremacy only dates from the ninth century; before that date the older Turks dominated in the valleys of the Talas and the Chu. The Turks, who were ruled over by princes, descended from the half-mythical Afrasiab. These Turks were, I believe, driven out by the Karluks when the latter founded their power. They then moved southwards into Transoxiana, and further south still towards

the borders of India, where they are well known as Khilj, Kalladjis, etc. Let us now revert again to the Uzbegs. When we have discarded from our consideration the various tribes who, as we have seen, joined the Uzbegs under the influence of the Mongols, we shall have remaining two principal divisions, namely, the Nokuz Manguts and the Kangli Kipchaks. The former of these we have already considered. Let us now turn to the latter.

The Kipchaks, who gave their name to the Khanate, and who were a very important element in its population, have a history which is very obscure and difficult to unravel. One section of them who lived west of the Volga, and who were known as Comans to the Western writers, have already occupied us in the former volume, and we need say no more about them, but east of the Volga there was another section which has been much neglected. These were the ancestors of the Kipchaks, who now form such an important element in the population of Khokand and Mavera un Nehr. As we have seen, the Kazaks treat them as strangers to their confederacy, and they formed doubtless the original nucleus of the Horde of Sheiban, brother of Batu. Where did they live? We have no absolute statements on the subject, and can only reach an answer by a process of exhaustion. The Kankalis, as we shall see, occupied the steppes north of the Aral, from the Volga as far east as the Sarisu. The country east of the Volga on the Middle and Upper Jaik and further east was, as we have seen, in all probability occupied by the Pechenegs and Manguts, and we are driven to find a habitat for the Kipchaks in the country north and north-west of the Balkhash Lake, where the Middle Horde of the Kazaks has its camping ground, and where the Horde of Sheiban apparently had its focus. These Eastern Kipchaks lived beyond the region easily accessible to Arab traders, and we consequently find hardly any mention of them in the writings of Arab geographers. They are probably referred to, however, in an obscure passage of the Nubian geographer Edrisi, in the 9th section of his description of the 6th climate, under the name of Khafshakh.* These Kipchaks no doubt formed a substantive power of their own before they were attacked by the Mongols. There is a very interesting passage in the Yuen shi which I believe refers to them, and which is so valuable as dealing with an exceedingly obscure district that I shall take the liberty of extracting it from Mr. Bretschneider's very valuable work. The passage is contained in the 128th chapter of the Yuen shi, in the biography of Tu tu ha (? Toktoghu), who was a prince of the Kincha (the Chinese form of Kipchak). It reads thus: "The ancestors of the people of Kincha originally dwelt north of Wuping, on the river Jelien, near the mountain Andahan. Kuchu emigrated to the north-west, to the mountain called Yuliboli, and this name was then adopted for the

* Op. cit., ed. Jaubert, ii., 416.

reigning family. Kuchu had a son Somona, who also had a son Inosze; they were all hereditary princes of Kincha. When Jingis was at war with the Mieliki (Merkits), the prince Huodu fled to Kincha. Jingis demanded his delivery, which was refused, when the emperor gave orders to attack Kincha. When Inosze became old, his realm was troubled by insurrection; and his son Hulusuman then determined to send envoys to Jingis, and offered his submission. Mengko (Mangu, subsequently emperor) received orders to occupy Kincha. Hulusuman's son Banducha surrendered with his people. Black mare's milk, which is very pleasant to the taste, used to be sent from Kincha to the Court of China; whence the Kincha were called also Halachi. Tutuha, whose biography is found in the Yuen shi, was a son of Banducha. He died in 1279. His son Chuangwur, who died in 1322, was also a renowned general; and his son Yientiemur* was a Minister of China, 1328-1333; Yientiemur's brother Santun was also minister, as was Santun's son likewise."†

A few words will suffice for the consideration of the Kankalis, to whom we devoted a paragraph in the former volume.‡ I have there identified them with the Nogais, and this is partially correct. We still have among the Nogais clans with the names of Chushan-Kangli, and Kabil-*Kagle*-Agakli; § in the same way, as we have seen, some of the Pecheneg tribes were also Kankalis, and the most probable solution of the question is, either that the Kankalis actually invaded the west, together with the Manguts, or that they derived their name, which means cart or araba, from some mixture with them. A few words on their name of Kanklis may not be inopportune.

In describing the war of Oghuz Khan against the Tartars, Abulghazi says that he had not sufficient sumpter-beasts on which to carry off his booty, whereupon a brave boy who was with his army invented a cart. His example was followed by the whole army. To these carts they gave the name of kank. They were previously unknown, as was their name. They produced when in motion a sound resembling kank-kank, whence this name. The inventor of the cart was thereupon called Kankli, and from him were descended the Kanklis or Kankalis.‖ It will be noted as a remarkable fact, and one referred to by Erdmann, that the Kankalis are treated as the allies rather than as the subjects of Oghuz Khan.¶ Dr. Schott says that among several tribes of Siberia a cart is still known as kanga.**

Let us now consider another curious fact in the biography of Buhuman, a Kankali chief, which is given in the Yuen shi. In this it is expressly said that the Kankalis derived their origin from the Kaokiu, a people

* See his special biography in chap. cxxxviii. † Bretschneider, op. cit., 174-5.
‡ *Ante*, vol. i., 18, 19. § Asia, Polyglotta, 219, 220.
‖ Op. cit., 17. ¶ Erdmann Temujin, 499.
** Chinesische Nachrichten ueber di Kanggar, etc., Mems. Berlin Acad., 1844, 154, note.

mentioned in the Han history.* This people is also and more frequently called Kaoché, the particle ché also being read as kiu. Kaoché means in Chinese high cart, and Dr. Bretschneider tells us further that in the history of the Wei (*i.e.*, in the 5th century of our era), the name of this people is explained by the high wheels they used to put on their carts.† Remusat also tells us that kaoché in Chinese means the same thing as kankali in Turkish.‡ This is, therefore, a complete proof that the Kankalis were in fact of the same race as the Kaoché. I would mention parenthetically that Von Hammer tells us the Chinese kaoché is the same as the Turkish kochi and the English coach.§ I have sufficient sins of my own to answer for without being responsible for all Von Hammer's etymologies, but this one certainly seems reasonable and interesting.

The Kaoché are well known in Chinese history. The name is a synonym, in fact, for the Uighurs, which is another proof of the connection, direct or indirect, of the Kankalis with the Eastern Turks. Among the shreds of the Kankalis who escaped the Mongol arms was a small tribe called Kayi or Kiat Kangli, which dwelt at Mahan, near Merv. On the Mongol approach, they retired westward into the district of Akhlatt, in Armenia. Eight years later, when the Mongols appeared there, they again retired into Asia Minor. Their chief was named Ertogrul. He and his people, consisting of about 440 families, obtained the grant of a district near Angora, from the Seljuk Sultan of Rum, and he was given the title of Uj Bey, or Margrave. He was the father of the famous Othman or Osman, the founder of the Ottoman Empire.‖ So that the Ottomans proper, the original nucleus of the race, were Kankalis.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus calls the Kankalis, Kangar. Of this name, Kangkiu is the natural Chinese transcription, a change which may be compared with that of the Latin conclusum into the Italian conchiuso;¶ and Kangkiu is, in fact, a name applied to the Kankalis by the Chinese, as De Guignes long ago showed. Now, in Schmidt's criticism of Von Hammer's "Golden Horde," we are told that among all the peoples of Central Asia, Mongols as well as Turks, the Osmanli to this day are known as Khangar.** This is a curious confirmation of the fact that the nucleus of their race was the small tribe of Kayi Kangli, who left Khorassan on the invasion of the Mongols. In a small Chinese book published in 1777, and entitled "Si in wen kian lo," is a curious account of the Russians, who, we are told, were then governed by a female khan. They are described as having been at war in the twentieth year of Kien lung, *i.e.*, in 1755, with the Kanggar, which Schott agrees

* Bretschneider, Notices of Med. Geog. and Hist., 74, note 143.
† *Id.*
‡ Recherches sur les Langues Tartares, 315.
§ Golden Horde, 17, note 2.
‖ D'Ohsson, i., 293, 294.
¶ Schott, op. cit., 154, note.
** Golden Horde, 608.

with Schmidt is the name by which the Osmanli are now known in Central Asia.* The account is very quaint in its details, and makes the war terminate by the Russians becoming tributary to the Kanggar, and having to submit to pay an annual tribute of 500 boys and 500 girls to the victors. All this is the manufacture of Chinese patriotism, nor does the date seem to be correct; but the account, as Schott says, doubtless refers to the war which the Empress Catharine fought against the Turks, in the years 1769 to 1774, and which ended in the peace so disastrous for the latter, secured by the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarja.†

Let us now condense the result of our inquiry. It would seem then that at the time of the Mongol invasion the valleys of the Chu and the Talas were occupied by certain tribes once subject to the famous dynasty of the Karluk Khans, and later to the Khans of Kara Khitai. These tribes are now mainly represented by the Kazaks. West of them, in the steppes north of the Aral, and wandering as far as the Volga, were the Kankalis. West of them again, in the steppes of southern Russia, were the Comans, a section of the Kipchaks proper. The other section of the Kipchaks lived to the north and north-west of the Balkhash lake, in the present country of the Middle Horde of the Kazaks. West of them, and on the Middle Yaik and the Yemba, were the Pechenegs, Manguts, or Karakalpaks. To the north of the latter were the Bashkirs, who did not form any substantive community during the Mongol domination, and who were, as I have shown elsewhere,‡ closely related to the Magyars and to the Meshkeriaks of eastern Russia, and to the Uzes of the Byzantine authors.

A few words, in conclusion, on the present condition of the various Tartar Hordes. The Uzbegs, as we have seen, have practically left the Kipchak steppes altogether, and are now living in the country of Mavera un Nehr, in Turkestan, and in Khuarezm. Those who remain in Turan are represented partially by the Siberian Tartars, who live chiefly in the governments of Tobolsk and Tomsk. The Tobolsk Tartars take their name from the river Tobol, on which and its tributaries they are chiefly found. The Tartar inhabitants of the city of Tobolsk itself are chiefly of Bukharian descent. When Georgi wrote they numbered about 4,000 men, and lived in villages of from ten to fifty houses. They were Muhammedans, and practised agriculture, as well as being herdsmen.§

Latham says they are found about Tiumen, on the Tura, and also about Tara, on the Irtish, and are divided into six tribes, the Osta, Ali, Kundei, Sarga, Tav, and Otus.||

The Tomsk Tartars live in villages on the river Tom, from its sources in the mountains of Kusnezk to its outfall into the Ob. The Tartars of

* Schott, op. cit., 156. † *Id.*, 158.

‡ Geographical Magazine, iv. Author's paper on the Uzes, Torks, or Magyars.

§ Beschreibung Alt. Nat., etc., 115, 116. || Native Races of the Russian Empire, 174.

the city of Tomsk are also Bukharians. The Tomsk Tartars, like those of Tobolsk, are agriculturists and cattle breeders. Their chief tribes are the Tshagi, Ayus, and Tayan.*

The Kazaks we have already described. They are now, with the exception of a portion of the Great Horde, entirely subject to Russia. Of the Nogais and their present distribution we shall reserve a notice for the concluding chapter of this volume. Here we will content ourselves with giving a list of the chief Karakalpak tribes, as reported by Vambery, the Karakalpaks being, as we shall show in chapter xiii, a section of the Nogais. Vambery thus enumerates them : The Baimakli, Khandekli, Terstamgali, Achamaili, Kaichili Khitai, Ingakli-Keneguz, Tomboyun, Shaku, Ontonturuk.† We will now turn to the Tartars properly so called, those who formed the backbone of the Golden Horde. They may be best divided into the Tartars of the Crimea, of Kazan, and of Astrakhan. Of the first of these the number in 1858, according to Wahl, was 240,000, but most of them afterwards migrated to Turkey, according to some prophecy which predicted the union of all Muhammedans on Turkish ground. "They have, however, had cause to repent of their rash piety, for the holy soil did not offer them anything like what they had left behind, and it is said they are returning to the meat pots of Crimean Egypt."‡ The Crimean Tartars are very mixed in blood. Many of them are of Nogai descent. These are described as slight in build, but wiry, with a dark yellowish complexion (often passing into copper colour), black eyes, small and flat nose, black hair, and little beard. The formation of their eyes and temples is strikingly peculiar, inasmuch as the latter are very projecting, and make the former appear very deeply set in their cavities. The eyes are narrow, long, and turn up slightly at the corners towards the arch of the eyebrow.

"The Tartars of the northern mountains of the Crimea, and of the steppes and valleys of that part of the country, are distinguished from the others by their tall stature, powerful frames, and their resemblance to the Circassians. Their complexion is lighter, they have big and dark eyes, black beard and hair. They are a very handsome people. In the south of the Crimea they seem to have much Greek blood in their veins. They are also tall, strong, and dark (but not yellow, like those of the central plains), and have long and agreeable faces, straight noses, of sometimes Greek and Roman form, and black eyes and hair. The form of the Tartar ear is very peculiar, and is probably caused by their habit of wearing the big sheepskin caps. Thus it happens often that the ear is actually broader than it is long. The fairness of the skin of their women, who take care never to expose it to the air, is really extraordinary."§

* Georgi, op. cit., 117; Latham, 174.

† Vambery, Travels, 348, note.

‡ The Land of the Czar, 178.

§ Wahl, 178 and 179.

There is a colony of Tartars in Lithuania numbering about 8,000. Of these 3,000 live in the governments of Minsk; 2,800 in that of Vilna; 400 in Kovno; and 200 in northern Poland. They are composed partly of Krim Tartars, who were made prisoners of war, and colonised in 1395 by Vitut, the ruler of Lithuania, who, we are told, "also established a bodyguard of Tartar warriors, still forming a part of the lesser Polish nobility. Although they intermarry with Polish women of rank, they remain Muhammedans, and contract no marriage below their caste, so that the Tartar type and martial spirit has been preserved by them in all their ancient force. But forty years since there still existed a Tartar regiment, the first rank of which was armed with pikes, the second consisting of the servants of the first, which was entirely composed of nobles. They are generally poor, but lead an irreproachable life, as if to prove the respect with which they regard the memory and escutcheon of their fathers. They are almost exclusively engaged in the tanning trade, and altogether a most worthy, excellent people; faithful, and brave soldiers; modest, sober, and discreet in word and deed. Only the educated can read Tartar, but without understanding it, and write Russian or Polish with Arabic letters. They read the Koran in the Russian or Polish Translation."* The Tartars of Astrakhan, who were once a notable power, have dwindled down, as I shall show further on, into a very small community, and consist mainly of Nogais.†

The purest representatives of the old Tartar Khanate of the Golden Horde are no doubt the Tartars of Kazan. Besides those who live in the government of Kazan itself, whose number is put down by Latham at over 300,000, we are told that there are of them in the government of Samara 105,000, in that of Simbirsk 85,000, Viatka 80,000, Saratof 50,000, Pensa 45,000, Nijni Novgorod 37,000, Perm 35,000, Tambof 13,000, Riazan 5,500, St. Petersburg 3,500, Kostroma 300, Moscow 300, and among the Don Cossacks 600. Wahl says of these Tartars: "They are industrious, particularly at their national trade, the preparation of skins, manufacture also morocco leather, and even work in the mines. Their nankins and soups are celebrated. The Tartar idiom spoken by their tribe is the purest of all the Turkish dialects spoken in Russia, and has produced a literature by no means despicable. They are an affable, gentle, honest, sober, and very cleanly people, so that they are much in request everywhere. Their family life is exemplary, and their children are carefully educated."‡

Tornirelli says of the Kazan Tartars: "The number of their race inhabiting the town of Kazan is about seven thousand. They are in general well formed and handsome; their eyes are black or grey; they have a keen, piercing look, a rather lengthened form of face, a long nose, lips somewhat thicker than those of Europeans, a black beard,

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* Wahl, op. cit., 180-1. † Chap. xii. ‡ Wahl, 182.

carefully trimmed, and hair entirely shaven from the head, which is covered with a small cap called a tebeteika; their ears are large, and standing out from the head; a long neck, very wide shoulders, and a broad chest. Such is the description Dr. Fuchs gives of their form and physiognomy. They are moreover generally tall and erect; their gait is manly and imposing. The doctor was always warm in his praise of this race. He says that whenever he entered a Tartar mosque he was always struck with the fine and noble features of their elders, and he asserts his belief that the ancient Italian artists might have chosen from among this race most admirable subjects for their sacred pictures.

Of the women, Tornirelli says: "They are middle-sized, and rather stout; like the men, they stand erect, but walk badly and awkwardly, a circumstance principally owing to the heavy dress they wear. They soon grow old, so that a woman of twenty-seven has the look of one of forty; this is owing to the custom they have of painting their faces. Their complexion is rather yellow, and their faces are often covered with pimples and a rash, which proceeds partly from the habit of constantly lying on feather beds and partly from their heavy and over-warm clothing."

Dr. Fuchs thus sums up the character of the race: "They are," he says, "proud, ambitious, hospitable, fond of money, cleanly, tolerably civilised, intelligent in commerce, inclined to boasting, friendly to each other, sober in every way, and very industrious. What is particularly striking is the tenacity with which they have retained their national characteristics, customs, and manners, although nearly three centuries have elapsed since the race was subdued by the Russians."* Our author goes on to describe in graphic fashion the manners and customs of the Tartars in very great detail. I will content myself with extracting a paragraph or two. One describing their dress is as follows: "The dress of the Tartars of Kazan is so different from that of every other nation that it certainly deserves description. They wear a shirt (kulmiak) made of calico, sometimes white and sometimes red; their drawers (schtann) are worn very wide, and are made likewise of calico, or occasionally of silk; their stockings, called yuk, are of cotton or linen; a species of leather stockings, generally of morocco leather, called ichigi, red or yellow, are worn over the stockings, or sometimes are substituted for them. Their slippers, called kalut, are made of black or green leather. Over the shirt they wear two garments, somewhat in the shape of a European frock-coat without a collar; the under one, having no sleeves, is made of silk; the upper, with sleeves, likewise of silk, is called kasaki. Over these they wear a long wide robe, generally of blue cloth, called chekmen, which is attached to the body by a scarf (poda). In a pocket of this garment they keep their pocket-handkerchief

* Tornirelli, ii., 20, 21.

(chaoulok). Their heads, which are shaven to the skin, are covered with a species of skull-cap, called takia; this is covered when they go out with a hat (burik), made of velvet or cloth and ornamented with fur; the rich Tartars use for this purpose beaver-skins of great value."*

The following phrases from the love letter of a Kazan Tartar exhibit the graceful fancy of the race:—

"In the garden there are many flowers, many various flowers; but that flower which recalls you to my mind, my beloved friend, is the most short-lived of any.

"All that we need can be satisfied; hunger can be satisfied with a piece of bread, thirst with a draught of water, but what can satisfy my love for you?

"Alas! you are passing your time in the midst of pleasures, I am passing mine in the midst of sighs and sadness; you are blooming in the midst of the world like a flower of Paradise, I am fading and perishing here in the midst of solitude and silence.

"The Volga flows rapidly, time flies still more rapidly, but how slowly move the minutes of absence!"†

A more pathetic passage is the following epitaph from a tombstone near Ufa, on the banks of the river Diurna, which is much revered by the Tartars. It is as follows:—

"Goss Gussian Bey, a judge, full of equity, and well informed in all the laws, here lies buried.

"We beseech Thee, O Lord, to have pity upon him, and pardon his sins.

"He died in the year 774 (of the hejira), in the seventh night of the sacred month.

"He planned and projected—he wished to execute; but Death opposes the vain projects of man.

"No one on earth can escape Death. Stranger or friend! when thou shalt pass this tomb, think of thy last end."‡

The influence of the Tartars was naturally very great upon the various Ugrian races of the Volga, and it is not at all improbable that one of them, which is very important from its numbers, namely, the Chuvashes (and who, the most recent Russian investigations make it probable, are descended from the ancient Bulgars), received from contact with the Kazan Tartars the Turkish dialect which they speak, and which is clearly not their original language, but one which has been adopted. This question, however, is only remotely connected with our present subject.

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* Tornirelli, ii., 28, 29. † *Id.*, 41, 43. ‡ *Id.*, 76.

CHAPTER II.

JUCHI AND BATU.

JUCHI KHAN.

IN the earlier and less lucky days of Jingis Khan, the Merkits made a raid upon his tent and carried off his wife Burte, who was then enceinte. Wang Khan, the chief of the Keraits, recovered her and restored her to her husband. On the way she gave birth to a son, who was named Juchi, *i.e.*, the unexpected or the recently arrived.* The man who went to fetch her, covered the infant with dough, and, putting him in the fold of his cloak, went off with him on horseback. This was about the year 1176. Such was the birth of a prince whose posterity governed a vast empire. His name occurs for the first time, according to Abulghazi in 1203, when, we are told, he commanded the left wing of his father's army against Tayang Khan, the chief of the Naimans;† but this is probably a mistake for his uncle Juchi Kasar. He took part in his father's campaign against China;‡ but it was after this and when Jingis Khan came into conflict with the Khuarezm Shah Muhammed that Juchi becomes prominent. The origin and early history of this campaign is only told cursorily in the former volume, and may well occupy a small space here.

It was not probable that two vast empires which bordered upon one another, which were both peopled by warlike inhabitants, and both ruled by ambitious princes, would long remain at peace, and cause of quarrel soon arose between the ruler of Khuarezm and the great conqueror in the East, Jingis Khan. At first, however, their intercourse seems to have been amicable. The fruitful valleys of Transoxiana were then exceedingly prosperous—filled with busy cities, the focus of Asiatic culture, and merchants from thence seem to have made their way into remote corners of Asia, they trafficked with Bulgaria for the products of the fur countries of Siberia, and with the Mongols for objects of eastern origin. We are told that a number of these merchants found themselves at the court of Jingis soon after he had subdued the nomades of Eastern Asia. Among them there are specially named Ahmed of Khojend, the son of the Emir Hussein San, and Ahmed Tajik.§

* Abulghazi, 178. † Abulghazi, 89. ‡ Erdmann's Temudjin, 319. § Erdmann's Temudjin, 356.

We are told that one of them exhibited his wares before the Great Khan, and asked him an exorbitant price for them, two or three gold balishes for things only worth ten to twenty dinars. Jingis was enraged, and said, "This man fancies that we have never seen such things before;" and he ordered the riches of his wardrobe to be displayed before him, and then had the merchant's goods confiscated, and had him put under arrest. When his two companions were introduced they diplomatically put no price on their goods, and merely said, "We have brought these for the emperor." This pleased him so much that he ordered a golden balish to be given them for each piece of golden tissue, a silver balish for every two pieces of fine cotton, and another for every two pieces of coarse cloth. He then summoned the merchant whose goods had been confiscated and paid him after the same rate. The three traders were well treated, were supplied with food, and also with white felt tents.* On their departure Jingis ordered his relatives and the noyans and other grandees to choose two or three agents each, and to supply them generously with money, and then ordered the whole body to return with the merchants to the empire of Khuarezm to purchase some of its products, and no doubt also to report on the condition of the country. This caravan, according to Juveni and Rashid, consisted of 450 persons, who are said to have been all Muhammedans. Muhammed of Nessa, who was a high official at the court of Muhammed's son, and is therefore very reliable, says their number was only four, whom he names Omar Khoja, of Otrar; El Jemal, of Méraga; Fakhr ud din, of Bokhara; and Amin ud din, of Herat.† They were probably the four leaders of the caravan. The caravan was apparently preceded by three envoys specially sent by Jingis, who were named Mahmud Yelvaj, of Khuarezm; Ali Khoja, of Bukhara; and Yusuf Gemrga, of Otrar. They took with them silver bars, musk, jade, and robes made of white camel's wool called Tarkul, as presents for the Khuarezm Shah, and they also bore letters in which Jingis recounted to him the various kingdoms he had subdued and the power he had acquired; he urged that it would be well that they should cultivate each other's friendship, and he commended the merchants to his care. The letter, however, breathed that arrogant spirit which pervaded all Mongol documents, and, although politely worded, Muhammed was given to understand that his correspondent was really his patron, and in addressing Muhammed as his son he really meant that he should consider himself his vassal. Muhammed treated the envoys well, and in the evening he summoned Mahmud Yelvaj to him, and addressed him thus: "You are a Mussulman and a native of Khuarezm. Tell me the truth. Has your master conquered Tamghadj or no?" At the same time he gave him a costly stone from his casket.

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* Erdmann, op. cit., 357. D'Ohsson, i. 205.

† D'Ohsson, i. 206.

"As true is it as that the Almighty lives; and more, he will shortly be the master of the whole world," was the answer. "Oh, Mahmud," the Sultan said, "you know the extent of my empire and my wide-spreading power. Who is this Khan of yours, who presumes to call me his son, and speaks to me in such an arrogant tone? How great is his army—how extended his power?" To which he replied, "The army of Temudjin is to that of the Sultan like the light of a lamp beside the sun; like the face of a monster compared to that of a Rumelian Turk." The result of this interview was the arranging of a treaty of peace between the two sovereigns. After which the envoys returned home to their master.*

Meanwhile the caravan I have named above made its way to Otrar, which, as I have said, was governed by Inaljuk Gair Khan. We are told he was offended at the impertinence of one of the party, who is said to have been a Hindu, and who addressed him very familiarly, but he was doubtless more moved by the chance of confiscating so much wealth which had come in his way, for he was famous for his avarice, and he determined to put them to death and to seize their treasure. He apparently treated them with great civility, but meanwhile sent a despatch off to Muhammed, in which he represented to him that these people who came in the guise of merchants were really spies. This crafty letter had the desired effect. Muhammed's suspicions were aroused, and he sent back word that Gair Khan was to do what prudence suggested. The latter accordingly invited the merchants to his palace, where he gave them an entertainment, and then had them secretly murdered; but one of the victims managed to escape. We are told he was a camel driver, who had gone to one of the public hot baths, and managed to escape by the fireplace. He returned to Jingis and reported to him the slaughter of the envoys.†

Jingis Khan was naturally enraged. He sent off envoys to complain to Muhammed about his subordinate's treachery, to acquaint the Sultan that the greater number of the murdered envoys were Mussulmans, and to remind him of the very different treatment his subjects had met with in Mongolia. He demanded that Gair Khan should be surrendered, and offered him war as the alternative of refusal. The bearer of the message was a Turk named Bagra, whose father had been in the service of Sultan Takish. But Gair Khan was too powerfully connected to allow the Sultan to surrender him, nor does he seem to have been pleased with the tone of the message, for he put Bagra to death, and sent back the two Mongols with their beards cut.‡ Jingis Khan was so moved by this atrocity that he wept and could not rest. He climbed a mountain, where, uncovering his head and throwing his girdle over his

* Erdmann, op. cit, 357, 358. D'Ohsson, i. 203, 204.
† Tabakat i Nasiri, 271, 272. Notes. Petis de la Croix, 146-148.
‡ D'Ohsson, i. 207, 208. Petis de la Croix, 148.

shoulder, he invoked the vengeance of God, and passed three days and nights fasting. Abulfaraj, to whom we owe the account, adds that on the third night a monk dressed in black appeared to him in a dream and bade him fear nothing, that he would be successful in the campaign he meditated. On awaking he repeated the dream to his wife Obulginc, the daughter of Wang Khan, of the Keraits. She assured him that the monk was a bishop who was in the habit occasionally of visiting her father and of giving him his blessing. Jingis Khan appealed to the Uighur Christians if they had any such bishop among them. They accordingly summoned Mar Denha, upon which Jingis said that although the bishop was similarly dressed to the apparition which he had seen that his face was different. The bishop then said it must have been one of the Christian saints who had gone to him. After this adventure, we are told, Jingis treated the Christians with especial consideration.*

It will be confessed that Jingis Khan had enough provocation for the invasion he made of the West, but he had other reasons than those I have enumerated. The Khalif, who had grown jealous of the power of the Khuarezm Shahs, also made overtures to the Mongol chief. We are told that he summoned his advisers about him, and represented to them the danger the Khalifate stood in from the ambition of Muhammed, and that he was determined to enter into communication with Jingis Khan, whose vizier, Mahmud Yelvaj, was a Muhammedan. The council, we are told, was much divided. The minority approved his suggestion, but the majority urged that it was impious and wrong to make allies of infidels in struggling with good Mussulmans. The Khalif, in reply, said that a Muhammedan tyrant was worse than one who was an infidel, and that Jingis had numbers of Mussulmans about him, one of his chief ministers being one. His view prevailed, and a suitable envoy was chosen. In order that he might not be discovered in traversing the very crooked gauntlet he would have to pass, it was determined to write his passport on his bald head. Having given him the message he was to deliver, they then tattooed his credentials in a few words on his head, in the violet colour called by them nil (*i.e.*, Indian blue), in the manner (De la Croix says) they do to pilgrims at Jerusalem, and then sped him on his way. The envoy reached the chancellary of Mahmud Yelvaj in safety. He was received in secret audience by Jingis Khan, and when asked for his credentials bade them shave his head. They did so, and found that the Khalif proposed that he and Jingis should attack the empire of Khuarezm on either side. At that time it would seem that Jingis was not disposed to fight, and gave the envoy a diplomatic answer, but the Khalif's invitation no doubt formed a considerable ingredient in the motives which afterwards moved him. This invitation, which

* Erdmann, op. cit., 614. Petis de la Croix, 149-151.

eventually brought so much disaster upon the Mussulmans, has drawn much blame down on the Khalif's head. Mirkhond compares him to the three devout pilgrims in the fable, who one day met in the fields with a heap of rotting bones. They began to dispute about them, but could not agree as to what the animal was. They then determined to pray consecutively to God to revivify the animal. The first had hardly finished his prayer when a great wind arose and brought the bones together, when the second was praying the bones were covered with flesh, while in answer to the prayer of the third the object began to move with life. They then found it was a lion, who sprang upon them and devoured them.*

In the year 1216 Jingis sent his general, Subutai, against an army of Merkits which had assembled on the Altai mountains, under command of Khudu or Khodu, the brother of Tukta Bigi, the chief of the Merkits, and the latter's three sons Jilaun, Jiyuk, and Kutulkan Mergen. The Merkits were badly defeated, and Kultukan was captured and conducted before Juchi. He was a famous archer, whence he got his soubriquet of Mergen. Juchi, who was his father's chief huntsman, wished to save his life, and appealed to his father. The latter refused, urging that the Merkits had been among their deadliest foes, and that after conquering so many kingdoms they could well dispense with one man. He was accordingly put to death.†

The authors who recount this story would make out that the whole Merkit nation was thus exterminated, but we read in other accounts that two years later a Mongol army was in pursuit of a body of Merkits which had fled westwards to the country of the Kankalis, and according to Ibn al Athir and Muhammed of Nessa, this army was commanded by Juchi in person.‡ There is some confusion in the accounts. Some of them call the leader of the Merkits Tuk Tughan.§ Rashid calls him Khudu, and he is called Huodu in the Yuan Shi.‖ The two latter authors make the Mongols be commanded by Subutai, and it is probable that they confused the expedition of 1218 with that of 1216.

To continue our story, the Mongols had pursued the Kankalis in the direction of Jend, had overtaken them between the rivers Kabli and Kamadj—the Kaili and Kamich of Erdmann—and had completely defeated them. It is very probable that this battle was fought in the valley of the Chu.

Muhammed was returning from Irak, where he had left his son Rokn ud din in charge, and had reached Samarkand when he heard of the approach of the fugitives under Tuk Tughan. He consequently marched in the direction of that town, by way of Bukhara, to prevent them

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* Petis de la Croix, 138. † Erdmann, op. cit., 333. D'Ohsson, i. 156.
‡ D'Ohsson, i. 209. Note. § D'Ohsson, i. 208. Raverty, Tabakat i Nasiri, 268. Note. 4.
‖ Bretschneider, Notices of Mediæval Travellers, &c., 174. Note, 303.

crossing into his territory. He then heard that they were being pursued by an army of Mongols under a son of Jingis himself. This induced him to return to Samarkand for reinforcements, with which he again advanced towards Jend, thinking, in the quaint language of the chronicler, "to bring down two birds with one arrow." He pushed on towards the scene of the recent struggle, where numerous dead bodies were lying about, among which was a wounded Merkit who was still alive. From him he learnt that the Mongols had retired after their victory. He pursued and overtook them in a place called Karaku, perhaps the lake Kara kul. The Mongol chief (who, according to Ibn al Athir, was Juchi himself) sent word to Muhammed that their two kingdoms were not at war, that they had already entrapped the prey whom they were in search of, and that he had orders to treat the Khuarezmians as friends. He also offered Muhammed a portion of the booty and prisoners whom he had captured from the Merkits. Muhammed, whose forces were much more numerous than those of the enemy, replied that if Jingis had given no orders on the subject that God had ordered him to attack the Mongols, and that he would win his approval by destroying the pagans. Then the two armies prepared to fight; the great trumpet, Kerrena, fifteen feet long, was blown, the brass timbrels, called Kus, the drums, fifes, and other warlike instruments sounded the charge.* Major Raverty says the right wings of either army, as is often the case in eastern, as it has frequently been in western battles, broke their respective opponents. The Mongols then attacked the Khuarezmian centre. The Sultan was in some danger when his gallant son Jelal ud din, who had been victorious on the right, charged the Mongols in flank, and saved the centre from defeat. The fight was maintained with great obstinacy until nightfall, when the two armies retired to a short distance confronting each other. The Chinese author translated by Gaubil adds a curious fact to those reported by the western writers. He tells us that Pitu, the son of Yelu liuko, whom Jingis had appointed king of Liautung, took part in this fight on the side of the Mongols, as did his relative Yelu kohay. The former was badly wounded, but seeing Juchi surrounded by the enemy he rushed to the rescue, and both managed to force their way out.†

After the fight the Mongols lighted an immense number of fires to deceive the Khuarezmians, and decamped quietly during the night to join the camp of Jingis.‡ The site of this battle is not very easy to determine. One account says it was in the country of Kashgar,§ other accounts say on the frontier of the country of the Jetes, while one says it was within the borders of Khuarezm. This seems to show it was on an indefinite frontier, and strengthens the identification of it with some place in the valley of the Chu.

* Petis de la Croix, 159-161. † Gaubil, Histoire de Gentchiscan, &c., 36.
‡ Tabakat i Nasiri, 268, 209. § *Id.*

Sultan Muhammed, we are told, having thus witnessed and beheld with his own eyes in this encounter the warlike feats, the activity, and the efforts of the Mongol forces, the next day retired from that place, and fear and dread of them took possession of his heart and mind, and he never again came against them.* He retired to Samarkand, where he was seized with unaccountable irresolution although his forces probably numbered 400,000, but they were wanting in the discipline and soldierly virtues of the Mongols. Nor had they the latter's incentive to fight. To them victory would bring little but barren honours, while to the Mongols it would open the gate to the rich treasures of Transoxiana. We are told that Juchi was well received and much praised for his conduct by his father.†

Meanwhile, in the autumn of 1219,‡ Jingis, who had summered his horses on the Irtish, in the country of the Naimans, marched westwards with the main army. This he presently divided into four divisions, one of which, under the command of Juchi, was sent against Jend and Yanghikent. With him marched the ulus Bede, that is, the Uighurs.§ He first attacked Sighnak, which afterwards became the capital of the White Horde. In order to avoid bloodshed, he sent an envoy to summon its inhabitants. He chose for this purpose a Mussulman named Hassan Haji (*i.e.*, the pilgrim), who had been in Mongolia as a trader.‖ He urged upon the inhabitants the prudence of coming to terms with the Mongols. This counsel was rudely declined, and in the popular tumult which followed in the bazaar he was torn to pieces. This treacherous conduct enraged Juchi, and he determined to press the attack with the utmost vigour, relays of fresh men continually replaced those who were wearied out, until the place was captured. This was after a seven days' siege. According to Mirkhond, all the garrison was put to death, and more than one-half of the principal inhabitants paid with their lives for the murder of Hassan. The town and the rest of the inhabitants were spared, inasmuch as the Mongols needed it as a base, a magnificent mausoleum was raised in the chief place in the city to the memory of Hassan, and a splendid funeral was accorded to his remains according to the Muhammedan custom.¶ This account seems so circumstantial that we must adopt it rather than the conventional description of its fate followed by Erdmann and D'Ohsson. Juchi gave the government of Sighnak and the surrounding district to Hassan's son.** The fate of Sighnak overawed the neighbouring towns. Uzkend determined to surrender, and when the Mongols were within two days' march of it they sent in their submission, the governor and garrison meanwhile retiring to Benaket. Juchi treated the town with great con-

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* *Id.*, 270. † Abulghazi, 107. ‡ Bretschneider Notices, &c., 59. Note, 87.
§ Erdmann's Temudjin, 371. ‖ Abulghazi, 112. D'Ohsson, i. 221.
¶ De la Croix, 175, 176. ** D'Ohsson, i. 222.

sideration, and having levied a contribution of food merely, forbade it to be plundered, and advanced towards Eshnash. Von Hammer and others identify this town with Tashkend, considering the name to be a corruption of El Shash, but it is written Hanasa in the Chinese authority translated by Gaubil, nor was Tashkend at all in the direction taken by Juchi. It is probable that all three towns were situated north of the mountains separating the valleys of the Sihun and Chu. We are told Eshnas made a gallant defence, and was not captured without some bloodshed.* He then captured Bakhaliaket or Barkhaligkend, and afterwards advanced upon Jend. It was a famous town in the east, having been the birthplace of several celebrated men. From it, according to Mirkhond, twenty Scythian envoys went to meet Alexander, praying him if he were a god to show it by doing good to men, and if but a man to reflect on the uncertainty of his condition, instead of proceeding further with the design to rob them of their goods and quiet.† At this time it was ruled by a petty dynasty. The name of the ruler was Kutlugh Timur, whose father had submitted to the Khuarezm Shah and was a dependent of his. He was very rich, and on the approach of the Mongols thought it prudent to retire westwards towards Khuarezm with his treasures. The inhabitants meanwhile determined to defend the town. Juchi sent an emissary named, Chin Timur, to counsel them to submit, and he reminded them of the fate of Sighnak. They would have killed him but that he promised to persuade the Mongols not to touch the city. When he reported the result of his journey and the condition of the place, he, according to Khuandemir, suggested to Juchi that he should storm it on the side where the inhabitants deemed it most inaccessible, namely, where it was defended by a ditch. His suggestion was adopted. Three false attacks were made elsewhere, and the battering engines were planted at the weakest part of the defences. When the day for the attack had arrived, the latter were assailed amidst great shouts and the sound of timbrels, drums, &c.; the battering rams were planted, and the Mongol slingers drove the besiegers from the wall. This was at dusk. When suspicion had been lulled, Chin Timur placed his bridges on the ditch and planted two ladders against the wall, one of which he mounted himself. The walls were scaled, the gates were opened, and the Mongols let in before the garrison was properly aroused. Thus, says Petis de la Croix, was the city of Jend taken without any loss, for the Mongols, meeting with no resistance, did not destroy any one. The inhabitants were ordered to leave the town and to go into a neighbouring plain, where they remained for nine days and were numbered. The Mongols then plundered the houses, and having planted a garrison there under the orders of Ali Khoja, who was a Muhammedan from Bokhara, and had been with the Mongols before the war, as I have mentioned,

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* De la Croix, 177. † De la Croix, 177.

they allowed them to return, only two or three of them, who had abused Chin Timur in his conference with the inhabitants, were killed.*

Juchi now despatched a tuman or division to capture the town of Yanghikent, which was situated on the Jaxartes, two days' journey from its outfall into the sea of Aral. There also he placed a commander. Soon after this the ulus Bede, *i.e.*, the Uighurs, were permitted to return home, and Juchi replaced them by a body of 10,000 auxiliaries from the Kankali steppe, under the command of Ainal Noyan, and sent them towards Khuarezm. They went on with the advance guard, but these unruly nomades killed the commander Ainal Noyan set over them, and afterwards scattered and sought refuge about Amuyeh and Meru.†

While Juchi was subduing the towns on the lower Jaxartes, his brothers were conquering those further east, and his father advanced on Samarkand and Bokhara. After the fall of those towns Jingis sent his three eldest sons, Juchi, Jagatai, and Ogotai, against Khuarezm, where there were at this time three commanders, Khumar Tikin, Moghol Hajib, and Feridun. The first of these was the eldest brother of the famous Turkan Khatun, the mother of Muhammed Khuarezm Shah, and he had been appointed governor of Urgenj by his nephew.

Urgenj was then very populous, and its people were living an easy life, not suspecting the storm which was about to break over them. When the Mongol advance guard approached the gates and carried off some horses and asses, the hyperbolic Abulghazi would have us believe that they were pursued by 100,000 horsemen from the town, who overtook them at a garden situated a farsang distant, and named Baghi-Kurrem, *i.e.*, Garden of Delights; there the Mongols had planted an ambush, and such a carnage ensued that but ten men escaped of the 100,000 !!! The Mongols pursued them as far as a place called Tènurè, and ravaged the whole country round. On the following day they beleagured the town.‡ Juchi sent in a summons for it to surrender, telling its people that it had been given him by his father, and that he wished to preserve its beauty intact. This summons was not obeyed, and the siege proceeded. It lasted for seven months, the Mongol catapults, for lack of stones, having to be served with balls made out of the neighbouring mulberry trees soaked in water; the besiegers further attempted to divert the waters of the Oxus above the town, and sent 3,000 men to dig the necessary ditch, but the garrison attacked and destroyed these workmen. The siege work was hampered by the quarrels of the two brothers Juchi and Jagatai, and to punish them Jingis superseded them and appointed Ogotai, whose generous and docile disposition was well suited to restore peace. This policy was successful, and the siege was pressed on. Gaubil's Chinese authority tells us the inhabitants had planted their best

* Petis de la Croix, 178-182. Erdmann, op. cit., 372, 373. D'Ohsson, i. 222, 223.
† Erdmann, 374. ‡ Abulghazi, 118.

troops along the river, and had constructed ten entrenchments. They had also prepared a well armed fleet. Kopaoyu, who had been an officer of the Kin empire, but had passed over to the side of Jingis on the latter's great victory in 1211, was ordered to attack the fleet. We are told he made a number of fire arrows, which he discharged during a wind, and which set the boats in a blaze. Under cover of the confusion and smoke caused by this fire the Mongols attacked and forced the entrenchments and captured the town.* Its inhabitants were ordered to evacuate it, the artisans, consising of 100,000 families, were set apart; the girls and boys were reduced to slavery; the rest were distributed among the soldiers' twenty-four to each, and all were then slaughtered.

Abulghazi says it is reported that the Sheikh Nadjmud din Kubra, son of Omar the Khivan, whose name had a world-wide repute, was then at Urgenj. The Mongol princes sent to ask him to go out, so that he might not be trodden under by the horses. He replied that he was not alone, but had relatives and slaves. They then bade him go with ten persons. He replied, he had more than ten. Then they said he might go out with 100 persons. He said he had more than 100. Then said they, take 1,000 persons; but he replied, "In happier days I knew all these people, who were my friends. How can I abandon them in their misfortune? No, I cannot leave." At this moment the Mongols arrived at his house, and after sending several of them to Hades, he ended by himself receiving the crown of martyrdom. It is said (*i.e.*, in the Koran, sura ii., verse 151), "We belong to God, and we return to him."† This very problematical story, partially constructed out of the old history of the fall of the cities of the plain, one only quotes as illustrating eastern modes of thought. Its details are entirely contrary to what we know of Mongol policy, which was not over tender to Mussulman saints.

Juchi was much piqued at being superseded, and, after the capture of Urgenj, he, according to the Persian authors, retired to the deserts of the Kirghiz Kazaks, and subdued the Kankalis and other tribes there; probably making himself master of the various nomades who lived in the steppes between the Yaik and the Jaxartes.

The Yuan chao pi shi and the Ts ing cheng lu, however, say that after the fall of the city all three brothers repaired to their father's camp. It was probably after this he retired in dudgeon.‡ The cause of the quarrel with his brothers, which led to important results afterwards, is perhaps to be found in the fact of the ambiguous circumstances surrounding his birth,§ and which made it possible for people to suggest that he was a bastard, a soubriquet that is not easily forgiven. It was perhaps because of this suspicion that his father made his brother Ogotai and not himself the head of the house. He spent his time in hunting, and was master of the hunt in the establishment of Jingis. When in

* Op. cit., 37. † Abulghazi, 119, 120. ‡ Bretschneider, 66, 67. § *Vide* ante.

1224 Jingis returned home from his Indian campaign, he ordered Juchi to go and meet him at Kolan Tashi, near the Jaxartes, and drive a vast body of wild animals, so that they should concentrate there and he might enjoy his favourite sport. Juchi himself did not go, but he had the myriads of wild asses his father loved to hunt driven to the appointed rendezvous. His father had given him orders to conquer the country north of the Black Sea, including, according to Rashid, Ibir Sibir, Bulgaria, Kipchak, Baschguerdia (*i.e.*, Hungary), Russia, and Circassia; but the lazy hunter neglected this duty, and was content with the appanage he had already acquired. This consisted of the Eastern Kipchak, a great part of which was known in later days as Desht Jitteh.

Irritated at Juchi for not prosecuting the conquest of the desert tribes,* Jingis had on his journey homewards from Persia sent him several summons to go to him. He had excused himself on the ground of his bad health, and he was in fact unwell. When Jingis arrived once more at his ordu, in February, 1225, a Mangut also arrived there from Juchi's country, who reported that he was well and that he had seen him recently engaged in hunting. Jingis, we are told, was convinced his son had wilfully disobeyed him, and determined to bring him back to his obedience sharply; and his two other sons, Ogotai and Jagatai, had in fact set out with the advance guard, Jingis himself proposing to follow on that errand, when news arrived that he was dead.† Juchi died in 1224, and according to M. Veliaminof Zernof, he was buried near Seraili (? Serai).‡ He was then forty-eight years old.

Whether Jingis had the intention to displace his eldest son from the heirship of the Mongol empire, either from his questionable birth or from his repeated disobedience or not, it is clear that his death made matters more easy for such a revolution. According to Mongol law a sovereign is always succeeded by his eldest surviving brother, and thus the immediate heritage on Juchi's death fell not to his sons but to his brother, and by the will of Jingis, Ogotai was in fact named his heir. Juchi's family succeeded, therefore, not to the Imperial dignity but only to their father's special ulus or appanage, which was apparently conterminous with Khuarezm proper and the steppes of the Kankalis; the Ural, the Jaxartes, and the Oxus being the rivers which watered it.

The senior wife of Juchi was Bekutemish, the daughter of Yakembo, brother of the Wang Khan of the Keraits. She was one of three famous sisters, the other two being Siurkukteni, the wife of Tului, and Abika, the wife of Jingis, whom he afterwards married (being directed thereto in a dream) to a Urut prince, who was acting as his body guard.§ His second wife was Oki or Ukin Kuchin, the daughter of Ilji Noyan of the Kunkurats.‖ Another of his wives was Sultan Khatun, of the

* Abulghazi, 140, 141. D'Ohsson, i. 353, 354. Erdmann, Note, 336.
† Erdmann, Note, 336. ‡ Abulghazi, 141. Note, 1.
§ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 93. ‖ Klaproth, Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 274. Note.

tribe Imen.* Khuandemir mentions a fourth, also a Kunkurat, who was called Sarkan.† By these, and probably other wives, he had a numerous family. Rashid says forty sons, but this is doubtless a mistake for fourteen, and Khuandemir says expressly he had fourteen sons.‡ He also left two daughters, one of whom was married to the Khan of the Karluks, and another to Sighnak Tikin, chief of Almaligh.§

BATU KHAN.

The various sons of Juchi are divided by Rashid into two divisions. Those of the right hand, *i.e.*, the western division, and those of the left hand, *i.e.*, the eastern division, a division which probably coincides with their relationship, those in each section having been by a different mother. Orda, the eldest son of Juchi, was the head of the eastern house, and Batu of the western, the latter being in a position of feudal dependence on the former. This dependence was, however, almost nominal. We find Batu taking command of the army which invaded Hungary (to whose doings I shall return presently), and according to Abulghazi, whose authority, however, on such a point is not of much value, he was nominated as successor to Juchi by Jingis Khan himself. He tells us that after the customary mourning Jingis sent his brother Uchegin to instal Batu, surnamed Sain Khan, or the good prince, and to insist upon his brothers submitting to him. In case any of them refused he was to be sent to Jingis to be dealt with by him. When Batu heard of the approach of Uchegin he sent his sons, brothers, and emirs to meet him, and then set out himself. The first three days after his arrival were devoted to mourning for the death of Juchi. After which Uchegin duly installed Batu, who was recognised by all his brothers. A great feast followed, in which the Mongols, as was their custom, presented Batu with the cup, who in turn presented it to them again, and distributed rich presents. It was in the midst of these rejoicings that news arrived of the death of Jingis.‖ This story, as I have said, I believe to be largely fabulous. Among the Mongols, as among nomadic people generally, the father left his clans and his herds, rather than any distinct territory to his sons. The land was merely the pasturing ground of the cattle, and its area was limited by their necessities. On turning to the army list of Jingis Khan we find that but 4,000 men of Mongol race were left to Juchi and his family. This is a very good proof of the small Mongol element there was in the Golden Horde. It formed but the steel head of the spear, the shaft of which was comprised of heterogeneous elements.

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* *Id.*, 290. Note. † Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 108. ‡ Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 108. § Von Hammer, op. cit., 93. ‖ Op. cit., 178, 179.

These four thousand Mongols were divided into four Hezarehs, or battalions of a thousand, the first one commanded by the Saljiut Munggur, who commanded the left wing in Batu's army, and was succeeded by his son Jerkes; the second by Gingetai Kuman Noyan, of the Ginget tribe, whose son Huran was a distinguished prince; the third by Hushitai, of the Hushin tribe, one of the subjects of Burji Noyan; and the fourth by Barku, who was attached to the right wing. A portion of these Mongols, in the subsequent civil strife which occurred among the Mongol princes, settled in the territory of the Ilkhans, *i.e.*, in Persia.*

Such was the salt of the army; the main body was composed of Russians, Circassians, Magyars, and Turks, of whom the Turks, as I have said, formed the overwhelming number. This being so, the term Mongol, as applied to the people constituting the Ulus of Juchi and his descendants, is in some sense a misnomer, for it only describes the leaders and the cream of the army. Unfortunately no name is unexceptionable, but after some hesitation I have decided to designate them as Tartars, the name by which the mediæval travellers and the Russian chroniclers called them, and the name by which their descendants, the Krim Tartars, the Tartars of Kazan, the Nogay Tartars, &c., are still known. In using this name it must be remembered, as I showed in the former volume, that the Tartars proper were a different race, probably of Tungus origin, and that we only use it in the present instance from its being so generally diffused as connoting the subjects of Batu Khan, and in default of a better name. As I have said, I discredit the statement of Abulghazi about Batu having been nominated to the head of his house by Jingis, nor did he acquire that dignity for some time and probably until after his great success as a general.

At this time the princes of the left hand were no doubt the most important. Orda, Tuk Timur, Singkur, and Siklum† are named as constituting it, and Orda was the eldest son of Juchi. His mother, according to Khuandemir, was called Sarkan.‡ There are reasons for believing that these princes had the greatest share in the division of Juchi's heritage. It would seem that soon after Juchi's death they began an aggressive war upon the neighbouring tribes. From the narrative of the friar Julian, who travelled as far as Great Hungary, or the country of the Bashkirs, in 1236, we learn that the Tartars, *i.e.*, the Mongols, then lived in contact with and had been defeated in battle by them, that afterwards they formed an alliance together, and as allies, that they conquered fifteen kingdoms.§ He describes these Eastern Hungarians, or Bashkirs, as heathens, and as neither having any knowledge of the true God nor worshipping other gods, but as living like wild beasts. They did not practise agriculture, ate horses and wolves' flesh, and drank

* Erdmann, 453. †Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 95.

‡ Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 108. (Von Hammer reads it Oturkan or Olserkan. Golden Horde, 95. Note.) § Wolff, 266.

milk, wine, and blood. They had horses and weapons in abundance, and were very warlike. They had a tradition that the Hungarians had gone from their country, but did not know where they had gone to.*

But to revert to our story, the Tartars seem to have carried their arms as far west as Bolghari, on the Volga, the capital of the Eastern Bulgarians. It is well known that among the ruins of that town, which still remain, there have been found a number of ancient gravestones with inscriptions in Arabic and Armenian. Klaproth wrote a paper on these stones, which was printed in the Journal of the French Asiatic Society.† The most ancient of these inscriptions are dated in the year of the arrival of the oppression, and bear a chronogram, which Klaproth has read 623 of the hejira, *i.e.*, the year 1226,‡ and his view has been generally accepted, that the curious phrase and date have reference to an invasion of Bulgaria by the Tartars in that year.§

Jingis Khan died in 1227, and was succeeded by his son Ogotai. On the latter's accession he sent, or rather ordered Singkur, who is otherwise called Suntai, one of the princes of the left division already named, to march at the head of 30,000 men against the tribes on the lower Yaik or Ural; and we read how in the year 1229 the Saksins, the Poloutsi, and a section of the Bulgars fled and found refuge in Bulgaria, and Suntai apparently wintered in 1232 in the neighbourhood of Bolghari.‖ The Bulgarians appealed for assistance to the Grand Prince George II. of Vladimir, while the Poloutsi were aided by Isiaslaf Mitislaf of Smolensko and Vladimir Rurikovitch of Kief, and the Tartars seem to have been forced to retire once more to the Yaik. Wolff urges that the Poloutsi probably took part in this struggle, since Kotiak, their chief, in his communications with Bela IV. of Hungary, claims to have twice defeated the Tartars in former years.¶

When the friar Julian visited Great Hungary, as I have mentioned, in the spring of 1236, he met some Tartars and an envoy from their chief (doubtless from Singkur).** It is not easy to see why Singkur should have had charge of the army rather than his brother Orda, unless perhaps the latter with Batu accompanied Ogotai on his expedition to China, as Abulghazi says. When Batu made his great expedition into Hungary Singkur was left behind, apparently in charge of the ulus of Juchi. It was probably the report of Singkur's want of success in Bulgaria which weighed with the great Kuriltai which assembled in 1235, where it was decided *inter alia* that an army should march westwards against the Russians. The command of this army was not given to Orda, the eldest brother, but to Batu, who had probably shown his prowess in the Chinese campaign. Under him marched his brothers Orda, Sheiban, and Tangut; Baidar, the son, and Buri, the

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* *Id.* † Nouv. Journ. Asiat., viii. 483, &c. ‡ *Id.*, 485.
§ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 99. Wolff, 123. ‖ Karamzin, Eerman ed., 3. Note, 175.
¶ Wolff, 124. ** *Id.*, 266.

grandson of Jagatai; Kuyuk and Kadan Ogul, the sons of Ogotai; Mangu and Bejak, the sons of Tului; and Kulkan, the half-brother of the Great Khan Ogotai.*

This was not the first time the Tartars had crossed arms with the Russians. I have in the previous volume described the campaign which they fought against them under their generals Subutai and Chepe, whose central point was the great fight on the Kalka. Ibn al Athir tells us that on retiring from Russia on that occasion they, in January, 1224, made a raid upon Bulgaria, where they were entrapped into an ambush and suffered severely. He tells us that during the time when the Mongols were in Southern Russia the communication with the country to the north (which was the land of furs to the then civilised world) was interrupted, and that in consequence the trade in burtasi, *i.e.*, so called "Russian leather," and in the furs of the ermine and beaver, was for a while interrupted.†

Let us now turn, however, to the more important invasion of 1238. The grand army seems to have assembled on the borders of the Yaik, and was doubtless composed very largely of Kankalis, Naimans, &c., the *debris* of the old empire of Kara Khitai and of the Naimans, and resembled a huge encampment of the Kirghiz Kazaks of our day, who are so nearly allied in blood and otherwise with Batu's followers.

The army was divided into three divisions. One marched against the Saksins, on the lower Volga, whose chief was Pachiman. The town attacked by this body was apparently the Sumerkent of Rubruquis, which he tells us took eight years to capture. This probably includes a former siege by Singkur. While Mangu and Bejuk marched with this army towards the lower Volga, Subutai, the hero of so many fights, and especially of the celebrated campaign in which, in company with Chepe, he forced the Caucasus and defeated the Russian princes on the Kalka, marched against Bolghari. He doubtless acted the part of Marshal Moltke in the recent war between Germany and France, and was the head of the staff and general superintendent of the strategy. He reduced the Bulgarians (two of whose princes did homage), and when they afterwards rebelled he was sent to punish them.‡

At the time of Batu's invasion George Vsevolodovitch was grand prince of Vladimir; his brother Yaroslaf, who had for many years reigned at Novgorod, had only just seized the throne of Kief, and had left his famous son Alexander Nevski at Novgorod.§ Thus the three virtual

* In the account of this campaign in the former volume, I have mentioned Kaidu, a son of Jagatai, as having taken part in it on the authority of Wolff, but I believe this to be a mistake. He is not named, so far as I know, by other writers, and the mistake seems founded on one of Dlugocz, the Hungarian historian. I have also been mistaken in calling Buri a son of Jagatai's, as Bergeron in fact calls him. (Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 118. Note.) He was Jagatai's grandson.

† Defremery Extracts from Ibn al Athir. Journal Asiatique, 4th series, xiv. 459, 460.

‡ Rashid, D'Ohsson, ii. 623.

§ Karamzin, iii. 332, 333.

capitals of Russia were in the same hands. The grand prince was also acknowledged as their lord paramount by the Mordvins, who had suffered much at the hands of his people, while the Bulgarians on the Kama were also more or less subordinate to him. The Mordvins, however, had felt the heel of their patrons too much to be very contented, and were no doubt ready to help any invaders who might offer them surcease, and such invaders were now at hand in the persons of Batu and his followers. The life of Mangu in the Yuan shi tells us that after capturing Pachiman he joined Batu in his expedition against the Russians, and fought in person at the capture of Riazan.*

The main army of the Tartars advanced, as I have described,† through the modern governments of Simbirsk, Pensa, and Tambof, then chiefly peopled by the Mordvins, who acted as their guides, towards the eastern frontiers of Russia. These coincided with the eastern boundary of the modern government of Riazan, then constituting the principality of Riazan. I have described this campaign in my former volume as it is told by the contemporary writers, but a more romantic story is told in the more modern chronicle of Kostroma‡ (which was written in the seventeenth century), perhaps founded on reliable traditions. According to this account, when Batu appeared on the frontier, George, the Prince of Riazan, sent his son Feodor with presents to him. Batu accepted them, and ordered the Russian princes to send him their sisters and daughters; and having heard that Feodor had a beautiful wife, an Imperial princess named Euphrasia, he asked to see her. Feodor replied that it was not the custom for Christian princes to show their wives to infidels, upon which he was decapitated. A few days after Euphrasia, who was in one of the top rooms of the palace holding in her arms her little son, Ivan Feodorovitch Postnik, having heard the news of how her husband had sacrificed his life for her beauty, threw herself from the window, and thus perished. Another narrative says that she threw herself down from the church of Saint Nicholas with her child. The site of this deed afterwards bore the name of uboi, *i.e.*, "fall."§ The names in Rashid's MSS. are frequently very corrupt. In the MS. of Vienna, Riazan is given as Erjan, while in that of Paris, as given by D'Ohsson, it is further corrupted into Ban.‖ The Riazan of those days is now represented by the ruins and village of Staraia Riazan, ten leagues distant from the modern Riazan.¶ One of the Russian chronicles tells us that during the attack on Riazan, Ingor, one of its princes, was at Chernigof with a nobleman named Eupathius Kolurat. When the latter heard of the Tartar invasion he marched to the rescue, but Batu had already passed on. He went on in pursuit with 7,000 warriors, with whom he broke the Tartar rear guard, who thought that they were the warriors of Riazan who had

* Bretschneider, 82. † Vol. i. 136. ‡ Karamzin, 3. Note, 43.
§ Karamzin, iii. 337. Note, 43. ‖ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 102. Note, 4.
¶ Nestor, ed. Paris, Table des Origines, 167.

come to life again, but they were overwhelmed and perished. Meanwhile Ingor returned once more to the principality, which he found strewn with ruins and corpses. Having collected together the priests and others who had escaped, he began to inter the dead. The body of Prince George was found after some trouble, taken to Riazan, and there buried, and stone crosses were erected over the tombs of Feodor, his wife, and son, who were buried on the banks of the Osseter, where the church of Saint Nicholas Zarasky now stands.* Zaras means the murder.† Karamzin mentions that a great curiosity still exists in the monastery of Saint John the Evangelist, about thirty-six versts from Riazan, namely, a golden Mongol tablet, *i.e.*, a paizah, which was deposited for safety against the depredations of the Mordvins in the metropolitan church by the Archbishop Misael in 1653.‡ After the capture of Riazan the Tartars proceeded along the Oka and captured Kalomna, as I have described.§ In the battle which followed, where Roman Igorovitch|| was killed, Vsevolod, son of the grand prince George, was present, but he escaped to his father at Vladimir.¶ The Mongols then took and burnt Moscow, which is called Mokos in the Jihankushai.** They afterwards advanced against Vladimir, the capital of the principality of Suzdal, and at this time the seat of the grand principality of Russia. The grand prince had retired, as I have described,†† and left the town in command of his sons Vsevolod and Mitislaf. Having invested it, the Tartars sent off a contingent to the neighbouring town of Suzdal. There they destroyed the church of Our Lady, and set fire to the palace of the prince and the monastery of Saint Dimitri. I was misled by Von Hammer and Wolff into stating that the monks and nuns were spared. It was only the young ones, together with the young girls, that were spared; the old ones perished with the blind, the infirm, and the cripples.‡‡ After the fall of Vladimir§§ the Mongols divided into three bodies. One marched upon Gorodetz, on the Volga, not far from Nishni Novgorod; another upon Galitch, situated on the river Kostroma, and known as Galitch Merski from the Meriens who lived there;|||| while a third marched upon Rostof and Yaroslavl, and proceeded to destroy the various towns of the grand principality, which I have already enumerated.¶¶ When the grand prince fell in battle on the Sitti, there perished with him his nephews Vsevolod and Vladimir, the sons of his brother Constantine. His son Vassilko was taken prisoner, but he refused to take food; and on being pressed by the Mongols to join their banners, he refused with scorn, and called them

* Karamzin, iii. 339-341. Note, 45. † Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 102.
‡ Karamzin, 3. Note, 45. § Vol. i. 139.
|| He was the nephew of George of Riazan (Karamzin, iii. 341), and not his brother, as Wolff says, 141.
¶ Karamzin, iii. 341. ** D'Ohsson, ii. 619. †† Vol. i. 139.
‡‡ Karamzin, 3. Note, 46. §§ Vol. i. 139. |||| Karamzin, 345. Note, 46.
¶¶ Vol. i. 140.

tigers, polluted with blood, enemies of Christ, and enemies of his country. "You shall never be my friends," he said, "you are doomed to perdition. There *is* a God, and you shall be destroyed when your cup is full." They accordingly put him to death, and threw his body into the forest of Scherensk. Cyril, bishop of Rostok, afterwards found the corpse of George; it was beheaded, but he recognised it by its rich garments. That of Vassilko was also recovered, and father and son were deposited in the same tomb.*

On their march towards Novgorod they captured Volok Lamsky (now called Volo Kolansk),† Tuer, and Torjek. The last place having resisted them was destroyed, according to the Mongol law under such circumstances. The Tartars advanced as far as the lake Seliger, where the Volga springs, "The villages," says the chronicler, "disappeared, and the heads of the Russians fell like grass before the sickle."‡ Torjek was captured on the 14th of March, and if we consider that the battle on the Sitti was fought on the 4th, we shall have a measure of the terrible vigour of the invaders.

So far the history of the campaign is tolerably plain. At this point, however, difficulties arise. We know, as I have said, that the Tartars retired towards the south, and that they laid siege to and captured Koselsk, in the government of Kaluga, and somewhat south-west of Moscow.§ According to the chronicle of Nikon they afterwards went again to Riazan.‖ Rashid says that after taking Koselsk they went into cantonments, *i.e.*, encamped; and this, the main army may well have done somewhere in Central Russia, and not improbably near Riazan, while different contingents made expeditions in various directions. A second body, under Bereke, the brother of Batu, attacked the Kipchaks, no doubt in their homeland, the Desht Kipchak, between the Volga and the Don, and compelled their chief Kotiak to escape to Hungary. This district was afterwards assigned as a camping ground to Bereke. A third army, under Sheiban, Bujek, and Buri, marched against the Marimes, a branch of the Chinchaks, as we read it in the corrupt Paris text of Rashid.¶ I have suggested that these Marimes may have been the Mari or Cheremisses, but inasmuch as Karamzin mentions the conquest of the Mordvins of Murom and Ghorokhovetz, the former town on the Oka, and the latter on the Khasina, it may well be that the Marimes of Rashid were the inhabitants of Murom, and that Chinchakes is merely a corruption of Chudes, the generic name for the various Ugrian race of South-eastern Russia. A fourth army was sent, under Kadan and others, against the Caucasian mountaineers, and defeated the Circassians and killed their chief Tukan. This was in the autumn of 1238. Later in the year Kadan, Buri, and others, no doubt

* Karamzin, iii. 347. † Wolff, 145. ‡ Karamzin, iii. 349. § *Ante* vol. i. 140.
‖ Karamzin, iii. Note, 47. ¶ D'Ohsson, i. 626.

with the same contingent, laid siege to Mangass or Mikes.* It would seem that Mangu took part in this campaign, for we are told in the Yuan shi that in the winter of 1238 and 1239 he invested Asu Mie kieze, and took it after three months' siege.† The name Asu means here Alan. This was doubtless the capital of the Alans or Ossetes, which is called Magass by Masudi. D'Ohsson identifies it with a place called Mokhatschla, on the Cherek, a tributary of the Terek.‡ This they captured after a siege of six weeks, and in the spring of 1239 sent Kukdai to attack Derbend. Meanwhile the main army under Batu wintered, as I believe, somewhere in Central Russia, probably near Riazan.

On Batu's retreat Yaroslaf, prince of Kief and brother of the late grand prince George, went to Vladimir to occupy the vacant throne, "to reign," in the quaint language of Karamzin, "over ruins and corpses."§ He buried the dead, collected together the fugitives, and began once more to restore order to the desolated provinces, and then invested his elder brother Sviattosaf with the principality of Suzdal; the younger one, Vladimir Dimitri, with Starodub; and the grandsons of his elder brother Constantine, Boris, Gleb, and Wasili, with Rostof, Bielosero, and Yaroslaf.|| Nor was he so weak that he failed to defeat the Lithuanians in the neighbourhood of Smolensko and Pskof. In the spring of 1239 the main body of the Mongols under Batu was again in motion. This time against the inhabitants of the Dnieper, the later Malo-Russians, and their clients the Karakalpaks or black bonnets, the Turkish representatives of the later Slavic Zaporogian Cossacks.¶ Against what in fact was alone Russia in the eyes of Nestor and the other old chroniclers, for Great Russia or Muscovy, as we now term it, was no part of the primitive Russia, which was limited to the districts of Little Russia. While Kief lost its paramount importance by its sack in 1169, as I have mentioned, it was by no means extinguished, and in the hands of some of its princes obtained an intermittent importance only second to that of Vladimir. It became in fact the capital of the south-west districts of Russia, those districts which are now called Malo-Russian.

When Batu marched against the grand prince George II., the latter's brother Yaroslaf Feodor was prince of Kief, but he had only been so for a few months. On his brother's death he moved to Vladimir, and succeeded to the principality, as I have mentioned. The throne of Kief was thereupon immediately seized by Michael of Chernigof, the son of Vsevolod the Red,** who ever since the year 1224 had carried on a struggle with the Yaroslaf first named for the possession of Novgorod. Michael's son Rostislaf was given the town of Galitch as an appanage, but having made a raid into the lands of Daniel, the prince of Volhynia

* D'Ohsson, ii. 118 and 626. † Bretsch., 83. ‡ Les Peuples du Caucase, 23. Note. § *Id.*, iv. 2. || Wolff, 149. ¶ Rashid, D'Ohsson, ii, 627. ** Wolff, 148.

and Gallicia, he was driven away and sought refuge in Hungary.* There he married a daughter of Bela IV., the Hungarian king.

It would thus seem that on the approach of the Tartars the princes of South-western Russia, instead of being united, were at variance with each other, and could offer no decent resistance to the enemy, who now marched upon Kief, the mother of the Russian cities. On their approach Michael fled westwards to Poland, to Duke Conrad of Mazovia,† and thence, after a short stay, he went on to Silesia. While staying at Neumarkt, in that district, his people were attacked, his treasure robbed, and one of his grand-daughters was killed.‡

While one army attacked Pereislavl, on the Trubetch, twelve German miles south of Kief; another attacked Chernigof, on the Desna, about the same distance to the north of the capital, where Mitislaf, cousin of Michael of Kief, ruled. Both towns were captured and destroyed, as was Glukhof, in the government of Chernigof. I have already described the capture of these towns and of their metropolis Kief, nor have I anything to add to that account.§ It was apparently in the autumn of 1239 that the princes Kuyuk, Mangu, and apparently also Buri, that is, a son of each of the three brothers, Ogotai, Tului, and Jagatai, were summoned to return home by the Khakan Ogotai, whose wife Turakina was determined that her son Kuyuk should succeed his father Ogotai. They accordingly left the grand army and made their way back to Mongolia. This is not only stated by Rashid,‖ but also in the Chinese account followed by Gaubil. Wolff, who has made Kuyuk take an active part in the campaign, has done so, as he says,¶ on the authority of the monk Roger, who, by the way, does not mention a Kuyuk but a Coacton;** and I have followed in his footsteps in the former volume, but it is quite clear to me now that this view is erroneous, not only from the statements already quoted from Rashid and Gaubil, but from all the circumstances surrounding the accession of Kuyuk, and I am quite sure that Rashid's authority must be followed in denying to Kuyuk any part in the Hungarian campaign.

The plan of that campaign was a skilful one. While Batu with the main army advanced upon Hungary directly, two other armies were sent to outflank that great natural fortress on either side, one through Poland and the other by way of Wallachia. The most northern of these armies was, according to Rashid, commanded by Orda, Batu's elder brother,†† while the western writers make it be led by Baidar (whom they call Peta), the son of Jagatai; the probable explanation being that, as was usual in Mongol armies, the chief command was divided, and that Orda and Baidar had a joint command. The statement of Dlugocz, that

* Karamzin, iv. 4, 5. † Wolff, 151. ‡ *Id.*, 153. § Vol. i. 141, 142. ‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 627. ¶ 371. Note. ** Von Hammer, op. cit., 118. Note. †† D'Ohsson, ii. 627.

Kadan had a share in this northern campaign is clearly a mistake, which is only aggravated by the gloss which Wolff has put upon it in his note.* The Caidan of Dlugocz was clearly the Kadan who commanded in Transylvania.† This northern army, under Baidar and Orda, seems to have marched westwards from Kief by the great route which leads through Schitomir and Rowno, in Volhynia, and to have wasted the districts ruled over by Daniel, the brave prince of Gallicia. Vladimir of Volhynia, otherwise called Lodomeria, one of his towns, was captured.‡ I have already described the raids made upon the districts of Lublin and Cracow.§ The place where the fight there described, which was fought with the Palatine of Cracow, was called Great Turksko, near Polamiez, on the banks of the Czarna.‖

As I have said, after this, the northern army was divided into two sections. The contingent, which made a detour through Sieradia, Lancitia, and Cujavia, was probably commanded by Orda, and it seems to have rejoined the main army near Breslau.¶ I have already sufficiently described this march and the subsequent fatal battle of Lignitz, where so many of the first men in Poland perished.** I may add that the figure of Henry II. on his tomb at St. Jacob's, at Breslau, is represented with its feet on a prostrate Tartar. A representation of the lower portion of this tomb may be seen in the second edition of Colonel Yule's Marco Polo. Besides other souvenirs of the fight already named, I may mention that a family of Tader still exists, which was named after the ruthless victors, while a tradition exists in the families of Haugwitz and Rechenberg that only two members survived the fight, to one of whom Henry is said to have addressed the words, "Haugwitz, *räche den berg*," *i.e.*, Haugwitz, defend the hill, whence the name of Rechenberg. The Jesuits also found materials for some of their religious dramas in the terrible slaughter of the faithful.†† Among the colonies of Germans founded in Silesia by Bishop Bruno to occupy the land left desolate by the invaders, Wolff mentions Liebenthal, Pilgersdorf, Hennersdorf, Johannesthal, Matzdorf, Rosvald, Schlakau, Pittarn, Schlatten, &c.‡‡

The short campaign of this division of the Tartars in Moravia is, as I have said, not easy to follow, and the difficulty is increased by the probability that it has been confused with an invasion of the Comans a few years later. There are three popular Sagas relating to this campaign which Wolff has dissected in his sixth chapter. In one of these we are told that on the approach of the Tartars the neighbouring inhabitants took refuge, partly in the wooden town of Stramberg and partly on the mountain Kotusch, where they were blockaded by the invaders. At length, on the evening of the feast of the Ascension, *i.e.*, of the 8th of

* Op. cit., 163. † *Vide infra.* ‡ Wolff, 154 and 162. Karamzin, iv. 14.
§ *Ante*, i. 142, 143. ‖ Wolff, 163. ¶ Wolff, 170. ** *Ante*, vol. i. 143, 144.
†† Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 115. ‡‡ Wolff, 193.

May, there fell a tremendous deluge of rain, which swelled the neighbouring rivers until they burst their banks and swept over the camping ground of the Tartars; many of whom perished, while the remainder retired. We are told that in this neighbourhood gingerbread cakes in the shape of hands and ears are eaten at the Ascension tide, in memory of the fact that the Tartars were in the habit of cutting off these members; and we are told further, that in digging the foundations of the church of Stramberg, in 1660, there were found many cauldrons and instruments in the shape of hoe blades, which perhaps had belonged to the invaders. In confirmation of this Saga, which was only recorded by Palacky in the seventeenth century, it seems tolerably certain that the Tartars were in Northern Moravia in the early part of May, 1241. Stramberg is a little town situated on a mountain a short distance from Neutitsch, whose crest is crowned by some ruins marking the site of a town called Sternberg, which was founded in 1242 by Idislaf of Chlumec, son of Divish of Davikhof;* and if the legend applies to the Tartar attack, it doubtless refers to some Slavic wooden fortress which existed previously on the same site, a site, as Wolff shows, the focus of many legends and tales of the old heathen days.

A second Saga centres about Hostein or Hostyn, a mountain not far from Bistriz, which was crowned in early times by a temple to Radegast, and in later ones by a church dedicated to the Virgin. This Saga is a good type of the way in which popular legends grow and get distorted, and being so, is an instructive example.

As I have said, Michael, the prince of Kief and Chernigof, had fled from the Mongols, and after some wanderings had found refuge at Neumarkt, whose Slavic name was Sreda, whose citizens seem to have received him badly, to have plundered his treasure, and *inter alia* to have killed one of his grand-daughters.†

This adventure was transferred to Batu in an old German legend of St. Hedwig, dating from the fourteenth century. In this edition of it the wife of Batu, having a great desire to see different peoples and their customs, set out with a great following and much treasure, and eventually reached the Silesian town of Neumarkt, where, in order to possess themselves of her treasure, the townspeople slew her and her followers, except two young girls, who reported the event to Batu. The latter thereupon invaded Poland and Silesia.‡ This legend was again distorted in a poem entitled "The War between the Christians and the Tartars," which was found at Koniggratz in 1817, in which we read that the daughter of the Tartar chief Kublai, with ten noble youths and two maidens, beautifully dressed, set out for the west and were slain by the Germans in a wood, upon which the Tartar Khan set out to revenge them. He bade his magicians, soothsayers, and astrologers foretel the issue of the battle.

* Wolff, 213. † Wolff, 153 and 161. ‡ *Id.*, 161.

They accordingly split a reed in two, called one half of it Kublai and the other half the king, and said some magical sentences over them, whereupon the two halves began to struggle with one another, and eventually that called Kublai won. The battle having commenced the Christians at first had the advantage, but the magicians brought out the split canes and aroused the enthusiasm of the Tartars, who thereupon defeated the Christians, and captured Kief and Novgorod, after which they divided into four bodies. They overran Poland and advanced as far as Olmutz, the Tarters having been reinforced, the Christians, who were encouraged by Wneslaf, retired fighting to the hill of Hostinof, which they beleagured. The Christians defended it bravely, and cut down twenty trees, whose trunks they rolled down upon the Tartars as they advanced. There was, however, no spring on the hill, and the garrison began to suffer from thirst, nor were the prayers they offered to the Virgin answered; and, beginning to despair, they thought of surrendering, when Wratislaf renewed his entreaties at her altar, a violent thunderstorm then came on which fed the rivulets on the mountain. Soon after a general muster of the people of the surrounding districts came to the rescue, the battle was renewed, and the Tartars were beaten, or, as the story says, "the Hanna was freed from the Tartars." Wolff has pointed out the anachronisms in this story, the mention of Kublai, whose name was not known probably in Central Europe until the end of the thirteenth century, the murder of his daughter, which is clearly another edition of the story told above of Batu's daughter. The story of the split canes, which was perhaps, as Wolff suggests, derived from Marco Polo. The hill of Hostein is marked by a considerable spring of water, so that the thirst of the Christians is not accounted for. The district of Hanna is some distance from Hostein, and not far from Kremsir, where the river Hanna flows. Nor does the description of Hostinof in the poem agree with the facts as they occur on the real hill of Hostein. For these and other reasons Wolff deems the whole story a romance, constructed by some Bohemian contemporary of the old German epic writers.* I have already mentioned† the case of the third Saga, relating to the capture of Olmutz, which has been so admirably dissected by Wolff, and shown by him to refer to the Comans and not to the Mongols.‡

We may take it that after the great fight near Lignitz, Baidar and his army proceeded to waste the eastern fringes of Bohemia and the western of Silesia, including the towns of Heinrichau, Ottmachau, Glatz, Hotzenplotz, Leobschutz, &c., and broke into Moravia in the first week of May, 1241, by the valley of the river Oppa and the town of Troppau.§

I have already related how Moravia was devastated, and given the

* Wolff, 215-221.

† *Ante*, vol. i. 145.

‡ Wolff, op. cit., 219-241.

§ Wolff, 241.

names of the towns which chiefly suffered.* The whole country, from the river March in the east to the towns of Orlava and Iglava on the west, seems to have been harried.† Roger tells us that the Tartars passed into Hungary by the Hungarian gates, and as we know from old documents that the towns of Trentschin, Neutra, and Tyrnau were devastated, Wolff has concluded that by this expression he means the Hrosinka pass, which crosses the Carpathians south of the mountain Yawornik from Ungarsch-Brod and Banof on the Olschawa, a tributary of the March, to the valley of the Waag.‡ Thence this division doubtless joined the main army under Batu, which was then encamped north of the Danube.

Let us now turn to Batu himself with the main army. It would seem that besides his grievance against the Hungarian king Bela, in that he had given an asylum to his enemies and had not answered his summons, he was also invited to invade Hungary by Dimitri, a voivode of Kief who was a prisoner in his hands, and who hoped to turn aside the terrible scourge from his own land, and accordingly aroused the suspicions of Batu by representing Bela as collecting a large army to attack him.§ Batu apparently advanced by way of Kremenetz, in Volhynia, which he captured.‖ He then seems to have traversed Gallicia, skirting the Carpathians, and at length arrived at the famous pass, which leads to the districts of Ungvar and Munkatz, in North-eastern Hungary. The same route, according to Von Hammer, was followed by the Magyars themselves in invading the land.¶ Batu's army was preceded by a body of 40,000 men, who cut roads and acted as pioneers through the terribly difficult country.** The incredible speed at which the Tartars marched, and which was no doubt one secret of their successes, is shown by the fact that in three days they covered a distance of nearly seventy German miles, and suddenly appeared in the neighbourhood of Pesth;†† but this was clearly only a body of videttes or skirmishers, for the great fight took place a considerable distance from Pesth, on the river Sayo, about half way between Munkatz and the capital, and close to the modern town of Miskolcz. While Batu himself, with the main army, skirted the Eastern Carpathians on their outer flank, he apparently detached an army under his cousin Kadan, the son of Ogotai, which marched upon Kamenetz, in Podolia, and Chernovitz, in the Bukovina,‡‡ and thence over the Borgo pass into Northern Transylvania. This pass was also called the pass of Rodna, from the town of that name, the centre of the gold mining enterprise in these districts, which was formerly occupied by Saxon colonists, but now by Roumans, who have displaced them. Ruins of

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* *Ante*, 145. † *Id.*, 244. ‡ *Id.*, 249, 250. § Karamzin, iv. 15.
‖ Karamzin, iv. 15. ¶ Golden Horde, 119. ** *Id.* Note, 4.
†† Golden Horde, 120. ‡‡ Wolff, 154.

the old town of Rodna still remain, especially massive *debris* of the church, proving its former importance.

At Rodna, we are told the Tartars found the garrison so threatening that they made a feigned retreat, whereupon the too confident Christians returned in triumph, and not only discarded their arms, but also, according to the monk Roger, an Italian, and no lover of strong drink, "got drunk in the wild Teutonic manner." (Theutonicorum furia is his phrase.) While in this condition the Tartars returned and captured "the town of the gold mines." They were assisted, we are told, by a contingent of 600 Germans, under Count Ariscald. The invaders were apparently divided into various bodies, and not only ravaged the various towns of Transylvania, as I have mentioned,* but also the neighbouring districts of Hungary, and in a document of King Ladislas IV., dated in 1277, we are told how the districts of Marmarosch, Szathmar, and Solnoker still remained desolate from the devastation they had suffered at the hands of the Tartars.† It would seem that they marched into Hungary by the Meszez pass, by way of Zilah and Somlyo, and directly upon Great Varadin or Wardein, of which Roger, the author of the *Miserabile carmen*, was archbishop, and of whose devastation he was an eyewitness.

Great Wardein, like most mediæval towns, was built of wood, with wooden towers on its walls. The town itself was doubtless open, but was protected by a strong citadel or fortress. It was easily captured and destroyed, and as it had resisted, its inhabitants were, according to Mongol fashion, destroyed. The captors then retired for some distance, and when the garrison in the citadel thought they had finally retreated, and returned once more to their houses, they went back and surprised many of them. They then bombarded the citadel with seven balistas until they breached its walls, and finally stormed it. The cathedral and other churches were inside the citadel, and there the women, old and young, had taken refuge. As they could not force an entrance into these buildings the Tartars fired them, and their inmates perished miserably. Women were ravished in the churches, while the leading inhabitants were conducted outside the town and there slaughtered, the tombs of the saints were desecrated, and the vessels of the altar defiled; nor did the Tartars fail to return again and again to search among the ruins and the corpses for some new victims who should have hidden away in the woods and returned in the false hope that the storm had passed away.‡ Roger tells us how, when he escaped from Wardein with a number of his people, he went to Thomas' Bridge on the Black Koros, where the German garrison refused them permission to cross, and wished to insist upon their stopping to defend it. They, however, hurried on to an island where the people of Agra, Waydam,

* *Ante*, vol. i. 146. † Wolff, 323. ‡ Wolff, 324-326. D'Ohsson, ii. 149, 150.

Geroth, &c., had taken refuge. It was probably such an island as Athelney, surrounded by marshes, and, we are told, was approached by only one narrow way, which was protected by fortifications and barricades. There he determined to stay, but having heard that the Tartars were close by, the archdeacon prudently slipped away secretly and made his way to Czanad. The very next day Czanad was attacked, as Roger says, by another body of Tartars, who had invaded Hungary from another side.* It would seem that the contingent under Kadan, having laid waste Northern Transylvania and North-eastern Hungary, rejoined Batu's main army after the great fight on the Sayo, and probably in the rich country of Tokay.

Let us now turn to the doings of this army. According to Wolff, it was led by Subutai Baghatur and Kuyuk,† but, as I have said, Kuyuk took no part in this expedition, and Rashid distinctly gives the leadership of this army to Bujek, the son of Tului; and it is probable that it was led by the latter and Subutai in conjunction. It seems to have marched through Moldavia, inhabited by the Vlakhs or Roumans, who were styled Kara Iflah by the Osmanli Turks, and Kara Ulugh by Rashid.‡ This army having crossed the Sireth, attacked the south of Transylvania. It was this division which chiefly ravaged the various towns of Transylvania, as I mentioned in the former volume.§ I notice that there is a town in the district of Gyergyo which is still called Tatárhago, which name is probably a souvenir of their passage. This army seems to have followed the valley of the Maros, while that of Kadan marched along that of the Koros. It was probably the contingent commanded by Subutai which suddenly appeared before Czanad while Roger was sheltering there.

Let us continue his story. He tells us he was deserted by two of his servants, and having heard of the storming of Thomas' Bridge by the ruthless enemy and the slaughter of its inhabitants, he returned once more to the island or marsh, which was probably situated in the marshy district between Bekes and Gyola, where he counselled the people to fortify their retreat, but he himself, according to his own confession, soon left again, and hid away in the woods, where he bade his servant bring him food. The island was captured, and a horrible slaughter ensued, as I have mentioned.‖ It was not till after several days that Roger ventured to visit it, and he gives a most piteous account of the horrors which he saw, and describes the inhuman skill of the Tartars in finding out fresh victims in their hiding places as like that of hounds when hunting boars and hares. They issued orders that those who surrendered freely should, after a short time, once more return home. A large number of people, driven by hunger, accepted these hollow promises, and

* Wolff, 327.
† Op. cit., 155, 156.
‡ Wolff, 156. D'Ohsson, ii. 628.
§ Vol. i. 146.
‖ *Id.*

the district was more or less repeopled and divided into sections, each under a petty chief. The Tartars had in fact determined to winter there, and required food. It was harvest time (July, 1241), and the returned fugitives were allowed to reap their harvest, but they frequently had to purchase a respite in their lives by surrendering their wives, sisters, and daughters to the lustful Tartars, who ravished them before their eyes. The Tartars appointed officers, whose duty it was to see them supplied with food, clothing, arms, and horses. There were about a hundred of these bailiffs, and the one under whom Roger lived had authority over nearly a thousand villages. These bailiffs were men of taste, and furnished themselves with the fairest girls; those who brought them such were rewarded with presents of sheep, oxen, horses, &c. They generally met together weekly, and Roger tells us that, in the hope of learning more of their way of living, of becoming acquainted with some of their grandees, or of finding a way of escape, he used to attend these meetings with his bailiff. On one occasion the inhabitants of the various villages were summoned to meet the bailiffs and to bring presents. Suspecting some evil play, Roger at length hired himself as a slave to a Hungarian prince. His fears were well founded, for, having appropriated their gifts, the Tartars collected the poor people together and slaughtered them. They now brought together all the provisions they could collect, having determined to winter there, and afterwards devastated the whole province, and made a hideous slaughter of the inhabitants. They would not allow them, doubtless, to consume the winter provisions they themselves needed. In the spring of 1242 they once more set out, and, as I have mentioned,* destroyed Perg with a vast mass of people, only two girls and those who feigned death amidst the corpses of their relatives and were stained with their blood, escaped. They then stormed the monastery of Egres, where they seem to have spared some women and monks.† This division of the Tartar army seems to have passed the summer of 1241 on the Theiss, and then probably made its way towards the middle Danube, in which neighbourhood Batu himself was encamped.

The story of the fatal battle on the Sayo is told with some graphic details which I have not related in my previous notice, both in the Jihankushai and the Chinese annals. In the former we are told that Batu sent Sheiban with 10,000 men to reconnoitre, and that he returned in a week reporting that the enemy had a superior force. This was probably the advanced division to which I have already called attention.‡ When the two hosts faced one another Batu retired to a hill for a day and night to implore divine assistance. He had also ordered all the Mussulmans in his army to pray to heaven. Next day he detached Sheiban with some troops to cross the Sayo, but their attack was

* Vol. i. 147. † Wolff, 331, 332. ‡ *Ante*, 48.

unsuccessful, their numbers having been too small. The main body then rushed upon the Hungarians, and penetrated to the camp of their kelar (*i.e.*, kiraly, the Hungarian name for a king), and cut the ropes of his tent, upon which his troops fled. The Yuan shi assigns the command of the advance guard to Subutai, who in face of the strength of the enemy's army had recourse to stratagem. While Batu crossed the river where it was shallow and where there was a bridge, Subutai crossed it lower down where it was deeper, and built a bridge by fastening beams together. Meanwhile Batu had been engaged, and had lost thirty men, including one of his adjutants styled Ba ha tu. Batu began to be discouraged and would have retired, but Subutai insisted that they should go on, and completely defeated the enemy. Some time after Batu reproached Subutai, and said, "while we were fighting together on the river Tiuming I lost my Ba ha tu because of your tarrying." Subutai replied, "that while Batu crossed easily at a shallow place, he was delayed by having to build a bridge over a deep one." At a feast, on another occasion, Batu did more justice to his brave general, and gave him the credit of the victory over the Hungarian king.*

After the battle on the Sayo, Bela fled to the woods Dios gior, thence he probably escaped by way of Szomolnok and Leutschau to the castle of Piewnicza, south of Sandecz, almost directly north of the battle field, where he met his son-in-law Boleslaf, of Cracow.† There he did not tarry long, having doubtless heard of the terrible march of Baidar through Cracovia, but, adopting the disguise of a pilgrim, he fled along the Carpathians towards the frontier of Austria, doubtless to rejoin his family at Oedenburg. A body of the Tartars followed him sharply; it marched through the defiles of Zips or Spisky, in the central Carpathians, west of Piewnicza and, doubtless mistaking his traces, fell upon Cracow, which had so recently been devastated, and then marching through the districts of Auschwitz and Teschen, reached Hungary again by the Yablunka pass.‡ Bela reached Neitra in safety, and was escorted thence to the Austrian frontier by the German colonists. They were afterwards, namely, in 1258, rewarded for their fidelity by being made free burghers of Stuhlweissenburg.§ He was made to pay a heavy ransom by the Duke of Austria, as I have mentioned.‖ Having rejoined his wife and young son Stephen, he made his way to Agram, in Croatia. The Duke of Austria, it would seem, had also insisted, as a part of the ransom, that Bela should surrender three of his provinces (probably those of Wieselburg, Oedenburg, and Eisenburg are meant).¶ He now seems to have invaded them, and thus took advantage of the dire necessity of Hungary to spoil her further.**

The terrible battle of Lignitz and the rapid march of the Tartars

* Bretschneider, 91-94. D'Ohsson, ii. 620. † Wolff, 310. ‡ *Id.*, 311.
§ *Id.* ‖ *Ante* vol. i. 150. ¶ Wolff, 312. ** *Id.* 319.

through Poland and Moravia had naturally aroused much feeling in Germany, and measures began to be concerted there for the defence of the empire. At the wish of King Wenceslaus of Bohemia, and of Henry Raspe, the Landgrave of Thuringia, a meeting of princes and prelates took place at Merseburgh, north of the Platen Sea, where it was decided that old and young should take the cross, and all capable of taking arms should set out, those who were rich and not so capable, paying for others who were. This scheme broke down, however, through the fierce strife between Kaizar and Pope which was then raging, and to which I shall presently refer; but as the Tartars continued their march, and threatened to overwhelm the empire itself, even the fierce combatants of church and state respectively drew nearer to one another. Konrad IV., the emperor's son, a boy of but thirteen years, and therefore but little fitted to cope with these troubled times, convoked a meeting of notables at Eslingen, on the Neckar, for the 19th of May, 1241, where a pact was made that until the feast of Saint Martin, *i.e.*, the 10th of November, and longer if necessary, they should unite in a common crusade against the Tartars, not compromising meanwhile any of their intentions in the civil strife just named, and that an army should be assembled at Nuremberg to march against the invaders, while the Franciscan friars who had been sent by Pope Gregory IX. to excommunicate the emperor, his sons, and supporters, were to preach the crusade. This was allowed to be preached within their dioceses by the Bishop of Costniz, the Archbishop of Mayence, and the Bishop of Augsburgh.* Presently the news of the Tartar doings reached Rome, and the Pope himself sent orders to the heads of the two great orders of friars, and also to the abbots of the Cistercian monasteries in Germany, to preach the same holy war. The Tartars were informed by their spies of these movements in Germany, and we accordingly find that Batu, who was encamped in the country about Comorn, north of the Danube, sent a detachment to the borders of Austria, where, according to a letter of the Austrian Duke Frederick II., dated the 13th of June, 1241, he claims that his people slew 300 of them.†

The Tartar invasion was synchronous with the terrible strife between the civil and religious powers—between the emperor and the pontiff—which caused so much damage and scandal to Christianity. The Kaizar was the redoubtable Frederick II., and the Pope was Gregory IX. The former was master of Naples and Sicily, and was determined to put his foot on all the land beyond the Alps. The Pope, who was equally vigorous and determined, would not submit to have the land overshadowed by the double-headed eagle, and the strife had grown very envenomed. While the Tartars were ravaging Russia, Poland, and Hungary, namely, from

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* Wolff, 246. † *Id.*, 250.

August, 1240, until April, 1241, Frederick was laying siege to the papal city of Faenza, which he at length captured. On his side, the Pope had excommunicated him on the 20th of March, 1239, being Palm Sunday, and had a year later permitted a crusade to be preached against him; and, lastly, he had created a party among the princes of Germany, who were banded together against his great enemy. These consisted of the treacherous Duke of Austria Frederick II., Otto II. of Bavaria, Otto the younger and John of Brunswick, Henry II. of Silesia, and the Landgraf Henry Raspe, all headed by Wenceslaus of Bohemia; and the Pope had even gone so far as to decree the dethronement of the Kaizar, and to nominate another in his place, a claim which was far beyond his rights, which did not go beyond the crowning of the prince who should be elected by the rest.* With such an enemy it is not to be wondered at that Frederick, who was the great mediæval champion of the civil power, should have been most careful not to let his rival have a chance of escaping. It was, consequently, a terrible time of feud and dislocation for any effort to be organised against the common foe of all, who threatened to stamp both Kaizar and Pope underneath his heel. When Bela, the Hungarian king, reached Agram in his flight he despatched the Bishop of Waitzen with a letter to the emperor and the pope, setting out the devastation of Hungary, and promising the former to acknowledge him as his suzerain if he would come and help him.† These letters were dated the 18th of May, 1241. The bishop first repaired to Rome, where the pope, who possibly mingled benevolence and diplomacy in his acts, and who did not wish to see Hungary become an imperial appanage, took Bela under the immediate protection of the holy see, offered the same indulgences and immunities to all who would march against the Tartars as were offered in the case of the crusades, and ordered the Hungarian clergy to help their king.‡ From Rome the bishop repaired to Spalatro, where the emperor was then staying. The emperor replied to him, "That if he left Italy before the war there was ended, that Germany would lose the benefit of the blood and treasure it had poured out in his support, and that if he marched against the Tartars he would expose his own states (*i.e.*, Naples and Sicily) to attack, since the pope was so much at issue with him, but he hoped before long to restore peace to the Christian world; and, having pacified Italy, he said that he would march at the head of a great force against the invaders."§ Well might Matthew Paris, in his commentary on these proceedings, say that God must have been at enmity with the Christians to permit such feuds in face of the unbelievers.‖ Meanwhile, however, the emperor wrote to his son Konrad, and to the Swabian princes and dukes to aid in repelling the barbarians, and he also wrote to the other European sovereigns,

* Wolff, 194-196. † *Id.*, 257 and 314. D'Ohsson, ii. 167.
‡ Wolff, 314, 315. § D'Ohsson, ii. 166, 167. Wolff, 315, 316. ‖ Wolff, 317.

entreating them to make common cause against the enemy. The letter which he sent on the 3rd of July, 1241, to his brother-in-law, Henry III. of England, has been preserved by Matthew Paris. He implored him to render assistance in the work of repelling the invaders, "for," said he, "if the Tartars penetrate into Germany and find no barriers to their progress there, other nations will suffer from the terrible scourge which divine justice, as we believe, has allowed to appear to punish the world for its crimes, and on account of the decay of piety. He bade him therefore use diligence in affording his help, for this people, he said (*i.e.*, the Tartars), have left their own country with the intention of subjugating all the west, and of destroying the faith and the name of Christian; but we have faith in Christ, who has hitherto enabled us to vanquish our enemies, and will cause their pride to fall, and the Tartars to be once more remitted back to Tartarus."*

Matthew Paris tells us the emperor ordered his sons Konrad and Henry to march against the Tartars. The latter was at the head of 4,000 horsemen and a crowd of foot soldiers, and encountered the Tartars near Devin, on the river March. Wolff contends that Matthew Paris is here mistaken, and that the confederates were not the sons of the emperor, but the bishop of Costniz and the bishop of Freisingen, who had been promoters of the crusade I have mentioned.† In this battle, which is mentioned by Haithon, the Armenian, and by the Dominican Bieul, the Tartars were defeated and driven away.‡ It was apparently fought in the autumn of 1241. Batu's army having spent that season north of the Danube, and having been rejoined by the contingents under Baidar and Kadan, began to move again in December, 1241.

One division, under Batu himself, marched upon Gran, perhaps by the valleys of the Sayo and the Ipoly. It was an unusually severe winter, and the Danube was frozen over. To test whether it would bear their army or not, the Tartars abandoned a number of their cattle on the opposite bank, and then made pretence of retiring altogether. After waiting three days, the Hungarians crossed over to secure what they deemed their booty, upon which the Tartars crossed it also.§ They crossed on the 25th of December, 1241. I have already described the siege and capture of the town.‖ One incident of the sack is a grim epitome of the horrible barbarities committed by the captors. Three hundred of the first ladies in the town were captured in one house. Dressed in their richest garments they presented themselves before Batu and implored his pity, offering to become his slaves. He ordered them to be disrobed and then beheaded. Pity was not to be found in the code of the ruthless Tartar, whose draconic sentence upon every

* D'Ohsson, ii. 168. † Wolff, 260. ‡ *Id.*, 260, 261. § D'Ohsson, ii. 153.
‖ *Ante*, i. 150.

town which resisted, was destruction. After the destruction of Gran, Batu apparently spent a considerable time in its neighbourhood. His people, however, were not idle, and were engaged in desolating the valley of the Danube, advancing north of that river as far as Niunburg or Kronnenburgh, two German miles north of Vienna, where they slaughtered many Christians ;* while south of the Danube they advanced, as I have described,† as far as Neustadt, south of Vienna, where they suffered a check at the hands of the Archduke of Austria, the King of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquilia, the Duke of Carinthia, and the Margrave of Baden who had assembled a considerable army.‡ But it would seem that altogether the country west of the Danube fared better than that east of the river, and that several towns, such as Oedenburg, Presburg, Neitra, Trentschin, Comorn, Turotz, &c., successfully resisted the Tartar attack.§

While Batu and the main army remained near the middle Danube, a contingent was sent under Kadan in pursuit of Bela, as I have described.‖ The latter had sent his wife Maria and young son Stephen, in the spring of 1241, into Dalmatia, and confided them to the care of the people of Spalatro, but the queen was nervous, and, with a number of widows whose husbands had been killed by the Tartars, and with her husband's treasure, she took refuge at the strong fortress of Clissa, a short distance from Spalatro.¶ Bela himself remained for a while in Croatia, and he complains in a document still extant of the way in which he was deserted by his grandees ; but he seems to have been of a vacillating disposition, and neither conciliated enemies nor made many friends. The clergy alone behaved handsomely to him. *Inter alia* we are told how the monastery of Mons. Pannoniæ made him a present of 800 marks of fine gold. In the early part of February, 1242, having heard of Kadan's pursuing march, he fled to the Dalmatian coast, and, having removed his family from Clissa, went to Spalatro. Kadan pursued him sharply, as I have described.** The Tartars seem to have left a considerable portion of their forces near Verbacz, where pasturage was abundant, and to have hurried on with the light troops through the barren and inhospitable mountains of Croatia, where they pitilessly slaughtered the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex. Fancying that Bela was taking refuge at Clissa, they poured a shower of arrows upon it, and finding this of little use, they dismounted and began to clamber up on hand and foot, and were met by the garrison rolling down great stones upon them.†† But Bela had gone to Trau, as they learnt there, and thence shipped his wife and family to the neighbouring islands of Lesina and Brazza, while he himself remained on board ship. The two islands were granted the privilege of having their own bishops and their

* Wolff, 340. † *Ante*, i. 152. ‡ Wolff, 344. § *Id.*, 339.
‖ Vol. i. 151, &c. ¶ Wolff, 350. ** *Ante*, i. 152. †† Wolff, 351.

own Zupan (the latter, however, to be of the family Geviche), in recompense for the refuge they thus afforded the royal family.* The Tartars advanced to the outskirts of Trau, and finding it unassailable, they sent a messenger to summon the town, who spoke in the Slavonic tongue : "Kadan, the chief of the unconquered army, bids you know, if you do not wish to share in the penalty earned by one who is a stranger in blood to you, deliver the enemy into our hands."† No answer, at the wish of the king, was given to this arrogant message. The Tartars then retired. They spent nearly the whole of March, however, in the neighbourhood, and several times visited the coast towns, but afterwards returned to Verbacz.

Several documents are extant showing how Bela rewarded the various grandees who had faithfully served him during this terrible time. *Inter alia* we read how the count Detrikus, son of Matthew, was made Ban of Slavonia. Similar rewards overtook other Croatian notables. The most important of his friends at this time were the Frangipanni counts of Veglia, who put not only their men and ships at his service, but also made him an advance of 20,000 marks. It would seem that they assembled a considerable fleet from the neighbouring coasts, which acted as an escort to Bela, when on the 18th of March he set out from Trau. It was overtaken by a storm on the open sea, between the canals of Zara and Quarnero, and a portion of the fleet was driven on to the coast of the peninsula of Nona. A terrible struggle ensued between the castaways and the Tartars, who were lying in wait on the shore, but the latter were badly beaten. We are told that on this occasion three young champions, named Krecz, Yegerlich (called Kupissa), and Raak, with thirty-eight followers (who came from Syrmia, in Eastern Slavonia, and of whom twenty-five perished in the struggle), distinguished themselves. The fight took place before the king's own eyes, and the description is enlivened by some graphic touches, the Tartars being hemmed in and slaughtered, we are told, like "geese on a fish-pond." They were at length defeated and driven beyond the Kerka, near Brezcza.‡

The Frangipanni, who had behaved so loyally, were handsomely rewarded by the king. By a deed of the 5th of April, 1251, they were granted the counties of Vinodol and Modrus, in Croatia ; and by a deed, dated four years later, he made over to them the town of Zeng, with Zubehör, Zoll, &c. ; while in 1263 he heaped fresh honours upon them, and gave the castle of Zkrad, in Croatia, to the brothers Philip and Bartholomew Szkalyk de Lyka, who had supplied a contingent of ships.§

Let us turn once more to Kadan and his Tartars. Finding he could not reach Bela, he set out at the end of March, 1242, and passed through Turkish Croatia and the Herzegovina. When he had reached as far

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* Wolff, 358. † *Id.* ‡ *Id.*, 363-365. § *Id.*, 360, 361.

south as Drivasto, in Albania, he received orders from Batu to return, the death of the Great Khan Ogotai having summoned the various princes back again to Asia. He accordingly marched east through Bulgaria to meet him.

Batu had remained apparently, as I have said, in the neighbourhood of Gran. When the news of Ogotai's death reached him he set out eastwards. This was probably about the end of March. The army marched with a large convoy of waggons and troops of cattle and horses. The forests were tramped through on foot, so that the insatiable Tartars might glean the few victims who escaped them as they advanced into the country. In Transylvania the ravage had not been quite complete before, and many towns and inhabitants still remained. These were trodden under and destroyed. The Tartars then crossed over into Wallachia, and thence into Bulgaria. This was about the beginning of June, 1242,* and about the same time Kadan reached Bulgaria and rejoined Batu with his contingent. On his passage through Bulgaria, Batu did not fail, in Mongol fashion, to lay waste the whole land. The King of Bulgaria, Kolowan, appealed to his suzerain, Baldwin II., the Emperor of Constantinople, for help. Allying himself with the Comans, who had migrated from Hungary in 1241, he defeated the Tartars in a first engagement, but was defeated and his country subdued in a second more unfortunate fight.† It was while in Bulgaria that Batu assembled the various prisoners whom he had captured, and after he had given them permission to return home made a great slaughter of them, as I have mentioned.‡ At length, in the winter of 1242-43, the Tartars once more crossed the Danube.

When the Tartars invaded Gallicia its prince, Daniel, fled westwards and found refuge with Konrad, Duke of Mazovia and Cujavia, where his rival Michael of Kief had preceded him.§ When the Tartars passed into Hungary he returned once more to his principality, and, turning aside from Brest and Vladimir on account of the pestilental odour emitted by the corpses there, he settled at Kholm, a town which he had himself founded, near the ancient Cherven. It had escaped the general ravage, and was inhabited by a mixed population of Germans, Poles, &c. It was beautifully built, and adorned with gardens, an oasis in the general desert, and from it Daniel commenced the work of restoring prosperity once more to the devastated country. He was opposed, however, by the Gallician boyards, who had tasted in his absence a little liberty, and who seized the salt mines of Kolomna, the dues from which went to support the princely exchequer. They also intrigued with Rostislaf, the son of Michael of Kief. Michael had been well treated by Daniel, who had ceded to him the principality of Kief, to which he had returned. Daniel defeated the treacherous conduct of the boyards and of the

* Wolff, 368. † *Id.*, 366. ‡ *Ante*, vol. i. 153. § Wolff, 381.

bishops of Galitch and Pereislavl, drove Rostislaf away from the town of Galitch, defeated the Poles, from whom he captured Lublin, and made himself powerfully felt. He is styled Grand Prince by some, and had certainly in South-western Russia an equivalent position to Yaroslaf in Central Russia at Vladimir.*

When Batu crossed the Volga he sent the Poloutzian Aktai to apprise him that he had returned from his campaign in Hungary, and that he should send his commanders Memmen and Balai with an army against him if he did not send in his submission.† He then continued his march towards the Volga.

We have now completed the story of Batu's great campaign. And what a terrible story it is, what a picture of utter destruction and desolation. From the German frontier to the Volga hardly a town survived the passage of the tornado. If towns were an eyesore to Mongol eyes, as many of their graphic sayings attest, then assuredly they had done credit to their æsthetic training; and if the presence of settled inhabitants, and of those who reap and sow, who knit and weave, was a menace to the roving soldiery, whose grass needed no tillage, and whose wealth was in their flocks, they had had their fill of satisfaction. They had few local ties and scruples, and were on a gigantic scale what the Turkoman and Kazak frontagers of Persia are on a small one, devoted to that licentious liberty which is incompatible with town life, and that obstinate independence which deems most laws the yokes of slaves. If it be true that man was first a hunter, then a nomade, then a settler, and that between these forms of life there is perpetual war, and that although the victory goes unfailingly to the last, that it has to be won at the sword's point, and is only won when its enemy is entirely extirpated; then we have a *raison d'être* for much which crowds these volumes, and we may accept the campaign of Batu and its results as one chapter in that mighty warfare between the nomade and the agriculturist, which is now waning, because the nomade has had his day, but which was then in the balance, for assuredly, but for the lucky death of Ogotai and the consequent recall of the Tartar leaders, there is no good reason why an acre of land in Europe should have escaped being trampled upon by Tartar troops, and should have been scorched accordingly. I have in the previous volume collected some of the reasons why the Tartar march was so successful, others remain. The first and most obvious cause was that the Tartars were a perpetual standing army. "The nomade nations," as one historian of Russia says, "are armies, irregular indeed, but easily put in motion, prompt, and always on foot; whatever they leave behind them can be guarded by old men, women, and children. To such nations war is not an event, for long marches produce but little change in the habits of a wandering people, their

* Karamzin, iv. 21-24. † Von Hammer, 136. Wolff, 381.

houses, their provisions, march along with them; and this is of some importance in uncultivated plains and uninhabited forests."* There was no distinction among the Tartars between civilian and soldier, all were warriors who could carry arms, save perhaps a few Shamanist medicine men. On the other hand, what do we find in Europe at this time? In the first place, it was so divided in interests and other respects by its feudal institutions, that its patriotism was parochial and its strength frittered away. In the next place, in Russia, and probably in Hungary, the possession of arms was reserved for nobles and freemen only, and from these we must deduct the traders and clergy. Now, as the author just quoted says, speaking of Russia, "continual wars had so much increased the number of monks, hired servants, and slaves, and so much diminished that of freemen and landholders, that there remained scarcely warriors enough to make head against the Poloutzi." These were the natural warriors, who were trained to arms; besides them each of the petty chiefs kept paid guards of mercenaries. These in former times had been Varangians and Norsemen, but in later days they had also taken Turkomans into their pay, and we read of Berendeens, Turks, &c., being in the service of the Russian princes, but these guards had greatly diminished in numbers. "About the year 1100 the guard of the Grand Prince was only 800 men, and he lost it."† These frail materials formed the only soldiery in the country, and the crowds who were collected to repel a sudden invasion were necessarily but a very indifferent militia, and disappeared like chaff in the fire before the terrible Tartar cavalry, so well disciplined and with such admirable tactics. Badly armed foot soldiers, with little training or discipline, have never been a match for such opponents, and especially when they have come in such multitudes as the soldiers of Batu. Again, not only did they excel in discipline, training, and numbers, but also in weapons. Here let me quote from a historian who is too little appreciated. He says, "It is unnecessary to expatiate upon the influence exercised by military arms in organisation and discipline, and in the general science of war, upon the history of comparatively modern times. . . . The system organised by Gustavus Adolphus turned the tide of victory against the Imperial arms in Germany, and on more than one hard fought field in England, when used by Fairfax and Cromwell against the ill-regulated valour of the supporters of King Charles. . . . The dagger screwed into the muzzle of the musket first placed that weapon on a footing with the pike at close quarters; the bayonet attached to the end of the barrel completed its efficiency without interfering with its use as a firearm. The firelock and the iron ramrod each made a mark, however small that mark may have been, upon some portion of the history of the last two centuries."‡ The same very learned author then proceeds to discuss the

* Kelly's Russia, i. 68. † *Id.*, 69. ‡ Robertson, Historical Essays, ix.

superiority of the Frank weapons over those of the Roman colonials, and of the Normans at Hastings over those of the English, in both cases awarding the victory to the well equipped. Now, in the case of the Tartars we have every reason for believing that they were in every way better armed than their opponents. In the magnificent collection of armour at the Palace of Peterhof there are some specimens of the body armour of the Mongols, made with scales of iron overlapping one another, which testify to the skill of their smiths, and are marvels of workmanship compared with any contemporary armour then in use in Eastern Europe. As to the Tartar weapons they have been described for us by one of the chroniclers. Their armour, he tells us, was made of buffalo hides, with scales fastened on it. It was impenetrable, and formed a capital defence. They wore iron or leathern helmets, crooked swords (*i.e.*, sabres), quivers, and bows. The heads of their arrows were four fingers broad, longer than those used in the west, and were made of iron, bone, or horn, and the notches were so small that they would not pass over the strings of western bows. Their standards were short, made of black or white yak's tails, and having balls of wool at the top. Their horses were small, compact, and hardy, and submitted to almost any hardship. They rode them without stirrups, and made them jump like deer over rocks and walls.*

It will thus be seen that in weapons and armature also, the invaders were superior to their opponents, and we cannot wonder, when we gauge the respective qualifications of either side, that the Mongols should have been universally successful in the open field. Their engineering skill was also very superior to anything then known in Europe. We have pictured for us in the accounts of the Mongol campaigns in China the elaborate mangonels and other kinds of artillery which they had at command, and which enabled them to break very readily the more or less frail barriers of wood or stone, which were then deemed formidable fortifications ; and we accordingly find that when they had enough time they were seldom foiled in attacking towns. Towns had this additional weakness in Russia, that they were so far asunder and so separated by forests and deserts that they could not help one another. All the odds, in fact, were in favour of the invaders ; and, as if this was not enough, the princes both in Russia and Hungary were, if not in actual conflict, engaged too often, to use a graphic colloquial phrase, in "paddling their own canoes." The Grand Prince of Russia was a very feeble person, Karamzin, who is ever tender to princes, speaks of him as having taken no measures for the defence of Russia, but as having the virtues of his century, "he decked the churches, made presents to the monks, and his memory was blest by the people,"† which is fiercely translated by another writer, "He was an idiot, . . . was solely occupied in

* Thomas of Spalatro, Wolff, 334. † Op. cit., iv. 3.

adorning the churches, perpetuating mendicity by alms, and fattening the monks."

In Hungary, Bela was also marked by feeble qualities, and, as I showed in my former volume, had exasperated or alienated large numbers of his people. We need not wonder, therefore, at the completeness of the Tartar success, and if we find cause of admiration from the military point of view, it must be as an engineering feat, for the marvellous rapidity with which the land was won, and the ease with which such a large force was moved and provisioned, and the admirable strategy by which the whole campaign was marked; and in gauging this we must remember that in Hungary, at least, it is probable the Tartars were assisted by the Comans as guides and counsellors, for they also had a grievance against the Hungarians, while it would seem from the narrative of Roger that both Magyars and Germans did not scruple to join the ranks of the ruthless invaders, driven as much perhaps by terror as by sympathy.

With these advantages the success of the Tartars was inevitable, and when we consider their mission, it is only too easy either to be cynical, or, if our method be not that of Diogenes, to stand aside and despair entirely of solving the riddle of history; but we surely may do better than this. It is not a mere phrase when we speak of the tide of human progress, and thus postulate for it an ebb as well as a flow; and the ebb has its ends and uses no less than the flow. And there was one result at least of the Tartar invasion which was lasting and most useful, and in this it was similar to the terrible invasions of the Danes in the further west at an earlier day. Through the process of parcelling out the kingly inheritance a considerable danger was overhanging Europe, every province was becoming a rival of its neighbours, and all the countries of the west were in consequence disintegrating. It required the sharp iron of the Danes to weld together the fragments of England into one land, to make men feel that they had a common heritage to guard, and common interests to gather round, or, if we would have a more modern example, we cannot doubt that all the romance and fervid sentiment which surrounds the term Fatherland in Germany, which has in that disjointed mass of little principalities formed a public opinion too strong for any provincial loyalties to withstand, and which has demanded unity and strength under one head, has been born of the roll of misfortunes and troubles which division and mutual strife have entailed on her children, and have made her an ever easy prey to her unscrupulous neighbours. So it was with the Russians, only in a much greater degree. That union, that obedience to authority, that terrible patience and dogged perseverance, which we recognise as the great Russian virtues, were born doubtless of the terrible troubles which befell the land in the Tartar and earlier period. So dislocated and broken to pieces was

the whole fabric of the State in the early thirteenth century, that nothing but blood and iron, the two remedies of a strong-fisted statesman, were capable of welding it together, and these were supplied copiously enough by the Tartars. The need of union against the common enemy created Russia, out of a patchwork of small rival States with ignoble ambitions. This at least was one result of the struggle, others will suggest themselves as we proceed.

There is a question, however, which forces itself upon us at this point which is certainly very curious, and that is a comparison of Batu's conduct in the campaign and his conduct afterwards; and this is so much in unison with what the Mongols did elsewhere that it has no doubt a common explanation. During the war the very spirit of destruction seems to have accompanied him; after it was over this policy ceased. Tribute and homage were exacted, and also obedience, but otherwise the victims were treated with comparative leniency, and seldom disturbed at home. This was quite in character with the precepts of Jingis, "In war tigers, in peace doves." War with the Tartars was no play time. It meant, as it logically means, the destruction of the enemy and all that belongs to him. At all events, the running of no risks for the sake of sentiment, the exacting of the most terrible punishment. Rather than leave a population behind which might grow into an army, everybody who could embarrass the communications or the retreat of the army was destroyed; rather than keep a great mass of prisoners, who must be fed and clothed, and who would hamper the movements as well as the commissariat of the army, their throats were cut; no walls and houses which could be converted into fortresses were to be left standing; and following out the grim notion that war means a terrible struggle for existence, and not a sentimental game, they deemed everything fair. With your enemy at your throat, every treacherous method was deemed honest, every cruel expedient, justifiable. Resistance brought destruction at once, while submission only purchased safety when it was not compromising in any way to the victors. The girls and boys, the artisans and handicraftsmen, who could be made into slaves and otherwise employed, were spared and sent to Mongolia in some numbers, otherwise the decree upon an enemy's land was that it must be desolated. The issue is no doubt awful, but it is at least logical, and is certainly contrasted with that decrepit philanthropy which, when two combatants are determined to fight it out, supplies plaster and medicine to enable them to continue the struggle longer. When the war was over, then the necessity for such menaces ceased also. So long as the victors had plenty of broad lands for pasture, and an occasional opportunity of replenishing their harems and houses with wives and trinkets by a plundering raid, they left their neighbours alone, and eventually became demoralised by contact with them and by the enervating effects of luxury and ease, while their

former victims were knitting their strength together until they overwhelmed them, a process which we shall follow in the succeeding pages.

Of the various districts of Russia one portion alone now remained independent of the Tartar arms, and that was the principality of Novgorod, whose fame is widely spread as a member of the Hanseatic league, as the mother of modern republics, and as the seat of power of Alexander Nevski, the son of the Grand Prince Yaroslaf, who ruled there when Batu's army swept over Southern Russia, and whose good fortune and happy reign form for a few years a bright relief to the generally dismal annals of Russia at this epoch.

Let us now turn once more to Batu and his Tartars. Batu and his army had been recalled from the campaign in Europe by the death of Ogotai, a death which it was suspected in some quarters had been caused by poison, but which was much more certainly the result of hard drinking. The death of Ogotai opened up serious questions of succession. Among the Mongols a man was not succeeded by his son so long as he had brothers living. When the brothers were exhausted the inheritance reverted to the family of the eldest brother. Thus, on the death of Ogotai, whose last surviving brother, Jagatai, died in 1240-1,* the rightful heirs to the throne were the sons of Juchi. It is true that Ogotai, on accepting the throne, had exacted a promise that it should be continued in his family, but such promises, when made in the face of the custom prescribed by antiquity, are seldom acquiesced in, and we may believe that on his death the sons of Juchi looked forward to a reinstatement of their family. Matters were further complicated by the fact that Ogotai had made a will in which, like his father, he had displaced his own son from the heritage, and had named his grandson Shiramun to succeed him.

His chief widow was Turakina, a strong-minded woman, a Merkit, and therefore, as I have shown, probably a Turk by origin, and having sympathy also, as it would seem, with the creed of Islam. She was jealous of the three sisters Siurkukteni, the widow of Tului, Abika, and Bekutemish, the widow of Juchi, and she determined to secure the throne for her son Kuyuk.

Under these circumstances, it is a curious and striking proof of the rigid discipline of the Mongols and their very loyal attachment to law, that no attempt should have been made to fill the throne immediately, but that a regency should have been constituted until "the grand army" could return from the west and the princes could be assembled to elect their chief in proper form. Of these princes Batu was certainly now the most influential. Although he had an older brother, Orda, to whom he acknowledged his subservience, his wonderful success and his command

* Abulghazi, 157. Note, 1

of the army gave him a predominant position. He was doubtless informed pretty accurately by his aunt Siurkukteni of what was passing in Mongolia, and of the intrigues which went on at the regent's court, where there must have been much fear and jealousy of himself, nor would he like to trust himself there without a strong escort. Besides these general considerations there was a further one, that he had a personal feud with Kuyuk, which only intensified his feelings towards that rival. The origin of this quarrel is thus described in the Yuan-chao-pi-shi. We are told that Batu sent an envoy from Kipchak to his suzerain Ogotai with the following message :—

"By the favour of Heaven and an auspicious fate, oh emperor, my uncle, the eleven nations have been subdued. When the army had returned, a banquet was arranged, at which all the Mongol princes were present. Being the eldest, I drank one or two cups of wine before the others. Buri and Kuyuk were incensed, left the banquet, and mounted their horses, at the same time reviling me. Buri said : 'Batu is not superior to me ; why did he drink before I drank? He is an old woman with a beard. By a single kick I could knock him down and crush him.' Kuyuk said : 'He is an old woman with bow and arrows, I shall order him to be thrashed with a stick.' Another proposed to fasten a wooden tail to my body. Such is the language that was used by the princes, when after the war with the different nations we had assembled to deliberate on important matters ; and we were obliged to break up without discussing the affairs. Such is what I have to report, oh emperor, my uncle."

Ogotai on hearing this news got very angry, and at first refused to see Kuyuk (who had in the meantime arrived from the west); but when those around him interceded, he severely rebuked his son, and gave him to understand that the subjugation of some tribes of Russians attributed to him afforded no reason for boasting, the whole merit being due to Subutai. As to Buri's case, Ogotai ordered that Batu should apply to his father Jagatai for judgment.* This incident, which is to some extent confirmed by Rashid and Rubruquis, doubtless happened in the interval between the campaign in Central Russia and the attack on Hungary, and was perhaps a weighty reason for Kuyuk returning to Mongolia. We can see how it would embitter the feeling of Batu towards him.

For these ample reasons Batu did not hasten his return to Mongolia, but loitered in his own proper country. As Juchi had been given the various towns and camping grounds of the Kankalis, which he had himself conquered, together with Khuarezm, which was apportioned to him for conquest, so Batu acquired by the same right the dominion over the wide steppes of the Comans or Kipchaks. These became his camping ground, while the various Russian princes became his

* Bretschneider, 94, 95.

tributaries. His elder brother Orda retained his father's portion on the sea of Aral and Jaxartes, and to him Batu was feudally subservient, a subservience more nominal than real doubtless, since the importance of his government much outweighed that of his brother. Other brothers, as we shall see presently, were provided for elsewhere.

In order to realise the kind of authority which Batu exercised, we must think of him, not as the sovereign of a settled community, ruling over cities and agriculturists with fixed settlements, but as the leader of a great nomadic host, whose herds required wide prairie lands to feed them, and who moved about as the exigencies of these herds demanded. We still have in miniature among the Kalmuks and Kazaks, conditions which answer to this description. Now the greater part of Russia proper in the thirteenth century, almost all the country in fact, which had been occupied and settled by Slavic settlers, and whose kernel is known to us as Great Russia, was in every way unsuited to the life of a nomadic race. For the most part covered with wood and morass, the towns were mere clearances in the forest, and were separated from one another by wide stretches of forest and bog. Such land as had been reclaimed was under the plough, and was not grass land. This offered few temptations to the invaders to settle in, especially as the climate was harsh and severe. This great kernel of Central Russia, however, was bounded on the south and south-east by a very different kind of land. There were huge flat plains covered with juicy grasses. The excellence of the pasture of these plains is best proved by their being the homes of the famous breed of Ukraine cattle, the famous fat-tailed sheep, and the hardy Cossack horses. Here were no interminable forests or quagmires, no boundaries or limits. These steppes or pampas were in effect a very paradise for a nomadic race, and have from the earliest recorded history been the homes of tribes of Scyths and Huns, and Turks and Kalmuks. Here then the Tartar conquerors settled down. The vast prairies which stretch from the Carpathians to the Balkash sea are threaded by some famous rivers, and it was on these rivers that the main encampments of the Tartars were fixed. Batu himself settled down on the Volga, which waters probably the finest pasture lands in the world, while other and subordinate hordes were settled on the Yaik or Ural, the Don, and the Dnieper. As was the universal habit in these districts, there was an annual migration up and down the river. In summer the camp was fixed in the north, and as winter came on there was a gradual movement further south. Except in winter there was probably little actual halting. During that season a more permanent camp was formed, which, as civilisation overtook the Tartars, took the form of a small city. The camp was gathered round the chief's golden tent or sira ordu, whence the whole encampment, and from it the whole race took its name of the Golden Horde. This golden tent was styled a *serai* or palace, and

what was once but a magnificent yurt became the nucleus of a considerable town, and is well known as Serai, the capital of the Golden Horde.

It was lucky indeed for Russia, and probably also for Europe, that the Tartars thus planted themselves without its borders, and did not, as in Persia and China, actually occupy the land itself and become incorporated with the natives. As Karamzin says, if they had done so, Russia might still have been a Mongol possession. In other places a fertile soil and a genial climate won the nomades eventually to settled habits. The hard conditions of life in Russia repelled the invaders, who remained perforce nomades, and they occupied only the grass steppes where the Comans formerly dwelt, and gradually encroached upon those border districts still occupied at a much later day, not by Slaves, but by Finnic races, by Mordvins, Cheremisses, &c. The Oka was the great frontier river between the Tartars and their *protegés*, the Russians, and many a fight will be recorded in these pages as having occurred there.

During the absence of Batu in Hungary, the Tartars who were left behind, probably under his brother Singkur, put to death Mitislaf, the Prince of Rylsk, in the Ukraine.* On his return Batu summoned the Grand Prince Yaroslaf Vsevolodvitch to meet him. The latter accordingly went, and also sent his young son Constantine to the court of Batu's son Sertak, on the Don.† He himself was well received by Batu, who confirmed him as suzerain over the other Russian princes, and gave him authority over Kief, whose prince, Michael, had fled to Chernigof. The example of Yaroslaf was followed by the petty princes of Suzdal.‡ Two years later Yaroslaf was summoned to attend the Imperial court in person, and to assist at the inauguration of Ogotai's successor Kuyuk, a journey from which he did not return. The same inauguration was attended by the Franciscan friar Carpini, who has left us an admirable picture of the state of the Mongols at this time. King Bela of Hungary had scarcely returned to his country again when fresh rumours arose as to another attack of the Tartars. Pope Gregory died on the 21st of August, 1241. Celestin only ruled for a few days, and the chair of St. Peter was vacant until the 25th of June, 1243, when Innocent IV. became Pope. Bela wrote to him to have compassion on his kingdom, and to order a crusade in his defence. The patriarch of Aquilia was accordingly ordered to stir up the German princes to go to the aid of the Hungarians ; but Bela's fears proved groundless. The council of Lyons met two years later, and among the objects there debated was the necessity of taking some precautions against the Tartars. Solemn prayers were ordered, towns were to be fortified, roads to be obstructed ; and finally, it was decided

* Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 136. Wolff, 383. † Golden Horde, 126. ‡ Karamzin, iv. 37, 38.

to send missionaries in the name of the pope to try and convert the barbarians, and to prevent them shedding more Christian blood.* To this policy we owe the work of Carpini, whose narrative has been edited with capital notes by M. D'Avezac, for the collection of old travels published by the French Geographical Society, from which I shall quote freely.

John of Plano Carpini was one of the earliest among the Minorite or Franciscan friars, and was a companion of St. Francis himself. He was probably born about 1182. He was doubtless an Italian, and belonged to the lords of Pian di Carpine, in the district of Perugia.† He is first met with in 1221, as one of the companions of Cæsar of Spire, the celebrated Franciscan preacher;‡ and we find him mentioned with others as undertaking "a Revival" series of services in Southern Germany, and especially in the cities of the Upper Rhine. In 1223 he was appointed custodian of Saxony,§ the following year he was sent to Cologne, and in 1228 was made Provincial of Germany, and was renowned as a most active missionary. In 1230 he was made Provincial of Spain. There he probably came in contact with the Moorish Mussulmans, and he would seem to have been also intrusted with a mission to Tunis by the pope. In 1241 we find him again presiding in Germany, and employed in arousing a crusade against the Tartars, who had recently won the battle of Lignitz. He was therefore a person of great experience and dignity, and as such was no doubt chosen by Innocent IV. to go and interview the terrible Tartars, and seek to convert them to Christianity. With him went Stephen of Bohemia and Benedict of Poland. They started on their dangerous mission on Sunday, the 16th of April, 1245, from Lyons. They traversed Germany, where they met and received some assistance from the Cardinal Legate Hugh de Santocaro,‖ and then went on to Wenceslaf, the King of Bohemia, from whom, as an old friend of his master's, he asked counsel as to the best route he should adopt. He advised them to go by way of Poland and Russia. He gave them letters and paid their expenses during their transit through his country and as far as that of his nephew Boleslaf, the Duke of Silesia. At Breslau he met his companion Benedict of Poland. Boleslaf imitated his uncle in paying the expenses of their route until they reached the territory of Konrad, Duke of Lenczy or Cracow, where he met Vassilko, Duke of Vladimir of Volhynia, and brother of Daniel, Duke of Gallicia (who was then at the court of Batu). From Vassilko he learnt some facts about the Tartars, which showed him what kind of men they were. He accordingly spent some of the money which he had given to him as alms in buying some furs of beaver and other animals. Duke Konrad, the Duchess of Cracow, the

* D'Ohsson, ii. 173, 173. † D'Avezac, 468, 469. ‡ *Id.*, 470. § *Id.*, 473. ‖ *Id.*, 481.

bishop of the same city, and some knights gave him others; and they further commended him to the good graces of Vassilko, and asked him to do what he could for him. Carpini now went on to Vassilko's capital, Vladimir of Volhynia, where, being delayed for some days, he improved the time by trying to induce the Russian bishops to accept the supremacy of the pope, but a ready excuse was found in the absence of Daniel, without whom nothing could be done. Vassilko now sent him on, on his way to Kief, sending a servant with him to protect him from the attacks of the Lithuanians, the population there being small, the Russian inhabitants having been killed or carried off into captivity by the Tartars. At Kief the friars had an interview with the Mongol commissary or baskak, who counselled them to leave their horses behind, and to get Tartar horses, which could find food for themselves by brushing the snow away with their noses, and not to trust to their western horses, which must starve in a country where there was no garnered hay or other provender for cattle. They followed this advice, and left Kief two days after the feast of the Purification of the Virgin, that is, on the 4th of February, 1246, and entered the country immediately subject to the Tartars, the first village they reached being Kanief (Karamzin translates it "town of the Khan"). There Stephen of Bohemia fell ill, and John of Carpini and Benedict had to go on alone.* Leaving this they reached another village, where an Alan named Mikheas ruled, who is described by Carpini as "full of malice and wickedness." He refused to furnish them with remounts unless they paid him black mail, which they were accordingly constrained to do. Leaving him on the 19th of February, they arrived on the 23rd of the same month at the first encampment of the Nomades. The Tartars came round them terribly armed, and demanded who they were and what was their business. "We told them," says Carpini, "we were envoys of the Lord Pope, who was Lord and Father of the Christians, who had been sent to the sovereign and chiefs of the Tartars to exhort them to become Christians, and to remonstrate with them for having made such a slaughter in Hungary, Moravia, and Poland, whose inhabitants had done them no harm." They replied that in regard to these matters they must depute the friars to their chief Corenza,† and furnished them with horses for the journey; as usual, taking black mail in the shape of "demanded gifts."‡ It would seem from Benedict's narrative that the number of Tartars in this camp was 8,000.§ They then went on to the camp of Corenza, who commanded the Tartar garrisons on their western frontiers. These were planted on

* *Id.*, 775.

† Benedict calls him Curoniza. (Op. cit., 775.) Von Hammer makes it a corruption of Khurremshah, and adds the valuable note from Pallas, that Khoremshah is still the title of a commander of troops among the Kalmuks; so that the name is probably an official and not a personal one. (Pallas' Reisen, i. 402. Golden Horde, 139. Note, 1. 213. Note 11.)

‡ D'Avezac, 739. § *Id.* Note of M. D'Avezac, 483. Note, 3. Appendix, 775.

the right bank of the Dnieper, and numbered 60,000 men. Before they had an audience, he sent some of his men to ask in quaint terms how they meant to conciliate him, *i.e.*, what presents they had brought. They replied, "The pope had sent no presents, but they were willing to give him somewhat of what they had." This being accepted, they were taken to his tent, and told how they must bend the left knee three times before the threshold, and take care not to put their feet on it, *i.e.*, on the cord which fastened the tent door. "This," says Carpini, "we were careful to obey, for a breach of the rule is punished with death." Having entered, the friars, on bended knees, repeated the exhortations they had previously made and presented their letters, which none however could read.

After this they were supplied with three attendants and with horses to take them on to Batu. They left Corenza's camp on the 26th of February, and rode from dawn till evening, and often during the night, changing horses three or four times, traversing the whole land of the Comani (*i.e.*, the steppes of the Nogays), crossing the Dnieper, on whose right bank Corenza governed, while its left bank was controlled by a greater chief named Maucy; then the Don, on whose banks there wandered a chief called Kartan, who had married a sister of Batu's; and then the Volga, where Batu himself ruled. The two banks of the Yaik or Ural were controlled by two other chiefs.

During the winter the sea was frozen for some distance from the shore, and the friars travelled over the ice. Before they arrived at Batu's camp two of the Tartars were sent on to apprise him of their journey. They had been five weeks in crossing the steppes of the Comani, on whose eastern borders Batu's camp was placed. The friars encamped about a league away. Before having an audience they were made to pass between two fires, so that any bad intentions or any poison they might carry with them might be counteracted by the fire. Before entering the tent they were again enigmatically called upon to give presents by Eldegai (probably Edegu or Idiku), a kind of chamberlain of Batu's. They made the same reply they made to Corenza, and, as before, seem to have given presents when admitted to the Khan's presence. They asked for interpreters, with whose assistance Carpini says the letters of the pope were transcribed into the Ruthenian (*i.e.*, Russian), Saracenic (*i.e.*, Arabic), and Tartar (*i.e.*, Uighur) writing. The letters were then presented to Batu, who had them carefully read. The friars were afterwards conducted back to their tent. Carpini complains that they were not given any food except on the first night of their arrival, when they had a little flour (millet) in a little dish.* Batu himself at the audience was seated aloft, on a kind of throne, with one of his wives. His brothers, sons, and other grandees

* D'Avezac, 745.

had seats on a bench on a lower level. The inferior people sat on the ground. The men on the right, the women on the left. The tent, which was made of fine linen, belonged formerly to the King of Hungary. Except his relatives none entered the Khan's tent without permission, it did not matter how high in rank they were. As was customary with envoys, the friars were seated on the left; on their return from the Imperial ordu, however, they had seats given them on the right of the tent. In the midst was a table with golden and silver cups containing drinks. Whenever Batu or any of the Tartar princes drank, the musicians played and sang. When he went abroad on horseback an umbrella or canopy was held over him, and similarly with the greater princes and their wives. Batu, Carpini describes as genial and kind to his people, by whom he was much feared; but he says that he was exceedingly savage in war, in which he was very skilful, having had a long experience.*

Benedict, in his narrative, adds little to the relation of Carpini; he tells us the friars' presents to Batu consisted of forty beaver skins and eighty badger skins, and that the gifts as well as the givers had to be purified by passing between fires. After this the friars had to pay honour to the car in which the golden statue (or probably the golden tablet) of the Khakan was contained, which they contented themselves with honouring by a mere inclination of the head.

At length, on the 8th of April, they set out again for the Great Khan's court. Before leaving they sent some letters back for the pope, but these were retained until their return, by Mauci. They were in a very weak state, having fasted during all Lent, and having eaten only some millet dissolved in water with a little salt, and drank only melted snow. So weak were they that they were tied on their horses. This is explained by M. D'Avezac as a practice much used in the east to prevent fatigue in rapid riding, and consists in putting the legs in bandages.† The friars rode hard, changing horses five or seven times a day, except in crossing the desert, where they were mounted on more enduring animals. They were eight days in reaching the eastern boundary of Comania, namely the Yaik, which was probably also the eastern boundary of Batu's special ulus. They then entered the land of the Kangites, *i.e.*, the Kankalis, a terrible waste of salt marshes and desert, which, as well as Comania, Carpini describes as strewn with human bones, and he tells us that many of the Russians who accompanied Yaroslaf on his journey to the Mongol court perished there. Its inhabitants, the Kankalis, who were nomades, had been conquered and reduced to slavery by the Tartars. After crossing the wastes of the Kankalis they entered the land of the Besermans, *i.e.*, the Mussulmans,‡ the Turkia of Carpini's companion Benedict. This land was governed formerly, according to

* *Id.* 484. † Op. cit., 485. Note. ‡ D'Avezac, op. cit., 501-504.

Carpini, by Alti Soldan, who was destroyed by the Tartars, *i.e.*, by Ala ud din, the Khuarezm Shah, and he tells us many ruined castles and towns were situated there. By it he means undoubtedly the empire of Khuarezm. They entered this country on the 17th of May, having no doubt skirted along the northern shores of the Aral sea; and then reached the valley of Jaxartes and the town of Yankint,* *i.e.*, the well known Yanghikent or new town on the Jaxartes.† Besides this town, Carpini mentions also Barkhin, *i.e.*, the Barkhalikent of the Persians, Ornas, which is clearly Urgenj, and Lemfinc (? a corruption of Jend). Carpini tells us the valley of the Jaxartes was marked by ruined and deserted towns. In the borders of this empire, the same friar tells us, dwelt Buri or Burin and Kadan. He calls them brothers, but this was not their relationship, Buri was a grandson of Jagatai and Kadan a son of Ogotai's. As Rubruquis tells us that Talas or Taras was part of Buri's domain, we may locate them in the valley of the Taras.‡ North of their land lay a portion of Kara Khitai, which was subject to Batu's brother Sheiban.§ Having crossed a portion of this they entered Kara Khitai proper, and were entertained at Omyl or Imil, a town not long before built by Ogotai, and whose ruins still remain at Chuguchak, on the Imil. It was apparently the capital of Ogotai's special ulus.

Leaving Imil they skirted a lake containing islands, near which was a gorge through which in winter there blew a very strong wind. This is described by other authors, and the lake has been identified beyond much doubt with lake Alakul. Carpini, however, seems to confuse this lake with the lake Balkash, unless both were in fact one at this time, for he tells us he skirted it for several days, keeping it to the left, and that it was fed by many streams on whose banks were woods. This doubtless refers to the great plains east of lake Balkash. There, he tells us, was the camping ground of Ordu, the eldest brother of Batu.‖ The travellers now passed the first ordu or camp of the Great Khan, *i.e.*, one of the encampments of one of his wives, for each wife had her separate ordu or camp. Having stayed a day there they entered the country of the Naimans on the 28th of June. Carpini says they were pagans. Their land was mountainous and cold, and even in the midst of summer, when he passed, there was a fall of snow. Having traversed the Naiman country, they at length arrived, after three weeks hard riding through the country of the Mongols, at the ordu or great camp of Kuyuk, *i.e.*, at Karakorum. Their escort had pushed them on very rapidly, so that they would arrive in time for Kuyuk's inauguration.¶ I have extracted some of Carpini's statements about his intercourse with the Great Khan in my former volume, and will now supplement that account by other details which I omitted. The friars had not an

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* Benedict, in op. cit., 777. † *Id.*, 513. ‡ D'Avezac, 505. § *Vide infra.*
‖ This seems to be a mistake. (*Vide infra*, ch. iv.) ¶ D'Avezac, 753.

immediate audience as Kuyuk had not been elected; they forwarded, however, the translations of their letters which had been made at Batu's court. After waiting five or six days, they were summoned to an audience by Kuyuk's mother, *i.e.*, Turakina, in a vast tent of *alba purpurea* (? white damask),* capable of holding 2,000 people, which was surrounded by a wooden dado, painted with various figures.† This was the tent in which the ceremony of installation was held. Carpini observes more than once that Yaroslaf, the Russian prince, and himself and his companion, the envoys of the pope, were especially honoured among the guests.

Among the other magnificent presents which he enumerates were a splendid state umbrella or portable tent, covered with jewels; numerous camels, housed with Baudekin or rich stuff from Baghdad, and on them howdahs or raised seats; and many horses and mules protected by armour, some of leather and some of iron. There was also a splendid tent of red cloth, which had been made in China. In this was the Imperial throne, which was made of ivory, marvellously carved and ornamented with gold, precious stones, and pearls. It was placed on a circular platform, around which were ranged benches for the grandees, and below these again others for those of inferior rank. Besides the three state tents, there was another made of white felt, used by Kuyuk's wives. Carpini says that this was divided into two parts. In one of which the Khan dispensed justice, while the other pertained to his mother, *i.e.*, to the harem. He tells us that among the victims to justice was one of the Khan's aunts, who was accused of poisoning Ogotai, and who was put to death, a fact of which we have no other evidence, but which the friar can hardly have manufactured. About the same time the Grand Prince Yaroslaf also died. It was supposed he was poisoned, since he sickened and died after partaking of some food from the hands of Turakina, the empress mother. She afterwards wrote to his son Alexander to go and receive investiture of his father's kingdom, but he deemed it prudent to stay away. After some delay the friars were conducted to the Imperial tent, but were remitted back to the Khan's mother. The reason for their not being admitted, Carpini was told, was, that the Khan was preparing an expedition against the west, and did not wish them to know. The delay was most unwelcome to the friars, whose money was consumed, while the greedy Mongols let them have little to eat; and they would have perished but for the good offices of a Russian named Cosmas, who was the Imperial goldsmith. It was he who had made the ivory throne. He had also carved the Imperial seal, and explained to them its inscription. It was from him, and from certain other Russians and Hungarians, who knew Latin and French, and who, having been three years there, also knew Mongol well, that the friars learnt so much about the internal economy of the court.

* D'Avezac, 524. Note, 2. † *Id.*, 754, 755.

They at length received orders, through Chinkai, to communicate what they wished to say in writing. After some days they were interrogated by the chancellor Kadak and his deputies, Chinkai and Bela, through the medium of a Russian interpreter named Timur, whose name points him out as of Turkish descent. They were asked if the pope had any people by him who understood Russian, Saracenic (*i.e.*, Arabic), or Tartar. They replied, "No, but that whatever was told them should be faithfully translated and forwarded." This was at length done, and the Khan's message was duly translated into Latin in the presence of his officers. This letter has been published by M. D'Avezac,* and runs as follows :—

"Dei fortitudo, Cuyuc can omnium hominum imperator, magno Papæ. Litteras certissimas atque veras, consilio habito pro pace habendâ nobiscum, tu et cuncti populi christiani qui in occidente consistunt, nobis per tuum nuncium transmisisti; qui, sicut ab ipso audivimus et ut in tuis litteris habebatur, pacem velletis habere nobiscum. Igitur si pacem desideratis hauere nobiscum, tu papa, imperatores, reges omnes, cunctique potentes civitatum, et terrarum rectores, ad me pro pace diffiniendâ nullo modo venire differatis, et nostram audietis responsionem pariter et voluntatem. Tuarum continebat series litterarum quòd deberemus baptizari et effici christiani: ad hoc tibi breviter respondemus quòd non intelligimus qualiter hoc facere debeamus. Ad id etiàm quod in tuis litteris habebatur : quòd miraris de occisione hominum et maximè christianorum ac potissimè Hungarorum, Polonorum et Moraviorum; tibi breviter respondemus quòd etiàm hoc non intelligimus. Verumtamen ne hoc sub silentio transire videamur, taliter tibi duximus respondendum: quià precepto Dei et Chingiscan non obedierunt, et malum consilium habentes nuncios nostros occiderunt; quare Deus eos deleri præcepit ac manibus nostris traduxît. Alioquin nisi Deus fecisset, homo homini quid facere potuisset? Sed vos, habitatores occidentis, Deum adoratis, et solos vos christianos esse creditis, et alios contemnitis; sed quomodò scitis cui gratiam suam conferre dignetur? Nos Deum adoramus et in fortitudine ipsius ab oriente usquè ad occidentem delebimus omnem terram. Quòd si homo fortitudio Dei non esset, homines quid facere potuissent?"

The Khan wished to send some of his people back with the friars as bearers of his letters, but they dissuaded him from doing so for several reasons which are set out. 1st, they were afraid they would see how disunited the Christians were; 2nd, that they would be spies upon their land; 3rd, they were afraid that violent hands might be laid on them, and thus bring destruction upon the Christians, for it was a Mongol maxim to have no peace with those who killed their envoys, &c. At length on the day of St. Brice, *i.e.*, the 15th of November, they took their

* Op. cit., 594.

departure, bearing with them the Khan's letter duly sealed. The seal bore a legend, which was thus translated by the Russian jeweller Cosmas :—"God in heaven and Kuyuk on earth, by the strength of God, the seal of the emperor of all men." They went to bid good-bye to the queen mother Turakina, who gave them and their servant each a cloak of fox skin and a kaftan of honour.* They set out with the envoys of the Khaliph, but after fifteen days parted company with them, the latter trending southwards.† It was winter, and the friars suffered much from the cold. It was the 9th of May when they once more reached Batu's camp. On the 2nd of June they arrived in that of Mauci, and, passing once more that of Corenza, reached Kief on the 9th of June. They were received with great honour by the Dukes Daniel and Vassilko, whom they induced to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope. They then proceeded onwards through Poland, Bohemia, and Germany, crossed the Rhine, and went on to Lyons, where they delivered the Great Khan's letters to Innocent IV., who shortly after made Carpini Archbishop of Antivari and Metropolitan of Dalmatia.‡

From Carpini's narrative we gather that in 1245, when he traversed the Kipchak, Batu himself, with his main horde, was encamped on the Volga. His brother-in-law Kartan, otherwise written Karbon and Tyrbon,§ commanded on the Don. On the east of the Dnieper was Mauci or Maucy, who has been conjecturally identified by M. D'Avezac with Mauchi, the second son of Jagatai; while on the west of that river was Corenza or Curoniza.‖ As we shall see presently, Batu's brothers had appanages in other districts close at hand. Those of the Western Horde were no doubt immediately subordinate to himself, while those of the Eastern Horde were subordinate to Orda. He also seems to have had commissaries in the various towns where the dependent Russian and other princes held their Courts. These latter were effectually cowed. In 1244 we find four of them, namely, Vladimir Constantinovitch of Uglitsh, Boris Vasilkovitch of Rostof, Gleb Vasilovitch, and Vasili Vsevolodvitch at Batu's court. They deemed it more prudent to seek the patronage of the Tartars than to make common cause against them. The next year Constantine, son of Yaroslaf, with his brother and nephews, Vladimir Constantinovitch, his nephew Vassilko of Rostof, with his sons Boris and Gleb, and Vsevolod, with his son Vasili, were there. In 1246 Sviatoslaf, Vsevolodvitch, and his brother Ivan, with their sons, also went.¶

These dependents were treated with considerable rigour, and in some cases with marked severity, as in the case of Michael, the Prince of Kief and Chernigof. He had put to death the Mongol envoy who had summoned the former city when the Tartars first marched westwards. He had then fled to Hungary, but being received very coldly there, he

* D'Avezac, 596 and 779. † *Id.*, 779. ‡ *Id.*, 598. § *Id.*, 588.
‖ *Vide ante*, 69. ¶ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 137.

made his way back to Chernigof. When he arrived the Mongol officers were engaged in taking a census of the inhabitants for the poll tax. By them Michael was ordered to repair to the Tartar court. He went there, accompanied by his grandson Boris of Rostof, and one of his principal boyards named Feodor.* When summoned before Batu, he was made to pass between two fires, and was then ordered to prostrate himself before the tablets of Jingis Khan. He replied that he did not object to do obeisance to Batu himself or to a living prince, but to adore images of dead men was repugnant to a Christian.† As he persisted in his refusal, Batu ordered him to be put to death. Karamzin says he accordingly took a consecrated wafer from his pocket, which he divided with Feodor, and sang aloud the Psalms of David. In vain the young Prince Boris entreated him to comply, and the boyards of Rostof offered to take the sin on their own shoulders and to perform expiatory penance for it. "I will not lose my soul for you," said the prince, and throwing off his mantle, he said, "Take these worldly vanities, I wish to gain eternal glory." He was then put to death, and his head was cut off by an apostate from Putivle named Doman. Feodor shared his fate, while Boris was allowed to return home. The two victims were made saints by the Russian church.‡ Carpini, in describing the death of Michael, merely says he was kicked in the stomach, and his head was then cut off.§ He tells us another story which shows the brutal way in which the Tartars treated their dependents. He says that Andrew, Duke of Cherneglove, *i.e.*, of Chernigof,‖ was accused before Batu of stealing Mongol horses and selling them elsewhere. Although the charge was not proved, he was put to death, upon which his widow and younger brother went to ask that the Khan would not confiscate the principality. Batu ordered the young prince to marry the widow, according to the Mongol custom; both parties refused from religious scruples, but were violently compelled to submit.¶

This was not, however, the universal treatment received by the vassal princes, thus we are told that Daniel, Prince of Gallicia, having been summoned to Batu's court, was admitted to an audience without the preliminary ceremonies. Batu, addressing him, said, "You have for a long time refused to come, but have effaced your ill conduct by your obedience." Daniel diplomatically made obeisance before the Tartar chief, and saluted him with a draught of kumis. He was congratulated by Batu for thus conforming to Mongol customs. The latter was so pleased that he presented him with some wine, as he was not accustomed to drink kumis; and after a stay of some days he sent him home. The patriotic Karamzin says he returned with the shameful titles of servant

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* Karamzin, iv. 40, 41.
† D'Avezac, 621.
‡ Karamzin, op. cit., iv. 42, 43.
§ Op. cit., 621, 622.
‖ D'Avezac, op. cit., 527 and 623.
¶ Carpini, op. cit., 623, 624.

and tributary of the Khan.* This prince was with the horde when Carpini passed through on his travels. By his submission to the Tartars, Daniel of Gallicia acquired great authority among his neighbours, and Bela, the Hungarian king, who had been at issue with him, began to fear that his patrons would, in support of their *protegé*, make another raid across the Carpathians; he accordingly proposed an alliance to him, and Leon, the son of Daniel, was married to Constance, the daughter of Bela. Daniel was also on good terms with the Polish princes.† He was a skilful statesman as well as a king, and before this had begun to look around for some allies on whom to depend in case he should have to struggle with the Tartars. Byzantium, which was the metropolis of his faith, was then threatened by the Arabs, Turks, and Crusaders, and he accordingly turned his eyes further west to Rome, the common centre of Western Christendom. He sent word to Innocent IV. that he wished for a reunion of the churches, and that he was ready to march against the Tartars under the Latin banner. This was in 1245 or 1246.‡ Innocent sent him the title of king, named him his dear son, and ordered the Archbishop of Prussia to go to Gallicia to ordain some bishops there, and decreed that all the ceremonies of the Greek rite which did not conflict with Roman dogma should be preserved. Daniel replied, "he wanted an army, and that a crown was a useless ornament so long as the yoke of the barbarians was laid upon Russia," and he continued for some time to play a diplomatic game. The pope's legate became irritated and left the country, and it was only by the intercession of the Polish princes, who were Roman Catholics, and that of his mother that he submitted and agreed to accept the crown and royal insignia which the pope had sent him.§ It was on the 7th of May, 1253, that he was crowned at Drohiczin by the pope's legate, the abbot Opizo of Messana.‖ Thenceforward Daniel styled himself king, and the pope issued a brief to the people of Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, and Servia, engaging them to assist the Gallicians against the Tartars.¶

It was not only Daniel who had this correspondence with Rome. We find that Innocent also wrote to Alexander Nevski, reminding him that Yaroslaf, his father, had promised the friar Carpini, when he met him in Tartary, that he would join the Roman Church, and that he would have done so but for his death, and bidding him follow his good example. He ended by praising him greatly for not having acknowledged the authority of Batu, for the pope had not then heard of Alexander's journey to the horde, to which I shall refer presently. Having summoned a council of learned men, he replied in curt terms to the pope's advances, "We follow the true faith of the church, and neither

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* Karamzin, iv. 44. † *Id.*, 45, 46. ‡ *Id.*, 61. Note, 7. § *Id.*, 62, 63. ‖ *Id.* Wolff, 390. ¶ Karamzin, iv. 63.

wish to know nor adopt yours." The patriotic Karamzen dwells with pleasure over this emphatic answer.*

On the death of the Grand Prince Yaroslaf, Alexander Nevski of Novgorod, who had not as yet acknowledged the Mongol supremacy, was summoned to the court of Batu. He went with his brother Andrew, and was well received; but, like their father, they had to travel further and go to the court of the Grand Khan.† Yaroslaf, says Karamzin, had been succeeded as Grand Prince (at Vladimir), according to custom, by his brother Sviatoslaf, but during the absence of Alexander and Andrew, their younger brother Michael, Prince of Moscow, surnamed the Brave, drove his uncle Sviatoslaf from the throne. He was himself, however, shortly after killed in a battle with the Lithuanians. This was in 1248. Alexander and Andrew were well received by the Grand Khan Kuyuk. The former was given authority over all Southern Russia, including Kief, while Andrew was assigned the throne of Vladimir or Suzdal, and their dispossessed uncle in vain presented his complaints before the horde. He died two years after the return of the young princes, namely, in 1251, at Yurief.‡ Andrew was of a proud, independent temper, and more given to hunting and amusement than to good government. He seems to have given umbrage to the Mongols, who sent a prince named Nevrui (? Nurus) and two officers named Kotiak or Kaitak and Alibuga against him. On their approach he fled. The Tartars accordingly spread over the province of Vladimir, and harried the cattle and the people there. They killed the Voievode of Pereiaslavl, as well as the wife of the young Yaroslaf, Yaroslavitch, and retired with a rich booty. Andrew fled to Pskof, and thence to Sweden.§ Meanwhile his brother Alexander Nevski repaired to the camp of Batu's son Sertak, who, now that his father was growing old, was taking the lead in affairs. He succeeded in conciliating Sertak, and obtained the grand principality of Vladimir, which his brother had so badly governed. He was received in that town with great rejoicings.‖ The same year, *i.e.*, in 1252, Oleg, Prince of Riazan, who had for some time been a prisoner at the Mongol court, returned home again.¶ It would seem that the Tartars heard of the tortuous policy of Daniel of Gallicia, and of his intrigues with the Polish princes, for we find that in 1254 a Mongol army, commanded by Nevrui, Kaitak, and Alibuga, laid waste the greater part of his dominions, as well as the districts of Sendomir and Cracow in Poland.** This expedition is mentioned in a letter of the pope (Alexander IV.) to the bishop of Cracow, and written on the 4th of February, 1256.††

Let us now turn once more to the doings of Batu. We have already given several reasons why he should have absented himself from the

* *Id.*, 81, 82. † *Id.*, 80. ‡ *Id.* § *Id.*, 83-85. ‖ *Id.*, 85. ¶ Von Hammer, 140. ** Wolff, 392. †† *Id.* Note.

Kuriltai where Kuyuk was elected Grand Khan. Nor did he after all attend it. The family of Juchi was represented there by some of his brothers, among whom Orda was one, for we find him with Mangu appointed to try their great uncle Utsuken for treason.* The election was held in August, 1246, but the reign of Kuyuk was not protracted. He died in April, 1248. There is some mystery about his death. He was marching westwards, and Siurkukteni had warned her nephew Batu of his approach. The latter was himself marching eastwards, and had reached the Alaktag mountains, as the authorities say, to do homage; but it would seem that a struggle was impending between the two, and Rubruquis, whom we shall quote largely from presently, suggests that Kuyuk did not come by his death fairly. He reports that Brother Andrew said he died from having taken a certain kind of medicine which Batu had caused to be given to him. He himself had heard a different story, viz., that as Batu was on his way to meet him he sent forward his brother Stichan (? Sheiban), who went to meet Kuyuk, and should have presented the cup to him; a quarrel arose, and in the struggle they killed each other. He further says that he himself stayed a whole day in the house of Stichan's widow.† This account seems very probable.

An opportunity had now arrived for deposing the family of Ogotai from the over-chiefship of the Mongols, and Batu was determined to avail himself of it. He did not, as he well might, claim the succession for himself or his brother Orda. He felt, perhaps, that their special appanages were too far removed from the centre of gravity of the Mongol world; but next to being king, the position of kingmaker is surely most welcome to an ambitious person. He accordingly selected the family of Tului, related to him both on the father's and mother's side, for special favour. They had the additional claim of having their special appanages in Mongolia itself. Batu accordingly fixed upon his cousin Mangu for the post of Khakan, and to secure his election he summoned a Kuriltai in his own country of Alaktag. Against this meeting the princes of the family of Ogotai protested, declaring it to be irregular to hold it anywhere except in the Mongol country proper; but they nevertheless sent Timur Noyan, the governor of Karakorum, to subscribe in their name to what should be decided.‡ The result of this meeting was the selection of Mangu as Grand Khan. It was decided to convoke a second Kuriltai on the banks of the Onon, where the ceremony of inauguration should be carried out, and meanwhile Ogul Gaimish, the widow of Kuyuk, was appointed regent. Batu sent his brothers Bereke and Tuka Timur with an escort to conduct Mangu to the borders of the Kerulon.§ The family of Ogotai, and Yissu Mangu, the *de facto* ruler of the Khanate of Ogotai, refused to attend this second Kuriltai, declaring that none had a right to the throne but the family of Ogotai. Batu and Siurkukteni sent many

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* *Ante*, i. 163. † Op. cit., 296. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 246. § *Id.*, 251.

envoys to induce them to do so, and to argue with them that it required a grown and experienced man to govern such an empire; but as they persisted in their refusal, he, after a delay of a year, ordered Bereke to proceed with the installation.* This Kuriltai was held in February, 1251,† and Bereke and Tuka Timur received magnificent presents there for themselves and their brother Batu.‡

The ceremony was followed by the trial and punishment of several persons who had taken part against Mangu. Among these, we are told, was the famous general, Ilchikadai, who was arrested at Badghiss, in Khorassan, and handed over to Batu, who had him put to death.§ Buri, the grandson of Jagatai, who seems to have been a close ally of Kuyuk's, and against whom Batu had an especial grudge, as I have mentioned, was also handed over to the latter for punishment and put to death,‖ as is reported both by Rashid and Rubruquis.¶ The latter's version of the quarrel is that Buri, not having very good and fertile pastures, one day when drunk addressed his men, saying, "I am of the stock of Jingis Khan as well as Batu; why, then, cannot I pasture my herds on the Volga like he can?" This being reported to Batu, he ordered Buri's people to take him to him bound. When asked if he had spoken the words he confessed that he had, but that he was drunk at the time. "How dared you name me when you were drunk?" said the exacting Khan, and he had him decapitated.**

It was shortly before this, namely, in 1247, that we read of Batu in a more tender light. Rusudan, the beautiful Queen of the Georgians and daughter of Queen Thamar, seems to have won his heart, or at least the repute of her beauty had reached him, and we find him sending her envoys and presents, and an invitation to go and see him. As she at the same time received other presents and another invitation from Baichu, the Mongol general in Persia, and dare not, probably, trust herself with either Lothario, she sent envoys in return to each, and sent in addition her son David as a hostage to Batu. Baichu, irritated at her refusal to go to him, set up her nephew David, the son of Lacha George, who was then an exile in Asia Minor, as a rival. Baichu sent for him, and then sent him on to Kuyuk, who ordered him to be put on the throne. Vahram, Prince of Cham'khor, in Asia Minor, accordingly conducted him to Mtskheta, the ancient capital, where he was consecrated. Afterwards, accompanied by the greater part of the Georgian princes, and the Armenian princes Avak, Chahanshah, and Alpugh, he proceeded to Tiflis.

When Batu heard of this he sent his *protegé* David, the son of Rusudan, with an escort to Kuyuk. Meanwhile the pretty queen was

* D'Ohsson, ii. 252. † Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 134. Note, 2.
‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 271. § *Id.*, ii. 259. ‖ *Id.*, ii. 267. ¶ Bretschneider, 95.
** Bretschneider, 95, 96.

pressed again by both the Mongol leaders to go to them, and, fearing one as much as the other, she poisoned herself. Kuyuk decided that Batu's *protegé* should be subordinate to the other David,* a decision not likely to make the master of the Golden Horde more amiable.

We have now reached a period when considerable light is thrown on Mongol affairs by the narrative of the Franciscan friar Rubruquis, which I partially used in the former volume, and from which I now propose to abstract some more facts. William Rubruquis has been supposed until lately to have been a native of Ruysbroeck, in North Brabant, but M. D'Avezac and Colonel Yule have shown good grounds for making him a native of Rubrouck, a commune in the canton of Cassel, arrondissement of Hazebrouck, in the department du Nord, *i.e.*, in the district of French Flanders.† When Louis the Pious was in Palestine, rumours reached him that Sertak, the son of Batu, was a Christian. Deeming this a favourable opportunity for spreading the faith, he commissioned Rubruquis to go to the Mongol camp with letters from himself to Sertak, asking permission for him to settle in Tartary and there to preach the gospel. He set out from Palestine, accompanied by another friar named Bartholomew, of Cremona. Having embarked at Constantinople, they crossed the Black Sea and landed at Soldaia, in the Crimea, on the 21st of May, 1253. There they had an interview with the governor of the town, who offered them choice of either wheeled cars with bullocks, or horses to transport their party in. They were counselled, however, by some merchants to buy carts of their own, such as were used in the transport of Russian furs. With these they would not have to unpack their baggage at every post, as they would if they took horses. They afterwards found, however, that the carts took two months to do a journey which might have been done on horseback in one month. They took with them some fruit, muscatel wine, and cakes, which they had bought at Constantinople, and which they were told would be very grateful to Sertak. Besides the two friars and their clerk Gosset, there also went with them a Turkoman convert and a boy named Nicholas, whom they had redeemed from slavery—five persons in all. They rode on horseback, while their baggage occupied four carts. They also took two men with them to take charge of carts and of the horses. Rubruquis tells us there were forty fortresses between Kherson and Soldaia, of which almost every one had its distinct dialect. Among others there were Goths there, who spoke the Teutonic tongue. North of this district there was a well wooded and watered country, and after that a plain extending for a distance of five days. It then became very narrow, and had the sea on either hand, and was traversed by a deep ditch. Our author's description clearly refers to the isthmus of Perekop. Here, he

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 210.

† Marco Polo, 2nd ed., ii. 536. *Ante*, vol. i. Introduction, xxiii.

tells us, the Comans took refuge from the invading Mongols, and were driven to such straits that they even ate one another. On the borders of this steppe there were many salt lakes, whence the people of Russia chiefly drew their supply, paying a tax to Batu and his son of two pieces of cotton for each cart load. A similar tax was imposed upon the export of salt by sea, which was carried on on a considerable scale. Three days after leaving Soldaia the travellers met with the Tartars, and, as Rubruquis says, he now seemed to enter upon an entirely new world.* He tells us how the Tartars surrounded them on horseback, and asked if they had ever been among them before. They then began to beg for food, and the travellers gave them some cake. When they offered them a flask of wine they asked for another, saying men could not walk on one leg. They then asked them the object of their journey, and whether they were going of their own free will or at the instance of some one else. The friars replied, they had heard that Sertak was a Christian, and that they were the bearers of letters from the king. They then wished to know what they had in their carts, and whether they had gold, silver, and precious garments with them. This Rubruquis refused to disclose. They then conducted him to their captain, named Scatai or Scatatai (probably Jagatai), who was a relative of Batu's, and to whom the Emperor of Constantinople had written, asking him to assist them. They provided them with horses and cattle for this journey, and ceased not to beg for everything they could see, and when they were refused called Rubruquis bad names; but they stole nothing.† The friar, whose notion of giving was somewhat mercenary, says it was no use giving them anything for they never made any return; but he contradicts himself, for he says they gave him milk to drink. On leaving them he deemed he was escaping from the hands of devils. On the following day they arrived at the camp of Scatai, which was in process of migration, the yurts being placed on carts. The procession seemed to Rubruquis as large as a city. He was astonished at the number of horses and cattle and the flocks of sheep, and was told that notwithstanding he only had 500 herdsmen, of whom one-half were on another pasture. Their boy conductor went on to announce their approach, and presently messengers came to them to ask what presents they bore. They sent their master a flask of wine, some cake, and a dish of apples and other fruit, but he was vexed that they did not offer him any precious cloth. They approached him with fear and shyness. He was seated on a cushion holding a lute in his hand, and his wife sat beside him. The latter, Rubruquis says he believes, must have had her nose amputated, for she seemed to have none, it was so flat, and the place where it ought to have been, as well as her eyebrows, which looked very ugly, were coloured with some black ointment. Rubruquis told his message,

* Op. cit., 220. † *Id.*, 238, 239.

which, as he had been warned, he repeated the same terms. He asked Scatai to accept a small present, since he, as a monk, had neither gold nor silver to offer, and could only offer him some food as a blessing. He accepted it and distributed it among his followers. Rubruquis then gave him the letters of the Emperor of Constantinople, which, being written in Greek, had to be sent to Soldaia for translation. He was then offered some cosmas (*i.e.*, kumis). This the priests of the Russians, Alans, and Greeks who lived there insisted upon their people not drinking, and deemed one who drank it no longer a Christian; and Rubruquis hints that to comply with this queer prejudice, which he elsewhere confesses prevented many of the people to whom kumis was almost indispensable, from being converted, like wearing trousers does in our own day among the negroes of Africa, he excused himself, saying he had plenty to drink. Scatai was inquisitive to know what their message for Sertak was, and what their letters contained. They explained that they went to speak to him of the word of God; and as to their letters, as they were sealed, he could not disclose them, but they only contained a message of good will and friendship. Rubruquis then explained to his host, through an interpreter, whose stupidity he enlarges upon, the Christian message he bore, but Scatai did not answer, and merely moved his head. He tells us the people of these parts did not use money, nor would they sell their goods for gold and silver, but only bartered them for pieces of cloth, and when money was shown to them they rubbed it with their fingers and smelt it to see if it was copper. Scatai at length sent them on with a guide and two porters, and also presented them with a goat for food, and several skins of milk and kumis. The travellers set out northwards, and after some suffering crossed the well known Scythic dyke, which is mentioned by Herodotus, and which was then partially occupied by officers of the Tartars who collected the salt dues. Having given them some cake, they received in return another goat and several skins of milk, and were provided with eight oxen. They then entered the steppe again, and for ten days found no water except in certain stagnant pools and two rivulets. They then marched eastwards, with nothing to relieve the dreary steppe but the tombs of the Comans, with the sun oppressively hot, and their servants by no means too civil, and made their way from one post station to another. At length, a few days before the festival of Saint Mary Magdalene, they arrived at the river Don. At the point where they touched it the Tartars had organised a portage, the boatmen being Russians. They first took over the travellers, and then their carts, putting one wheel in one boat and the other in another, tying the boats together, and then rowing them over. Their cattle and horses were sent back by their guide to the former halting place, and when they asked for more they were told that in consideration of supplying the ford with boats the ferrymen were relieved of the duty of furnishing post horses.

The travellers were consequently delayed there for three days. On the first they were given a borbota (?), on the second some rye bread and a little flesh, and on the third some stock fish. The river, says Rubruquis, was as wide as the Seine at Paris, and there was a second ford some distance further south, which was used in the winter. The streams were well stocked with fish, but the Tartars only ate those which were very large and could be carved like sheep (*i.e.*, no doubt sturgeons). At length the ferrymen became more accommodating, and supplied them with sumpter cattle. They themselves travelled on foot, and reached the camp of Sertak on the 2nd of August.

His camp was about three days journey from the Volga, and it was of considerable size. He had six wives, while his eldest son had two or three more. Each wife had a separate yurt and about two hundred carts or arabas. The friars were first taken to a man named Coiac (*i.e.*, Kuyuk), a Nestorian, who was a kind of chamberlain. By him they were sent on to another named Jamia* or Jam, whose duty it was to receive envoys. In the evening Kuyuk summoned them to his presence. "He was seated in his glory," says Rubruquis, "and had a lute played before him, and some people danced." The friars excused themselves for not taking him any presents on the ground that they were clerics, and neither gave nor received gold and silver and precious garments, and their only treasures were their books and the chapel in which they performed the service. He seems to have been conciliated by this answer, gave the travellers some milk, and asked them for their blessing. Rubruquis spoke to him of the emperor and of the King of France, whom he had heard of from a previous traveller named Baldwin de Hennonia.† He also met a Dominican, who had gone there from Cyprus, and told him many things. The friars presented their host with some muscatel wine and sweet cake, and were summoned the following day to go and see Sertak, taking with them their books and chapel in one cart, and bread and wine and fruits in another, many Tartars, both Christians and Saracens (*i.e.*, Mussulmans), standing around. Rubruquis was clad in his vestments, with a cushion on his arms, and carried the Bible given to him by Louis, and the illustrated psalter given to him by the queen in his hands; while his companions bore the missal and cross, and the assistant, dressed in a surplice, carried the thurible. Thus they approached the entrance to Sertak's tent. The hanging which generally closed it was raised so that he might see them. The interpreter and Nestorian, who accompanied them, prostrated themselves, but this ceremony was not exacted from them. They were warned not to tread on the threshold in entering or leaving the tent,‡ and told that they must

* This is probably an official title; an official with a similar title is mentioned at Mangu's court. (D'Avezac, 253 and 310.)

† *i.e.*, Hainault.

‡ *Vide* vol. i. 731. Note.

chant a blessing. They accordingly entered singing the Salve Regina. At the entrance to the tent there was the usual sideboard with vessels of kumis on it. Kuyuk, the chamberlain, took the thurible with the incense from them, and showed it to his master. The latter and his wife also inspected the psalter, the Bible, and the cross. He asked if the image upon it was that of Christ. Rubruquis adds parenthetically that the Nestorians and Armenians did not put figures on their crosses, and suggests that they were ashamed of "the Passion." When they had been inspected, the friars handed Louis's letters and the translations of them into Arabic and Syriac, which Rubruquis had made at Acre. Having retired, Kuyuk and some interpreters went with them to translate the letters. These having been read to Sertak, he replied that before he gave an answer he must consult with his father Batu. Having left their books and vessels in charge of Kuyuk, they once more set out on their journey, and on the third day they reached the Volga. The route they traversed was a dangerous one, for Rubruquis tells us the Tartars owned a great number of Russian, Hungarian, and Alan slaves, who were in the habit of banding themselves twenty or thirty together, and escaping by night and concealing themselves during the day, supplying themselves with horses from the Tartar herds. These men were very dangerous to travellers, whom they were in the habit of attacking. At the Volga they found a similar ferry to the one they had passed at the Don, in charge of some Russians and Muhammedans. He tells us Batu lived on the further bank of the Volga, and from January to August moved northwards with his people, returning southward in the other six months of the year. The point where they crossed was the northern limit of this migration, and therefore probably Ukek, and as Batu had set out southwards, our travellers sailed down the river to Batu's camp, which Rubruquis compares to a great city, and to the old camp of the Israelites. He tells us such a camp was called orda, that word meaning middle, and it was so named because the chief was there encamped in the midst of his people, whose tents were strewed all about, except towards the south, where the entrance was, and which was open. The travellers found Batu in a large tent, and were bidden not to say anything until he spoke, and then to speak briefly, and were again warned not to touch the threshold. They went in barefoot, with their hoods off. Rubruquis says that Carpini, being a papal nuncio, had changed his habit, so that he might not be contemned. They stood in the midst of the tent while they could repeat a *miserere* amidst a general silence. Batu sat on a gilded couch, on a platform reached by three steps, and one of his wives sat beside him, while some of his followers were seated around. At the entrance was a sideboard with gold and silver vessels on it, ornamented with precious stones. Rubruquis tells us naïvely that he looked at Batu for some time, and that his appearance was like that of John of Bello-

monte, for his face was covered with red spots. He bade them speak, upon which they were told to kneel down, and proceeded to urge upon him to become a Christian, telling him that those who would not believe would be lost. At this message he smiled derisively, and his companions jeered. He told him how they had heard that Sertak was a Christian, and how they in consequence had gone to him as envoys from the French king, and had been bidden to go to himself Batu. Batu then asked the name of the Frankish king, and why he was then at the head of his army, and was told that he had gone to fight against the Saracens. Batu then gave them some kumis, which was deemed a great honour. When they returned to their tent they were told that in order that they might have permission to stay in the country, it was necessary they should have the Khakan's leave, and that Rubruquis and his interpreter must go on to Mangu Khan at Karakorum, while his companions returned to Sertak. They naturally separated with great grief. They were provided with horses and food, and travelled with Batu down the river, for the space of five weeks, along the Volga. On the way the travellers suffered a good deal. They met with two Hungarians and a Coman, who had been baptised, and wrote out a copy of the Hours of the Virgin and of the Office of the Dead for them. By them they were supplied with some meat and other refreshment. The Coman told Rubruquis he had been baptised in Hungary, and that he had been much questioned by Batu in regard to the friars, and had told him the rules of their order. At length, on the feast of the Holy Rood, they were overtaken by a Mongol, who told them he had been deputed to conduct them to the court of Mangu Khan. He was a truculent person, and was very frank with them about the difficulties of the four months' journey there, and of the small scruples he should have in abandoning the travellers; he overlooked their wardrobe, making them leave behind everything but necessaries, and they were furnished with a furred cloak and trousers, made of sheep's skin, with the wool still upon it, and boots, also felt socks and fur hoods; and at length the second day after Holy Rood they set out over the terrible Nogay steppes, having the Caspian on the south and Great Bulgaria on the north. After riding twelve days from the Volga they reached the Yaik, which Rubruquis tells us flowed from Pascatir, *i.e.*, the land of the Bashkirs. This steppe was then inhabited by the Cangli, *i.e.*, the Kankalis. They changed horses three and four times a day, and sometimes travelled two or three days without meeting anyone. The friar quaintly tells us how he was provided with a strong horse, being corpulent, and how it behoved them to make no complaints, since they were lucky even to have horses at all.* He is nevertheless very querulous, and complains that there was no end to the hunger and thirst, the cold and weariness which he suffered, for his conductor gave them no

* Op. cit., 276.

meat except in the evenings, when they had a shoulder-blade of mutton, &c., and some broth. In the mornings they had only something to drink or a little boiled millet. Often they had to eat their meat nearly raw or half cooked, as they could not find any dried dung with which to make up their fires, for wood there was none. At first their guide contemned his charges greatly, but presently they became more respected, and, we are told, they were conducted by the camps of rich Mongols for whom the friars were expected to pray; and Rubruquis regrets that he had not a good interpreter with him, to take advantage of his opportunities for furthering his master's work.

Having proceeded eastwards for a considerable time, the travellers at length on the eve of All Saints, *i.e.*, on the 31st of October, turned more to the south, and passed over certain mountain ridges (probably the high lands south of Akmolinsk).* Having gone southwards for eight days, and seen many wild asses on the way, they at length reached a fertile district bounded by high mountains (*i.e.*, the Alexandrofski range), and on the eighth day after the feast of All Saints they reached Kenchat (that is Kenchak, not far from Merke).† There the governor came out to meet them, with ale (cervisia) and cups. It was the custom for the people of Mangu to thus treat those who came from Batu, and *vice versa*. The people of the country told him it was watered by a great river, whose waters were largely diverted by canals and sluices for artificial irrigation, and that it did not fall into the sea but was lost in the swamps. This river was doubtless the Chu. Rubruquis found many vines there and drank of the wine. As he passed this way Rubruquis made inquiries about the city of Talas and a colony of Germans, who had been settled there by Buri. The latter had been put to death, as I have already described, by Batu, while the Germans had been removed by orders of Mangu to Bolac, a town a month's journey from Talas (*i.e.*, Pulad, near lake Sairam),‡ where they were employed in digging for gold and in making armour. Rubruquis tells us he passed within three days of this town in journeying eastwards, and soon after he entered the country subject immediately to Mangu, namely, the district of Kara Khitai. His journey onwards I shall consider when we write of the Khanate of Jagatai in a later volume.

Having spent some time at Mangu's court, and been deputed by him to carry letters to his master Louis IX., he returned again. His return journey, he tells us, was made further north and in the summer. When he had travelled some twenty days he heard that the King of Armenia had passed by, and soon after met Sertak, who with his family was on his way to Mangu's court; and after some diplomatic phrases, he learnt from Kuyuk, Sertak's dependent, that the books and other treasures he had left behind were safe. He arrived at Batu's court

* Schuyler, i. 404. † Schuyler, i. 402. ‡ Vol. i. 734. Note.

the same day on which he had left it the year before, and met his companions, who had been well treated by the King of Little Armenia, whose journey I shall presently describe. He apparently found Batu encamped in his old quarters on the Volga, and having obtained permission to return home by land, the sea route being closed in winter, and being provided with a Uighur guide, he set out by way of Serai, which Rubruquis tells us had only recently been founded by Batu, on the east of the Volga, where it divides into three channels, and then by the town of Sumerkent, on the Lower Volga, and by way of the Eastern Caucasus into Persia.

The mission of Rubruquis was followed by that of a more important person, namely, Haithon, the King of Cilicia or Little Armenia. He had succeeded to the throne on marrying Zabel or Isabel, the only child of Leo II. He was crowned in 1224, and abdicated in favour of his son Leo III. in 1269, when he became a monk.* He had sent his brother Sempad to attend the inauguration of Kuyuk, and, as we are told in the narrative of his journey, when Mangu Khan mounted the throne, the great "Basileopator" and general, Batu, who lived with a great multitude of people on the river Athil (*i.e.*, the Volga), sent an invitation to Haithon to go and visit him, and also Mangu.† He had previously (*i.e.*, in 1252) sent a priest named Basil as an envoy to Batu.‡ Having disguised himself for fear of the Seljuki Turks, whose sultan at this time was Alai ud din, son of Kaikobad, and who hated him because of his friendly intercourse with the Mongols, he at length arrived at Kars, where he met Baiju Noyan, the Mongol general, and other grandees, who treated him with honour. He next stopped at a village named Vardenis, at the foot of mount Arai, in Armenia, whose site is elaborately discussed by Klaproth.§ There, there was a palace of a prince named Kurth, a Christian Armenian, whose sons were named Vache and Hassan. He remained there until they brought him some of his treasures, which were necessary for presents, and which were sent him by his father Constantine, who was an old man. When the chief patriarch Constantine heard that Haithon was passing this way, he sent the abbot James, an eloquent and wise man, who had previously been on an embassy to the Greek Emperor John, the bishop Stephen, the abbot Mekhitar, of Skevra, as well as Basil, the priest, who had returned from Batu, Thoros, a priest, his companion, and Karapet, another priest, to him. He passed through the country of the Aghuvans (*i.e.*, the Albanians), and by the defile of Derbend. Thence he went to Batu and his son Sertak, "who was a Christian." We thus see that the rumour of Sertak's having been a Christian, which Rubruquis had found to be so vain, had reached other ears besides those of Louis the Pious. Haithon was received with great

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* Klaproth, Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 272. † *Id.*, 274. ‡ *Id.*, 212.
§ Op. cit., 275. Note, 2.

honour by the two, and was sent on to Mangu by a very long road beyond the Caspian.

He set out on the 13th of May, and having crossed the Yaik, arrived at Hor, midway between Batu's and Mangu's camps, which is no doubt the river Or, giving its name to Orsk. It falls into the Yaik. He crossed the Irtish, and entered the land of the Naimans, and arrived at Kara Khitai on the 13th of September. This is probably a mistake for Karakorum, for Kara Khitai had been left long behind. The narrative goes on to say that on the festival of the elevation of the cross he had an audience with Mangu, who was seated in all his glory, and Haithon offered him presents. He was received with special honour. He was given a warrant or diploma, with a seal, to guarantee that neither himself nor his country should be molested, and also given a letter of enfranchisement for the churches of his kingdom. He left again on the 1st of November, and returned by a different route. I shall have more to say about him when I treat of Khulagu.

Two years after Mangu's accession, *i.e.*, in 1254, Iz ud din, the joint sultan of Rum, was summoned to Karakorum. Afraid that his brother Rokn ud din, who had long been his rival, and to whom he had given a joint authority with himself, would take advantage of his absence to oust him from his position, he determined to send his third brother, Alai ud din Kaikobad, who accordingly set out (taking with him many presents) by way of the Black Sea and the Golden Horde. He was accompanied by one of the principal Seljuki generals named Seif ud din Tarentai, and by Shuja ud din, governor of the maritime districts. Iz ud din sent a letter to Mangu, in which he excused himself for not going just then as he had to make way against his enemies, the Greeks and Armenians; he said that he hoped to be able to go before long, and that he had sent as his substitute a younger brother who had joint authority with him.*

Soon after this party had set out, the partizans of Rokn ud din, who wished to circumvent his brother, despatched the chancellor Shems ud din and the Emir Seif ud din Jalish with a forged letter, purporting to have been written by Iz ud din to Tarentai, ordering the latter and his colleague to return to Iconium. They overtook the travellers at the ordu of Batu, with whom they had an audience, and to whom they explained that Iz ud din, having discovered that Tarentai had formerly been struck by lightning (and was therefore an inauspicious person), could not be presented to Mangu, while Shuja ud din was a doctor, skilled in magic, and carried with him some drugs with which to poison Mangu. He had therefore sent the two bearers of the letter to replace them. Batu ordered the baggage of the two former envoys to be examined, and there were in fact found among them some drugs and medicinal roots, among other things scammoni. Batu ordered Shuja ud din to take some of

* D'Ohsson, iii. 95.

these drugs himself, which he did except the scammoni. Batu was thereupon convinced that these things were not poisons but drugs. He decided that all four officers should go on to the ordu. The former two with their young master, and the latter two with the presents. Alai ud din, whose mother was a daughter of the beautiful Armenian queen Rusudan, died on the way, like so many travellers who had traversed the terrible route leading to Karakorum, and the officers went on alone. They pleaded their several master's cause, and Mangu ordered Rum to be divided between the two brothers.*

Besides his authority over his special ulus, Batu had a joint authority elsewhere, and notably in the country south of the Oxus, which was not disposed of by Jingis Khan's will, and which was apparently meant to be a joint possession shared by the masters of the three great Khanates. Thus we are told that when Jingis Khan evacuated Persia, Juchi appointed Chin Timur as his deputy in Khuarezm. When in 1230 Chormagun was ordered by the Khakan Ogotai to attack the Khuarezm Shah Jelal ud din, Chin Timur was ordered to follow him with the troops of Khuarezm to subdue Khorassan. He remained there as governor, and, we are told, had four colleagues; Kelilat, nominated by the Khakan, Nussal by Batu, Kul Toga by Jagatai, and Tunga by the widow and son of Tului.†

On the death of Chin Timur in 1235, Nussal, who was a very old man and almost a centenarian, took his place as governor of Khorassan.‡ Chin Timur's chancellor was a Uighur, named Kurguz, who, being a skilled penman, had been taken into Juchi's service, and had taught his children writing. When Chin Timur was made governor of Khuarezm, he was nominated his secretary and eventually his minister. This post he retained under Nussal. As the latter was practically incapable, there were two candidates for the post. Kurguz, who was supported by his countryman Chinkai, who had great influence with Ogotai, and Ongu Timur, the son of Chin Timur, who was supported by Chinkai's rival Danishmend Hajib. The quarrel between the two was protracted, and eventually both repaired to the Imperial court, where, after hearing both sides, Ogotai decided against Ongu Timur; "but," he added, "as you belong to Batu, I will remit the matter to him, and he will punish you." Chinkai thereupon interceded for him, saying, "Ongu Timur says 'the Khakan is the lord of Batu. Is it right that a dog like myself should be the cause of two sovereigns deliberating over me. The Khakan had better decide.'" "You speak well," said Ogotai, "for Batu would not spare his own son in a similar position to yours." The companions of Ongu Timur were thereupon punished as calumniators, and Kurguz was given the government of all the country south of the Oxus.§

When Khulagu set out to conquer Persia in 1253, each of the Mongol

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* *Id.*, 96-98. † *Id.*, 103, 104. ‡ *Id.*, 108. § *Id.*, 109-115.

princes furnished a contingent of troops for the work, due doubtless to their having common rights in Khorassan, and we are told the contingent sent by Batu was commanded by the prince Alakai,* son of Sheiban, with Kotar Oghul and Kuli.† It is probable that the rights of the heads of the several minor Khanates in Khorassan, &c., were not territorial, but that they were entitled to share a portion of the revenue drawn from thence. This was also the case in China, and we are told in the Yuan shi, under the year 1236, that the emperor (*i.e.*, Ogotai) granted to the empress dowager, the princes, and princesses appanages in China. Among these we are told that Waludo and Batu, *i.e.*, Orda and Batu, received the department of P'ing Yang in Shansi. Yelu Chutsai, the famous minister of Ogotai, having presented a report in which the system of appanages was condemned, "the emperor ordered darughas or governors to be appointed over the places given as appanages, and that the princes and others should merely receive the revenues from their lands.'

Batu Khan died in the year 1255 or 1256.§ The name Batu in Mongol means hard, durable.‖ He was entitled Sain Khan (*i.e.*, the "Good Khan"), and Marco Polo and the chronicler of Kazan make two distinct persons out of the two names.¶ Herberstein has a curious story about his death, which is clearly fabulous. He tells us that according to the annals "Batu was killed by Vaslaf, king of the Hungarians (who on his baptism was named Vladislaus, and was enrolled among the saints), for he had carried off the king's sister, whom he had accidentally met with during the spoiling of the kingdom, and the king, moved by love for his sister and by the indignity of the deed, pursued him; but when he made his attack upon Batu, his sister took up arms in cause of the adulterer against her brother, which so enraged the king that he slew his sister, together with the adulterous Batu." These things were done in A.M. 6745 (A.D. 1237).** I need not say that Batu did not die in 1237, and that St. Vladislaf of Hungary did not live until long before Batu's time, *i.e.*, from A.D. 1076 to 1095.

Fræhn has given three coins, without dates, as having been struck at Bolghari during the Batu's reign, but I deem it much more probable that they were struck during the reign of Bereke, who was a Mussulman and an innovator upon ancient Mongol customs. Among the earlier Mongols, as is well known, coined money was unknown. I shall refer again to these coins in the next chapter.

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* Bar Hebræus calls him Bulgai.

† Golden Horde, 146. Note. ‡ Bretschneider, 103. D'Ohsson, ii. 79. Note.

§ Klaproth, Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 274. Note, 1. Abulghazi, 180. Note,

‖ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 274. Note, 1. Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 108. No

¶ Yule, ii. 493, 494. ** Op. cit., ii. 51.

SERTAK.

For some time before his death Batu took little share in the government of the Khanate, which was intrusted to Sertak. He had, as we have seen, immediate command of the Mongols encamped between the Don and Volga, while his father lived on the Volga. Here, like the Grand Khan, he encouraged the priests of various religions, and it was probably some Nestorians who had been at his court who spread the news in the west that he was a Christian. This was reported by the Muhammedans, and the Pope sent him a letter in 1254 to congratulate him.* The Armenian historian Chamchean tells us that he had been brought up by Christian nurses, that he was baptised, and lived like a Christian. He tells us, further, that he was permitted to do this by his father, that Christianity was tolerated, and that he forbade the churches to be taxed. He adds that it was by his and his father's influence that the Armenian and Georgian princes under the jurisdiction of the Mongol general Baiju were well treated.† Rubruquis was quite persuaded that the Christianity of Sertak was all a pretence.

Batu, according to Rubruquis, had sixteen wives, each of whom had her own establishment. His chief wife was Borakchin.‡ She was probably the mother of his four sons Sertak, Tutukan, Andewan, and Ulaghji. As he left brothers, it is clear that according to Mongol laws of succession none of these sons were entitled to the throne, but rather his eldest surviving brother, who would appear to have been Bereke. Nevertheless we find Sertak named as his successor. It came about thus: Mangu Khan convoked a Kuriltai to meet in the spring of 1256, in a place called Orbolguetu, where he entertained the various princes and others magnificently for two months, and gave them splendid presents. Apropos to this feast, D'Ohsson tells a story from the Yuan history, that in 1253 Batu had sent one of his officers named Tobdja to ask from Mangu a present of 10,000 golden ingots. According to M. Hyacinthe, 110 million silver roubles in value, of which he had need to buy a pearl. The Khakan sent him 1,000, saying, "If we thus lavishly squander the resources collected by Jingis and Ogotai, how can we reward the princes?"§

To this Kuriltai Batu sent his son Sertak, who set out in 1255, and was met on the way by Haithon. It was while on his way that news arrived of his father's death, and we are told that thereupon Mangu appointed Sertak as his successor, and dismissed him with magnificent presents. Von Hammer‖ and D'Ohsson¶ both say he died on his way home;** but the Armenian Chamchean, who was probably informed by

* D'Ohsson, ii. 336. † Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 211, 212.
‡ Golden Horde, 143. D'Ohsson, ii. 337. § Op. cit., ii. 320. Note. ‖ Op. cit., 142.
¶ ii. 336. ** See also Fræhn Bull, St. Petersburgh Acad., iv. 233.

the Armenian Prince of Khachen named Jelal, a resident for some time at Sertak's court, and who was his companion on his journey, says he was poisoned by his relatives Park 'hachah and Parak 'hsar. Bar Hebræus also says he was killed on the way. Klaproth has pointed out that in the names mentioned by the Armenian historian we find Bereke, the well known fourth, and Berckjar, the ninth son of Juchi.* The account is very probable, and I have no hesitation in accepting it.

We are told by Rashid that on the death of Sertak, Mangu nominated Ulaghji (who was his brother, and not his son, as D'Ohsson says,)† to succeed him, and named his mother Borakchin regent.‡ This nomination is doubtful, and so is the statement that he shortly after died. I believe, with Von Hammer, that he was the same Ulaghji who was appointed his lieutenant in Russia by Bereke, and who thus filled towards him much the same position that Sertak did towards his own father Batu. If he was nominated as Khan, it would seem, therefore, that he immediately gave place to his uncle Bereke, who was the rightful heir, and whose history we will reserve for the next chapter.

Note 1.—Since writing the above chapter, I have met with a passage which throws some light on a difficult part of the Mongol history of this period. It has always seemed strange to me that an obscure son of Juchi's like Singkur should have been chosen to command the armies of his ulus in the interval between the death of Jingis Khan and the great expedition under Batu in the west. I have nevertheless followed Wolff§ and Von Hammer‖ in identifying the Suntay of Abulfaraj with Singkur, a view to some extent confirmed by Vassaf, who speaks of Suntay as the brother of Batu.¶ Let us now examine the ground more closely. At the great Kuriltai held by Ogotai in 1235, it was determined to send an army into the countries of the west, and we are told by Raschid that accordingly Kuktai and Subutai Bahadur were given command of an army of 30,000 men, and ordered to conquer the country of Kipchak, of Saksin, and of Bulghar.** This agrees with the Chinese authorities, which tell us that Ogotai in 1235 withdrew Subutai from China, where he had been very successful, in order to give him another command.†† Abulfaraj also tells us, in his Syriac chronicle, that when Ogotai sent an army of 30,000 cavalry under Churmaghun Noyan into Khorassan, he ordered a similar army to march against Kipchak and the country of the Bulgars, under the command of Sunati Agonista. In the Arabic chronicle of the same author he is called Sontay or Sitay Behadur. This conversion of Subutai into Suntai occurs also in some places in the narrative of Rashid, and is due to the confusion of diacritic points in the script. In the Armenian rescension of Abulfaraj, in which there is not a similar difficulty, the name is written Sapada

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 290. Note. † Golden Horde, op. cit., 143. ‡ *Id.*
§ Op. cit., 124 and 266. ‖ Golden Horde, 98, 99. ¶ Golden Horde, op. cit., 98. Note, 7.
** St. Martin, Memoires sur l'Armenie, 2. Note, 4. †† D'Ohsson, ii. 78, 79.

Bahadur. Agonista is derived from a well known Greek word signifying athlete or hero, and is a mere translation of Behadur.* This makes it pretty clear that Suntay is a corruption of Subutai, and that it was that renowned general, and not Singkur, who commanded the Tartars in their attack on Bolghari. The great expedition was despatched in 1235. The very next year the Dominican friar Julian was travelling, as I have said, on the Volga. His journey was an interesting one, and we may add a few more facts about it. There was a tradition among the Hungarians that their nation had come from the east, but they did not know whence. In 1230 they sent four brothers to explore, but after three years' fruitless search, they returned without finding the desired cradleland of their race. One of them named Otto, a merchant, reported, however, the existence of a nation in the east which spoke the Hungarian tongue, but he died shortly after. Bela IV., the Hungarian king, being interested in this question, despatched in 1234 four Dominican friars, of whom Julian was one, to explore. They traversed Hungary and Bulgaria, and at length reached Constantinople, where John of Brienne was then reigning. Thence they navigated the Euxine, and in three days reached the town of Matrika (near the modern Fanagoria), whence they passed through Zichia and Alania, *i.e.*, Circassia and the country of the Ossetes, of whose inhabitants Julian gives some account. There they could find no one to accompany them through ear of the Tartars, who were not far off. As they ran short of provisions, the friars determined that two of their number should be sold as slaves to enable the other two to continue their journey. But as they could not find a merchant, and did not understand the arts of ploughing and grinding corn, two of them determined to return, while the other two, Bernhard and Julian, persevered, and after a stay of six months, during which they suffered great hunger, living on a little millet, which they obtained in barter for some spoons and other objects which one of them carved out of wood, they at length found some companions, with whom they travelled for seven and thirty days through deserts, having only twenty-four cakes, baked in the ashes, to eat, and in constant dread of being killed by their companions, who suspected they had gold with them. Bernhard fell ill on the way, and wished Julian to leave him, but he succeeded with great trouble in conveying him onwards until, on the twenty-seventh day, they reached the land of the Saracens (*i.e.*, the Muhammedans). The people who lived there Julian calls Veda. I believe them to be the Berdas or Merdas of other authors, who, we are told, were Mussulmans. The travellers reached the town of Bunda. (?) There they found no shelter, and had to camp out in the fields in the rain and cold, but Julian and his companion received some alms from the prince and people, who were favourable to the Christians. Thence they went on to another town, where Bernhard died in the house of a hospitable Saracen, and Julian, in order to prosecute his journey further, became the servant of a Saracen priest and his wife, with whom he went on to Great Bulgaria. In a large city there, which possessed 50,000 warriors, by which no doubt Bolghari is meant, he learnt from a woman, whose husband had been there, that he was only two days' journey

* St. Martin, loc cit.

from Hungary (*i.e.*, Great Hungary), the place he was searching for. Following her instructions, he arrived in fact there. When the people learnt he was a Hungarian they entertained him in their houses, inquired about the king and people of their Christian brothers. He tells us they conversed freely, he understanding them, and they him. They were heathens, and had no gods, and lived like wild beasts; they did not practice agriculture, ate horse and wolf flesh, drank milk, wine, and blood; had abundance of horses and weapons, and were very warlike. They knew the Hungarians had migrated from their country, but did not know whither they had gone. He doubtless refers to the Bashkirs. The Tartars were near neighbours of theirs. They had not been subjected by but had in fact beaten them, and had afterwards in alliance with them subjected fifteen kingdoms. He met some Tartars there, and also one of their envoys who could speak Hungarian, Russian, Cumanian, German, Saracenic (*i.e.*, Arabic), and Tartar. He said that the chief of the Tartars was five days' journey away, and was about to march against Germany, but was waiting for the progress of another army which was going to Persia. This was in 1236, and therefore the very year after the great Kuriltai, and the army referred to is doubtless that commanded by Subutai. On hearing the news of the march of the Tartars, Julian returned home by a nearer route through the country of the Mordvins.* In 1237, news having arrived in Hungary of the advance of the Tartar king, Bela sent Julian on another journey to explore and report. He again traversed Russia, and found that the Tartars had conquered Great Hungary and Great Bulgaria, and he gives a confused account of their further doings which is of small value.†

Note 2.—In his account of the various tribes of South-eastern Russia, Rubruquis speaks of the Moxel or Mokshas, a section of the Mordvins, and tells us their lord or sovereign, "with a great number of his people, were killed in Alemannia" (*i.e.*, Germany), "for," he says, "the Tartars led them to the frontiers of Alemannia, where they offered to submit themselves to the Alemanniens, hoping in this way to free themselves from the Tartar yoke."‡ He implies that the Tartars destroyed them on account of this intrigue. This notice, which had escaped me, shows how the army of the invaders grew, snowball fashion, wherever it went through the incorporation of conquered tribes.

Note 3.—My deceased friend, the late antiquary Thomas Wright, supplied M. D'Avezac with a copy of some verses taken from a poem written by John de Garlande, apparently soon after the Tartar invasion, and entitled, "De Triumphis Ecclesiæ," from which I quote as follows :—

"The seventh book opens with an account of the inroads of the Tartars; he describes them as cannibals:

> "Gens est sæva nimis, Sathanæque domestica, pestis
> Ecclesiæ, fidei dissona, cædis amans.
> Limpha. merum, panis, caro, piscis, friget, obundat,
> Incandit, nutrit; vivit in æde probrä.
> Excedit gens ista feras quod mundus abhorret;
> Cur? quia naturam calcat iniqua suam.
> Quæris fortè modum calcandi; sanguinis haustu
> Emadet hamani, se furor iste bibit.

* Wolff, 263-267. † *Id.*, 269-274. ‡ Op. cit., 251, 252.

Esuriens hominem corrodit homo; leo nullus
Carne leoninâ viscera laxa replet;
Non lupus ungue lupum lacerat; gens ista colurnis
In vepribus vertit membra veruta foco.
Famam Virgilius monstrum depingit habere.
Sub plumis oculos instabilesque gradus.
Illi mille dedit linguas figmenta loquentes;
Falsis permutat sic modo vera loquax
Fingit fama tamen quædam conformia vero.
Nam mihi pro certo presbiter ista tulit:
Presbiteros terræ prosternunt, sic crucifigunt
Illos prostatos, excruciantque diû.
Matres occidunt, puerosque per ubera matrûm
Flentes, clamantes, ire, perire sinunt.
Hac Feritate refert has fama bibisse medullas
Humanas: feritas quid scelus ista timet?

* * * * *

Pingues et teneros et molles et generosos
Et pulcros horum rex coquit igne sibi.
Plebs vorat annosos, nigros, duros, scabiosos,
Hirsutos, tremulos; hoc non abhorret opus.
Quod sequitur verè faciunt: muliebria truncant
Guttura, post veneri corpora juncta suæ.

* * * * *

Hi quiâ sunt diri nequeunt pietate poliri.
His periêre Tyri Pergameique viri.
Cor gustando ferum, fœtus truncant mulierum,
Sanctum (me miserum!) non venerantur Herum.

* * * * *

Istis Cumani servire mali didecerunt,
Qui vacui, vani, falsa dolosque ferunt.
Hi sunt christicolæ falsi, sine lege, severi.
Hâc de fraude scholæ proposuere quæri.

"He goes on to speak of the Jews as holding secret correspondence with them, and believing their prince to be the expected Messiah:

"Consimiles sacra dant judæis sordida Divo
Viscera ponendo, mundificant male se.
Se malè mundificant ponendo viscera Divo
Sordida judæis dant sacra consimiles
Dùm circumcisâ pro pelle merentur Apelle
Nomen, cognomen hoc valet esse suum.
Hæ gentes miseræ mortem misére per orbem:
Destructas leges pec mala cuncta leges.
Quid referam plausus quos perfida dat synagoga?
Nuntia quid promam, perfidiamque suam?
Munera prætereo quæ mittit clam vel apertè.
Dum sibi Messyam credit habere suum,
Spes sua messe caret: expectans tempore tanto
Messyam, sterilem spem miseranda fovet.

"After some religious reflections, this author again describes the devastations they committed wherever they came:

"Prostratis monachis aras et templa cruentant
Hisque boves statuunt, carnipedesque ligant.
Impedit Ecclesiam fera dum discordia regum,
Tartareos acuit liber ad arma furor.

In claustris sacrisque locis concumbere fœda
  Gens audens; vollit sancta sepulcra solo.
Sanctorum capsas confringit, et eruit ossa;
  Et gemmis, auro, fœmia mœcha nitet,
Mundis Ecclesiæ pannis immunda perornat
  Membra, sacros calices trectat, et indè bibit.
Catholici fulsi comitantur eos, vacuusque
  Vespilio, cupidus fur, homicida, rapax."*

Note 4.—Abulghazi† tells us that Juchi's capital was called Kok orda, *i.e.*, the Blue Horde. This was probably the later Seraichuk. Klaproth tells us that, according to a short history of Jingis Khan and his family, written in Jagatai Turk, the camp of Batu was at a place called Utch kandak.‡ I cannot throw any light on this name, but it would certainly seem from the narrative of the friar Julian that before the great campaign in Europe, and before the conquest of the valley of the Volga, the ulus of Juchi had a fixed camping place, for he tells us in his second letter, describing his journey in 1237, that the Tartars were then ruled over by Chayn, *i.e.*, by Sain Khan or Batu, who lived in the great city of Hornah.§ It may be that by this the Ornas of other writers is meant, *i.e.*, Urgenj, which was a city belonging until the time of the Great Timur to the ulus of Juchi. M. Wolff deems the word Hornah a corruption of Ordu.‖ It will be well before passing on to say a few words about some of the towns founded by the Mongols on the Volga, and we may naturally begin with their famous capital Serai. It is first mentioned by Rubruquis, who tells us it was founded shortly before his passage through the country on his return home. The name is Turkish, and means a palace. It is a mere translation of the Mongol term Ordu. It occurs frequently elsewhere, thus the royal residence of the house of Jagatai was called Sali Serai.¶ We also read of Arhenkserai and Zenjir Serai. Ak Serai was the name given to his palace at Kesh by Timur.** Baghi or Bakshi Serai, *i.e.*, the Garden Palace, was the name of the capital of Krim. We are all familiar with the derivatives Caravanserai and Seraglio. The town therefore took its name from the Imperial residence around which it clustered. We must now consider its situation. This is by no means a simple matter, and the Russian authorities are at issue with two of the most ingenious and learned foreign authors who have treated of the question, namely J. H. Müller and Colonel Yule. The latter has argued that there were two Serais on the Volga, between which we must carefully distinguish; the one founded by Batu and the other by Janibeg Khan, each one answering in position to a famous cluster of ruins still existing, and he identifies the Serai of Batu with the ruins situated at Selitrennoi-Gorodok, or Saltpetre town, near Astrakhan. With this view I most cordially concur. In the first place, I may mention that Fræhn, the distinguished numismatist, has shown very conclusively to my mind that the Tartars of the Golden Horde had three mint places in whose names Serai occurs. Serai proper, Serai el Jedid or New Serai, and Seraichuk or Little

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* D'Avezac, op. cit., 528-530. Note.
† Op. cit., 180.
‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 274. Note, 1.
§ Wolff, 272.
‖ *Id.*
¶ Sherifuddin, Hist. de Timur, i. 2 and 21.
** Muller, Ugrische Volkstamm, ii. 561.

Serai. Seraichuk is a place whose site is well ascertained, and which was situated on the Yaik or Ural. Fræhn, in a special memoir, has argued very conclusively that Serai el Jedid is quite a different place from Seraichuk, and as both Serai and Serai el Jedid occur as contemporaneous mint places, it is clear that these two were also different towns. This view agrees exactly with that urged by Colonel Yule, that we must distinguish the Serai of Batu from the later Serai of Janibeg Khan, which was doubtless the New Serai of the coins. The statements of Pegolotti, that Serai was a day's journey from Astrakhan, of Abulfeda, that it was two days' journey from the outfall of the Volga, of the Persian geographer Sadik, that it was four days' journey from Derbend, of the chronicler Nikon, that it was two days' journey from Astrakhan by water,* and of Ibn Batuta, that he reached Serai in three days from the same city, are only consistent with the Serai mentioned by these authors having been situated near Astrakhan and not near Tzaritzin, and the Serai they mention is doubtless the old Serai. On the other hand, the ruins near Tzaritzin are actually called to this day the Serai of Janibeg Khan by the neighbouring Tartars.† Fra Mauro, as Professor Bruun and Colonel Yule have pointed out, puts two cities of Serai on the Akhtuba, calling the northern one, *i.e.*, the Serai of Janibeg Khan, "Great Serai," while Pegolotti, having carried his merchant from Tana (Azof) to Gittarchan (Astrakhan), takes him one day by river to Sara, and from Sara to Saracanco, *i.e.*, Sara Kunk or Great Serai eight days more.‡ The Saracanco of Pegolotti, I have no doubt, is the New Serai of the coins, whose extensive ruins near Tzaref have been so diligently explored by M. Grigorief. I shall have more to say about it in a future chapter. We will now confine ourselves to the Southern Serai, Its foundation by Batu was probably rather nominal than real, that is, he fixed its site, which was probably the place where his winter quarters were generally planted, and he probably built a number of wooden buildings, forming his more permanent palace or ordu. It was probably Bereke who became a Mussulman, and who is credited by one author (Jenabi)§ with the foundation of the city, who built its first imposing building in the shape of a mosque, while it was reserved for Uzbeg Khan, as we shall presently see, with the aid of his Egyptian workmen, to make the city one of the most famous and beautiful then existing. The remains at Selitrennoi-Gorodok are still very extensive, and I will abstract the account of them by Pallas. He says:—

"The abandoned saltpetre work called Selitrennoi-Gorodok is situated in the midst of a hilly tract, extending to upwards of ten versts in length; here, along the banks of the Akhtuba, on a place from one to two versts broad, we discovered in every direction heaps of rubbish, traces of buildings, and tombs of brickwork, being the ruins of an extensive city of the Nogays. There had been a small fort erected on a hill, which unquestionably contained the principal and most elegant buildings of the place, and was surrounded by a strong wall; but at present the fort, which was oiginally built for the protection of the saltpetre work, is in a ruinous state, together with its dependent buildings. We particularly remarked the remains of two buildings, the most

*Muller, op. cit., 569. † Muller, op. cit., ii. 571. ‡ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 6, ii. 537.
§ Golden Horde, 150. Note, 5.

magnificent of which has lately been cleared of its rubbish, with a view to discover treasures; the other, if we may judge from the existing ruins, appears to have been a dwelling-house with many apartments. The former of these buildings, as is evident from its foundation and sepulchral walls, has been the family mausoleum of a Khan, with a superstructure which probably was a house of prayer.

"This venerable place, as we were informed, has been plundered of many treasures, and whole coffins covered with silver. The fabric forms an oblong square, in a direction from N.N.E. to S.S.W., about twelve fathoms long, and eight fathoms and a half broad, when measured on its southern point. We could distinctly trace two equal divisions, on the northern side, beneath which were the sepulchral vaults, as is obvious from the tombs that have fallen in; while the southern division, especially on its portico, has been ornamented with Gothic pilasters, columns, and arches, the fragments of which are still distinguishable. Its foundation walls are nearly two fathoms high, and upwards of two ells thick. In the whole brickwork, which consists of beautiful broad squares, disposed in the most regular manner, there is a degree of taste and elegance of which I have nowhere seen an instance among the ruins of the Tartars. The outside of the walls is not only embellished in all the interstices between the bricks with glazed earthen ornaments, of green, yellow, white, and blue colour, in triangular and other figures, but we also observed on the principal front of the building, the remains of Gothic stucco-work, which was decorated with glazed figures, such as artificial flowers, shellwork, nay, whole tablets in the Mosaic style.

"But the tooth of time, and the depredations of the vulgar, have many years since converted these remarkable vestiges of antiquity into heaps of ruins. Formerly whole cargoes of bricks were carried from these buildings to Astrakhan; though, on account of the excellent cement, the workmen who were employed in demolishing entire walls, were obliged to destroy at least two-thirds of the bricks. Tradition relates many extraordinary stories of the coins and precious relics which were formerly dug up and collected here in great quantities, but I doubt whether many of those antique treasures have been rescued from the plundering barbarians, and judiciously consigned to the antiquarian; or whether any of them have been transmitted to the Cabinet of Russian Antiquaries, which belongs to the Imperial Academy of Sciences."*

The neighbourhood of these ruins is surrounded with a number of kurgans or mounds, proving that the site was that of a large city. F. H. Müller tells us that not long before he wrote a number of these were opened by Rybuschkin, the director of education in the government of Astrakhan, at the cost of the State. In more than twenty places walls built of dressed stone and cemented with lime were found, as well as floors made of similar stones. In the graves were found silver and copper coins, petrified shells, pieces of marble, bones, and urns with ashes in them, as well as metal utensils.† Having described the site of the capital, let us now examine one or two other Mongol settlements on the Volga. Marco Polo, in describing the travels of his father and

* Pallas' Travels, i. 164-166. † Op. cit., ii. 576.

uncle, tells us that on leaving Bolgara they proceeded to a city called Ucaca. which was at the extremity of the kingdom of the lord of the Ponent.* Abulfeda tells us that almost midway between Serai and Bular (*i.e.*, Bolghari), on the western bank of the Itil, and fifteen days' journey from each, was the little town of Ukek, as far as which, and no farther, extended the horde of the Tartars in the land of Bereke.† Ibn Batuta, in his journey from Astrakhan tells us he went to Ukek, which was ten days' journey from Serai, and one day's journey from the mountains of the Russians.‡ These statements as to Ukek being a frontier town of Kipchak are illustrated by an extract from Antoniotto Usodimare, who wrote about the middle of the fifteenth century, and who tells us the empire of Uzbeg commenced in the province of Borgaria (*i.e.*, Bulgaria), that is to say, with the town *Vaina* and ended with the town Cerganchi (*i.e.*, Urgenj).§ According to Schmidt, Ukek in Mongol means a dam or fence of hurdles, whence and from the fact of its not being named before the Mongol invasion, it is probable that it was of Mongol foundation.‖ Colonel Yule says it was the site of a Franciscan convent in the fourteenth century, and it was finally destroyed by Timur.¶ It occurs as a mint place on coins of Tuktagha, dated 1306.** In Russian documents it is written Uwek or Uwesh, a corruption compared by Fræhn with that of Azak into Azof. This form occurs early, for in Wadding's fourteenth century catalogue of convents it occurs as Uguech. Anthony Jenkinson, in Hackluyt, gives an observation of its latitude as Oweke, 51.40, and Christopher Burroughs, in the same collection, gives it as Oueak, 51.30.†† There can be little doubt that its site is marked by the village of Uwek, six miles south of Saratof, on the right bank of the Volga. Burroughs, who travelled this way in 1579, tells us there formerly stood there a fine stone castle, called Oueak, around which a town formerly gathered, which, according to the report of the Russians, was swallowed up by the earth by the justice of God for the wickedness of its inhabitants. Ruins of the castle and handsome tombs, evidently constructed for people of high rank, still survived; on one of which, he says, could still be seen the figure of a man on horseback, who held a bow in his hand and had a quiver by his side. On another was an escutcheon with characters engraved on it which he took to be Armenian. On another stone was another kind of writing.‡‡ Armenian gravestones, as is well known, have been found at the neighbouring town of Bolghari. These ruins have all disappeared under the pressure of Russian Philistinism, and amid the sighs of Fræhn. Falk, on his journey through here in 1769, found only a grave and wall enclosing a large square space. He tells us that Tartar coins were found there by the saltpetre miners, of which he obtained some.§§ Erdmann visited the site of the town in 1815, and tells us that there were several mounds round it in which ruins and Tartar coins were found.‖‖ Levchine, who also passed this way in 1769, found in several places holes where the inhabitants quarried ancient bricks, and also potsherds of a beautiful fabrique. Besides coins there were also found

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 5. † Fræhn, Mems. St. Petersburg Acad., 6th ser., iii. 78.
‡ *Id.* § *Id.*, 81. ‖ *Id.*, 74. ¶ Marco Polo, i. 9. ** Fræhn, op. cit., 77.
†† Yule, loc. cit. ‡‡ Fræhn, op. cit., 83. §§ Falk, Beitrage, &c., i. 114.
‖‖ Erdmann, Beitrage, &c., ii., part 1, 71.

rings, earrings, copper vessels, and even gold jewels, which were disposed of to the goldsmiths at Saratof. Fræhn has described a small find of seven coins, including three of Uzbeg Khan, one of Janibeg, and another of Berdibeg's, a copper seal, and a small silver figure, which were found there.* Abulghazi says that the Itil (*i.e.*, the Volga) flows past Ukek, then reaches the village of Jemer, and thence passes on to Serai.† Von Hammer adds that Fræhn, in the margin of the MS., has written that Jemer stands for Belshemen.‡ Jemer is undoubtedly the place called Sumerkent by Rubruquis, kent being the well known Iranian termination to topographical names, which has been illustrated by M. Lerch, of St. Petersburgh, and occurs so frequently in Transoxiana and Turkestan.§ Rubruquis tells us how, on his return from his journey to the Great Khan, he on his way towards Serai struck the Itil where it divided into three branches; one of these again divided into four lesser streams, so that he crossed seven rivers altogether. On the middle branch, he tells us, was the town of Sumerkent. It was unwalled, but when the river was inundated it was surrounded with water. He tells us the Tartars attacked it for eight years before they captured it, and that it was inhabited by Alans and Saracens (*i.e.*, Muhammedans). Rubruquis visited the town, where he met a German and his wife, with whom his man Goset had spent the winter, having been sent there by Sertak that he might ease his court. Rubruquis tells us that Batu and Sertak, one on one side the river and the other on the other, were wont to descend as far as this place in their winter migration, but no further, crossing over the frozen surface of the Volga when they had occasion, and taking shelter among the woods on its banks in severe weather. He tells us a few sentences further on that Serai was situated on the eastern bank of the river, an implies that it was close to Sumerkent.‖ This description, which is that of a traveller who actually visited the town, is not quite consistent with the paragraph quoted from Abulfeda, and the latter seems to be a mistake. The Sumerkent of Rubruquis was situated at the lower extremity of the Volga, and within the Delta of that river. That it was further south than Serai, Batu's capital, is clear from his statement that it marked most the southern part of Batu's migration. The description is consistent only with the neighbourhood of Astrakhan, or rather with the ruins of old Astrakhan, and I have no doubt myself that Sumerkent represents the town which appears for the first time in the fourteenth century under the new name of Haji Terkhan, and which will occupy our attention on a future occasion. The facts mentioned by Rubruquis about its capture by the Tartars and its being inhabited by Alans and Mussulmans, and also its situation in the network of the Lower Volga, shows that it is the same town referred to by Rashid ud din and the Chinese authors, ruled over by Bachiman, the details of whose capture I gave in the former volume.¶ As I have said, it was virtually displaced by Astrakhan, which, together with another famous town on the Volga, namely, Bolghari, will occupy us in a future chapter.

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* Op. cit., 85-87. † Golden Horde, 9. Note 4. Mems. St. Peters. Acad., 6th ser., iii. 78.
‡ Loc. cit. § See also Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 343., Note 5.
‖ Op. cit., 379, 380. ¶ *Ante*, vol. i. 138.

The following Table contains a list of the sons of Jingis, as given by Rashid ud din and Khuandimir. I have abstracted it from Von Hammer's Golden Horde (Table) and Defremery (Journal Asiatique, 4th series, xvii. 108).

JINGIS KHAN.

- Juchi.
  - Orda.
  - Batu.
    - Sertak.
    - Tutukan or Toghan.
    - Andewan.
    - Ulaghji.
  - Bereke.
  - Berkejar.
  - Sheiban.
  - Tangkut.
  - Tewal or Bual.
  - Jilaukan.
  - Singkur.
  - Jintai or Chempai.
  - Bure or Muhammed.
  - Udur or Uduz.
  - Tuka Timur.
  - Singkum.
- Jagatai.
- Ogotai.
- Kuyuk.

CHAPTER III.

BEREKE AND THE DESCENDANTS OF BATU.

BEREKE KHAN.

BATU had three brothers of the whole blood, namely, Bereke, Berkejar, and Bure, also called Muhammed. These three brothers all had the same mother, namely, Sultan Khatun,* and all belonged therefore to the same ulus or grand encampment. Bereke was present, with several of his brothers, at the inauguration of Ogotai as Grand Khan in 1229.†

It was a Mongol custom to intrust the more skilful princes with the command of separate armies, and afterwards to make over to them as their special inheritance the districts they succeeded in conquering. When Batu set out on his great expedition westwards, we are told that Bereke went into the country north of the Caucasus to conquer the Kipchaks there. The subjugation of the district north of the Caucasus, with its heterogeneous tribes and difficult topography, occupied the Mongols for a long time, and was not in fact ever definitely completed. A few words may fitly be said here about it. It would seem that after Mangu had captured the city of Bachiman (*i.e.*, Sumerkent), he rejoined Batu and took part in the capture of Riazan. After the campaign in Northern Russia, in 1237 and 1238, three armies were despatched to conquer the tribes of the Northern Caucasus. This was in the autumn of 1238. Mangu and Kadan marched against the Circassians, whose chief, Tukan or Mukan, was killed.‡ They would seem to have afterwards (namely, in 1238 and 1239), marched against the Ossetes or As, the Alans of other writers, who were the next neighbours and often the close allies of the Circassians, and after a siege of three months captured their capital Mokhshi (called Mangass or Mikass by Rashid). In the Yuan shi we are told that Sili ganbu conducted the assault.§ This town of Mokhshi, about which I shall have more to say presently, became a mint place of the Tartars. Rubruquis tells us expressly that the Alans were subjected by Mangu Khan himself, and that on his return he passed a castle of the Alans

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* Klaproth, Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 290. Note. † D'Ohsson, ii. 8.

‡ Rashid, quoted by D'Ohsson, ii. 626. St. Martin, Memoires sur l'Armenie, ii. 268.

§ Bretschneider, 83.

which belonged to Mangu.* He tells us the Alans were skilled in metallurgy. Elsewhere he tells us that Zichia, *i.e.*, the country of the Circassians proper, was not when he passed a part of the Mongol dominions.† It would seem that the country of the Ossetes was so, and further, that it was an especial appanage of the Khakan Mangu. This accounts for what is otherwise a very strange fact, namely, that so many Alans should be mentioned as serving in the Mongol armies in China, and as being otherwise in the service of the Great Khan there.

While Mangu marched against the Circassians, Sheiban, Bujek, and Buri marched against the Merims, a portion of the nation Chinchak. I have suggested that these may have been the people of Murom,‡ but it is possible that by them the Lesghs, or else the Chetsentses are meant. The Lesghs were not completely subdued, however, and remained independent when Rubruquis passed this way.§ In the spring of 1239 Kukdai, we are told, was sent to capture Timur kahalia (lit the iron gate), *i.e.*, Derbend, on the Caspian.‖ Rubruquis tells us how it was protected with high walls without ditches, and with towers built of great dressed stones, but that the Tartars battered down the tops of the turrets and the bulwarks on the walls, laying the turrets even with the walls.¶ It was subject to them, and commanded one of the most important roads in the world, namely, the only really practicable trade route through the Caucasus. While these expeditions were prosecuting their work and during the winter of 1238-9 we are told that Bereke defeated the Kipchaks and made the chief of the Mekrits prisoner.**

The term Kipchak or Coman has in my view received too wide a connotation. It was properly applied to the nomades who lived on the river Kuma, which district was the Kumestan of Edrisi. This was the Desht Kipchak proper, whence the Comans or Kipchaks extended their raids into the country of the Don and the Ukraine. When, after their defeat by the Mongols, a large body of the Kipchaks migrated into Hungary, one portion remained behind in their ancient camping ground, and it was against this section apparently that Bereke marched. The modern Kumuks probably descend from these Comans. The Mekrits, named by Rashid, bear a name which was borne by a Turkish tribe on the Selinga, and another in the country of the Uighurs. I think it very probable that it here meant the race which then occupied the Little Kabardah, that is, as I have elsewhere shown,†† the Malkars, &c., the broken Turkish tribes who now live in the mountains behind the Ossetes.

Bereke afterwards subdued the steppe country watered by the Kuma and the Terek, an admirable camping ground for his ulus. There he

* Op. cit., 381. † *Id.*, 216. ‡ *Ante*, 42. § Op. cit., 380, 381.
‖ Bretschneider, 83. ¶ Op. cit., 382. ** D'Ohsson, ii. 626. Bretschneider, 83.
†† Journal Anthrop. Inst., 1874, 466, 467.

apparently settled down, with his capital probably at Majar, on which more in the notes. The district was afterwards known from him as Desht Bereke. When Rubruquis passed through the Kipchak in 1253, he tells us Bereke had his camping ground towards Derbend.

There he had levied contributions on the travellers who were on their way from the countries south of the Caucasus to the camp of Batu.* He tells us Bereke was a Muhammedan, and would not allow anyone at his court to eat pork, and that he had been ordered to transfer himself to the other side of the Volga, as Batu was unwilling that the Muhammedan ambassadors should pass through his camp, for he saw it was not for his profit.† On the inauguration of Mangu Kakhan in 1251, Bereke and his brother Tuka Timur were intrusted by Batu with the duty of seeing him properly installed. In this both the Persian and Chinese authorities are agreed.‡

On Batu's death Bereke became, according to the Mongol law of inheritance, his next heir, for in the East a man's son succeeds to the throne only when all his brothers are dead. Sertak's transcient reign, therefore, was an usurpation, and on his death Bereke was duly appointed chief of the Golden Horde by his cousin, the Kakhan Mangu. Abulghazi says he gave a great feast on his accession, and also sent presents to his suzerain. The same author thus describes his conversion. He says he was one day at Seraichuk, which had been founded by his brother, when he met a caravan from Bokhara. Having summoned two Bokharians, he questioned them about their faith. This led to his conversion. He then summoned his brother Tuka Timur, and persuaded him to follow his example.§ Other less trustworthy Turkish authorities make out he was converted by a dervish from Khuarezm, named Seifeddin.‖ We are told again that he long concealed his conversion, and it was only when Tuka Timur proclaimed his that he also acknowledged it, and persecuted those who would not become Muhammedans. The Tartars, who despised Islam, sent to offer Khulagu the crown of which he was unworthy.¶ He was the first Mongol ruling prince to adopt "the faith," and the fact was a notable one, for I believe that although the Mongol empire must inevitably have fallen to pieces eventually from its size and unwieldiness, yet the immediate cause of its collapse was the conversion of the western Khanates to Muhammedanism, and the consequent raising of a very powerful barrier between them and the eastern supreme authorities. In the case of Bereke, however, the conversion had no effect on his loyalty, which remained constant to his cousin Mangu. It is important to remember that he belonged to the Hanefitish sect, and was therefore a Sunni Moslem, like the Turks of Asia Minor, and not a Shia, like the Persians.** This accounts for much that is difficult

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* Op. cit., 263. † *Id.*, 264. ‡ Bretschneider, 106. § Op. cit., 181. ‖ Golden Horde, 150. ¶ *Id.* Note. ** Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 150.

in the after alliances of the horde. He collected at Serai many learned and pious men, and was tolerant enough to allow those of both the rival Moslem rites to live there.

The Grand Prince Alexander Nevski, with his brother Andrew of Suzdal, and Boris of Rostof, son of Vassilko, went to the court of the new Khan with presents, to congratulate him on his accession. They were received by his lieutenant Ulaghji (*i.e.*, by his nephew already named). Karamzin suggests that one object of their visit (a very hopeless one) was to save the northern parts of Russia from an invasion of Tartar tax-gatherers. Kuyuk had sent commissaries into Russia to collect taxes. It would seem that their operations were confined to the principalities of Kief and Chernigof.* They first chose one out of every three children, who, with all the unmarried who could not pay the tax, were made slaves. A general tax was then imposed upon all—rich and poor, big and small, young and old—consisting of five skins for each individual, namely, the skin of a white bear, of a black fox, of a sable, a beaver, and a polecat.† After the accession of Mangu,‡ he sent, we are told, one named Bidje Bierko (*i.e.*, Bierko, the secretary) to take a census of the people.§ He seems to have gone to Suzdal, Riazan, and Murom, and to have appointed head men over 10, 100, and 1,000, *i.e.*, decurions, centurions, and temniks.‖ Thus early did the Mongols begin that systematic bleeding of their victims by the tax-gather, which, far more than their swords and spears, laid waste and made desert the countries where they settled. According to Karamzin, it was only out of craft, and to secure them as allies, that an exemption was made in the case of monks and ecclesiastics.¶ When Alexander Nevski returned from the Horde he was accompanied by Gleb, the Prince of Bielo ozero, who proved in person his nation's proud boast that it can assimilate very easily with other races; by marrying a young Christian Tartar, "hoping," says the historian, "to secure some advantage thereby to his unfortunate country."**

Shortly after, the Grand Prince, with the Princes of Rostof, Suzdal, and Tuer returned once more to the horde, when they were told that Novgorod must also submit to pay tribute. That proud and rich republic had hitherto escaped the fate of Southern Russia, and was independent of the Tartars, but their peremptory orders could not be long withstood, and the great hero of the Neva had to go there himself with the unwelcome news. This was ill received by the Novgorodians, but after much turbulence and much pressure from the Grand Prince Alexander, they were brought to reason by the news that Bierko and

* Karamzin, iv. 91. † Golden Horde, 151.

‡ The date is somewhat uncertain. The continuators of Nestor date it in 1255 and 1257. Nikon and another Russian chronicler in 1257 (Golden Horde, 151. Note, 3). The Yuan shi in 1253 (Bretschneider, 179). 1257 is the most probable date.

§ Bretschneider, 179. ‖ Karamzin, iv. 91. ¶ *Id.* ** *Id.*, 92.

Kassachik* were on the Volkhof with their forces. The Russian historian tells us that after this the Tartar officers went from house to house, register in hand, to number the people and to award the capitation tax.† The conquest of the Tartars opened the way for the traders of Khuarezm, who now invaded Southern Russia and farmed the imposts there. Their exactions were very cruel. Those who could not pay were made slaves, and the people became so exasperated that at Vladimir, Suzdal, and Rostof many of them were killed. Among the victims was an apostate named Zozimus, who, having been a monk had turned Muhammedan, and was then a *protegé* of Khubilai. He distinguished himself by his cruelties to his former co-religionists. His corpse was thrown to the dogs. A Tartar publican named Buka, who lived at Ustiuge, and who had violated a young Christian girl named Mary, afterwards won her heart, and was persuaded by her to be baptised under the name of John. Karamzin tells us that he became famed for his virtues and his piety. While engaged in hawking he one day determined to build a church to St. John the Baptist. The site is still known as Sokolieou goriou, *i.e.*, Mount of Falcons.‡ The death of the Khivan tax farmers irritated the Tartars, and to appease them and to secure exemption from supplying a contingent of troops, Alexander Nevski repaired to the court of Bereke at Serai, where the tolerance of the Khan had recently allowed the Metropolitan Cyril to found a fresh Eparchy, which took the name of Serai, and to which the see of the Southern Pereislavl was shortly afterwards added.§ Alexander's journey was successful, both in justifying the treatment of the tax-gatherers and in regard to the contingent, but he was detained at the Tartar court during the spring and summer, and died on his journey homewards at Goroditz, on the 14th of November, 1263. The news of his death was received with consternation in Russia, where his prowess had so often recalled to the Russians their ancient days of glory. In the words of the Metropolitan, "the sun of Russia had set."

At this time Daniel, Prince of Gallicia, raised for a while the hopes of the Christians and the Slaves. I mentioned how he had submitted to the Pope, and had afterwards withdrawn his submission. In 1257 we find Alexander IV. writing to him and telling him how he had forgotten the wellbeing of the Church which had crowned and consecrated him, and threatening him with an interdict and the weight of the secular arm if he did not submit;‖ but like Frederick II. he braved such threats. He also braved more dangerous enemies. Twice he went to the succour of Bela, the Hungarian king, against the Emperor Frederick, and among the glories of his garniture his Greek dress decorated with gold lace, his sword and saddle adorned with precious stones and work in relief, and his *Tartar* arms are mentioned.¶ A feud had arisen in regard to

* Karamzin, iv. 94. † *Id.*, 94-96. ‡ Op. cit., 106. § Karamzin, iv. 108. ‖ *Id.*, 64. ¶ *Id.*, 97.

the various claims to the heritage of Frederick, Duke of Austria, who was recently dead. Daniel had, as the ally of the Hungarians, ravaged Western Bohemia, and burned the outskirts of Troppau. He boasted that neither Vladimir nor his brave father had carried war so far into Germany. On the other hand, he was no less successful against the pagan Lithuanians who were at this time ruled by Mindug, the real founder of the Lithuanian power, who held court at Kernof, and to whom the petty princes of Lithuania were subject. Daniel had married his niece, but Mindug, who was jealous of Tortivil and Edivid, brothers of this princess, compelled them to escape to Vladimir of Volhynia. Daniel took up their quarrel, and persuaded the Poles and the Germans of Riga, *i.e.*, the Livonian knights, as well as the barbarous tribes of the Yatviages and Samogitians, to take up arms against him. He also captured Grodno and other towns. Meanwhile Mindug, seeing the approaching hurricane, became a convert to Christianity, and put himself under the protection of Pope Alexander IV., who gave him the title of king, and otherwise incited him against Daniel, who was looked upon at Rome as an apostate; but he could not make head against Daniel, whose son Roman captured the towns of Novogrodok, Slonin, and Volkovisk, while Schvarn, another son of Daniel, married his daughter. Mindug again relapsed into paganism, and bitterly avenged himself on the borders of Livonia and Mazovia, and the Russian provinces of Smolensko, Chernigof, and Novgorod.*

These successes and the advice of the Poles and Hungarians encouraged him to cross weapons with the Tartars, whose enemy he declared himself to be; they thereupon entered Lower Podolia and captured Bakota, whence they were driven by his son Leo, who also captured one of their baskaks or governors, while their chief general in the west, the Khoremshah, whom we have already mentioned,† was foiled in an attempt to capture Kremenetz. This in turn encouraged Daniel, who rapidly captured the various towns between the Bug and the Teteref, which were governed by Tartar baskaks. He was about to besiege Kief when he was recalled from his victorious march by an attack of the Lithuanians. The Tartars were not long in returning, their new general, being the renowned and cruel Burundai,‡ who took part in Batu's Hungarian campaign,§ the successor to the Khoremshah. They, too, as we have seen, had a quarrel with the Lithuanians, and demanded from Daniel if he was the friend or the enemy of their Khan. If the former, they bade him send an auxiliary army to march with them into Lithuania. This was sent under Vassilko, his brother, and the country was ravaged with fire and sword, the miserable inhabitants taking refuge in the woods. The Yatviages suffered the same fate. Pleased with his Gallician allies, Burundai now

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* Karamzin, iv. 98, 99. † *Ante*, 69.

‡ The Buruldai of Rashid ud din. (Bretschneider, 85. Note.) § Wolff, 124 and 396.

retired, and South-western Russia had peace for a short time. Daniel determined to abide his time, and meanwhile to fortify his newly built towns, but Burundai's suspicions were at length aroused. He entered Gallicia and bade Daniel attend him in his camp, or in default to expect due punishment. Daniel sent him his brother Vassilko, his son, and John, Bishop of Kholm, bearing presents. "If you wish to convince us of your sincerity," said the sagacious Tartar general, "then raze your ramparts to the ground." It was useless to disobey, and the towns of Danilof, Stoyek, Kremenetz, Lutsk, and Luof were stripped of their walls, or rather of their wooden ramparts, which were burnt. The burning of the walls of Vladimir in Volhynia, we are told, was a grateful sight to Burundai, who, having spent a few days in the palace there, went on to Kholm, whence Daniel escaped, intending to pass into Hungary. This town was for a second time saved from destruction; on this occasion by the presence of mind of Vassilko. Having been sent with two Tartar murzas to persuade the inhabitants to surrender, he took a stone in his hand, and throwing it on the ground, said, "I forbid you to resist." The voivode of Kholm understanding his meaning, replied in simulated anger, "Begone, you are the enemy of our ruler." Vassilko knew how strong the place was, and wished it to resist, while the Tartars, who hated long sieges, passed on to Poland.*

The Polish princes, who dreaded the impending deluge over their country, appealed to the Pope for help, and Alexander IV. issued an order on the 26th of June, 1258, to the Dominicans in Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, and Pomerania to preach a crusade against the Tartars, and on the 17th of December of the same year issued orders to the Teutonic knights to join their Polish neighbours; but this crusade came to nothing. Central Europe was then torn asunder by feudal fights. Richard of Cornwall and Alphonso of Castile were struggling for the Imperial crown. Ottokar II. of Bohemia was at issue with the Hungarians. The Teutonic order had hard work to make headway against the heathen Prussians, while the Polish princes were themselves quarrelling, and Casimir of Kujavia had a dispute with Boleslas of Great Poland.† It was at this juncture that the Tartars, led by Nogai and Tulabugha, appeared in Poland. The former was a famous chief, of whom we shall have much more to say presently, and the latter a grandson of Batu's, both of them no doubt very young men, and probably both under the control of Burundai. Vassilko, the brother, and Leo and Roman, the sons of Daniel, were with the Tartars. They passed the recently fortified town of Lublin, marched to the Vistula, destroyed the nunneries at Zavikhost and Lyssen, and approached Sendomir, where a crowd of people had found refuge. Its commander was Peter of Krempen. The Tartars promised, through the Russian princes who were with

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* Karamzin, iv. 100-193. † Wolff, 397.

them, that if he surrendered the town, the inhabitants should be spared but they broke their promise and slaughtered them mercilessly. This was on the 2nd of February, 1259. Von Hammer gives a long list of the victims, who are known as the martyrs of Sendomir. Their bodies were buried in the church of St. Mary of Sendomir, and in commemoration of their martyrdom Pope Boniface VIII. granted the church an indulgence.* The Tartars then went on to Cracow, which they also destroyed, its prince Boleslas taking refuge in Hungary. Having ravaged the country as far as Bythom in Oppeln, they retired with a crowd of Christian slaves.†

The Tartars entered as a factor into the politics of other European kingdoms, nor can the history of the latter at this time be followed without postulating their influence. It would seem from a letter of Pope Alexander IV., written in 1259, that Bela, the Hungarian king, had received proposals for a treaty from them, and had written complaining bitterly of the want of sympathy Rome had shown in his sufferings. He had in consequence threatened to revenge himself by the new alliance. The Pope enlarged in his reply on the forlorn state which the Church itself had been reduced by the attacks of the Emperor Frederick. In order to protect itself and its children, it had incurred grave debts which embarrassed it. The Pope refers to the proposals which it seems had been made to Bela, that his son should marry a Tartar princess, and that he should surrender his daughter to a Tartar prince; that one-fourth of the Hungarian nation should act as the advance guard to the Tartars in their proposed campaign against the Christians, in return for which one-fifth part of the booty should be surrendered to them; that no tribute should be exacted from them, nor would the Tartars molest their kingdom, while they were to undertake that their ambassadors should not be escorted by more than one hundred persons. The Pope inveighed against such a monstrous policy, alike contrary to religion and honour, and bade him remember the general want of good faith shown by the Tartars. He told him that the calamities which afflict nations are a consequence and a punishment for their iniquities, and bade him ward them off by exhibiting a zealous care for piety and justice within his realm, and he ended by excusing his inability to supply him with 1,000 balisteers, and by telling him that the indulgences he would offer for a crusade would be much more valuable to him than such a contingent.‡ The Christians were kept in constant excitement by the dread of a new irruption. In a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Bordeaux in 1260, the Pope invoked the necessity of a common alliance amongst the princes to oppose the common danger, and denounced those who should make terms with the enemy. These facts should not

* Golden Horde, 154, 155. † Wolff, 397, 398. D'Ohsson, ii, 181-183.
‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 174-178.

be forgotten. It is the other side of the shield. We are too apt to remember in the history of Christendom of the thirteenth century only the fierce Erastianism and worldliness of the struggle, and to forget that when Europe was a mere congeries of broken fragments, made so by the feudal system, that the only power which was respected by all was constantly raised in favour of common action against the terrible enemies who laid Eastern Europe prostrate for so long; but the danger seemed as yet far off, and the only measures apparently taken in France were the ordering of processions, prayers, alms, and other meritorious acts on the first Friday of each month,* and nothing could apparently stop the insane rivalries and struggles of the various princes. Thus in 1260, while the ruins which the Tartars had made far and wide in Poland had hardly ceased smoking, we find Bela of Hungary and a posse of princes, including Daniel of Gallicia, fighting a bloody battle with Ottokar of Bohemia and some other confederates, in which 30,000 men perished on the side of the Hungarians alone.†

A new crusade against the Tartars was preached by the Polish bishops in the autumn of 1263, and the Teutonic knights, who had a terrible work already on their hands in struggling with the Lithuanians and the Prussians, were ordered to assist.‡ Winter was the season chosen by the Tartars for their campaigns. The rivers were then frozen, and so were the marshes, and therefore the roads were good, the crops were harvested, and the booty, instead of being scattered over pasture and forest, was gathered in the homesteads and barns, ready for the plunderers. In the winter of 1263 and 1264, in alliance with the Russians and Lithuanians, they made a fresh inroad into Poland,§ and in 1264, in alliance with Swarno, a descendant of Roman, who sixty years before had fallen on the field of Zavikhost, they invaded Poland, and were defeated at the battle of Puta Statt by the Voivode Peter of Cracow.‖ This proves that the Russians were already showing their capacity for assimilating themselves and were marching shoulder to shoulder with their masters. They were also beginning a fresh chapter in their intercourse with their closely related but indefatigable foe Poland, that vast plain without a single mountain rampart, and as open to attack on all sides as a helpless unarmed woman. It would have indeed fared badly with the Christian world if the Tartars had been able to give undisturbed attention to it, and had not had their energies distracted by quarrels among themselves. We have now reached a period when their colossal power began to show signs of this inevitable weakness.

Bereke was faithful in his allegiance to Mangu as long as he lived. How faithful he was may be best gathered from the fact that on certain of the coins struck, as I believe, in his reign, we find on one side

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* D'Ohsson, ii. 179. † Wolff, 399. ‡ *Id.* § *Id.*, 400. ‖ Golden Horde, 172.

the inscription, "Mangu, Supreme Khan," and on the other, "Money of Bolghari."* Bolghari was at this time apparently the only mint place of the Golden Horde. Marco Polo tells us that Serai and Bolghari were the two residences of Bereke Khan.

According to Rashid ud din, Mangu Khan died in the beginning of 1257,† but, as Von Hammer says, this is at least two years too soon. He really died in the spring of 1259. Notwithstanding the difficulties raised by the family of Ogotai at his accession, the prompt measures he took to secure order seem to have cowed opposition, and during his reign he was obeyed without question in all parts of the Mongol world. His heir according to Mongol law, was his next brother Khubilai, who was at the time of Mangu's death engaged in a distant expedition in China, from which he did not make haste to return. The position of the youngest son, or hearth-child, in the Mongol community was one of great importance. As in the ancient tenure of Borough English in England, he heired his father's house and immediate surroundings, while the other brothers had their portions elsewhere, and he consequently had immense influence with the courtiers and those immediately round the fountain of power. It was thus that Tului, the youngest son of Jingis Khan, acquired the influence which enabled his sons to eventually occupy the throne of the Mongol empire. It was the hearth-child who ruled during the interregnum between one Khakan and another, and who summoned the general Kuriltai to superintend the burial of the dead Kaizar and the inauguration of his successor. This Kuriltai was a very important element in the Mongol polity. Although there was a rule of succession recognised, yet no Khakan was deemed legitimately seated on the throne until he had been duly elected by the various representatives of the wide Mongol world meeting together in the old Mongol land. How rigid this rule was, may be remembered by those who have read the account of the accession of Mangu, and how obedience was refused to him although he had been elected at a Kuriltai, because that Kuriltai was a provincial and not a general one.

We are accordingly told that on the death of Mangu, Arikbugha, his youngest brother, summoned the various princes to meet in the dead Khakan's ordu to elect a successor. Khubilai perhaps feared some foul play, or deemed it expedient to hurry matters forward, and on the plea that the princes of the houses of Juchi and Jagatai were too far off, he summoned a special Kuriltai at Kai ping fu, in China, and there, supported by his brother Muke, by Kadan, son of Ogotai, and Togachar, son of Utsuken Noyan, brother of Jingis Khan, he was elected Khakan on the 4th of June, 1260.

This was clearly an illegal election, and precipitated matters. Karakorum, the capital of the Mongol empire, the heart and centre of its

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* Fræhn, Resc. Num. Muh., 196. † St. Martin Memoires, &c., 277. Golden Horde, 159, Note, 3.

administration, was controlled, as I have said, by Arikbugha, who had been appointed its governor. There can be little doubt that he was an ambitious person, and had determined to secure the throne for himself. He was supported by Kotoktai, the chief wife of Mangu, by the latter's three sons, Ustai, Yurultash, and Siregi or Shireki, by Alghui and other grandsons of Jagatai, and by Arkadai Oghul, the son of Kulkan.*

One of his supporters, Dureji, was also in possession of Peking, so that he controlled both capitals of the empire. On the other hand, there sided with Khubilai the princes who assisted at his inauguration, and also Utsuken, Jingis Khan's youngest brother, who must have been a very old man of between eighty and ninety.† Arikbugha appointed his cousin Alghui to take charge of the Khanate of Jagatai; Khubilai nominated Apisga, son of Buri, to the same position. He was also sure of the support of his brother Khulagu.

The policy of the Golden Horde and its chief Bereke has been, as I believe, entirely misunderstood by D'Ohsson and Von Hammer, who have followed the late authorities, Mirkhond and Abulghazi. It seems to me clear from two considerations that Bereke supported the cause of Arikbugha. In the first place, coins with Arikbugha's name were struck at Bolghari,‡ and no coins were struck there with Khubilai's name upon them. In the next place, it is very curious that in the list of the Khans of the Golden Horde contained in the Yuan shi the name of Bereke does not occur,§ as if he was not recognised by Khubilai's descendants in China. It must also be noted that Bereke had a long and severe struggle with Khulagu, Khubilai's very faithful supporter in Persia. These facts seem to me conclusive.

The statement of Mirkhond about Bereke and Arikbugha having fought a great battle with one another is incredible when we consider that he names the river Kerulon as the site of the struggle. As Schmidt has said, the Kerulon, in the east of Mongolia, is an impossible situation for a fight with the chief of the Golden Horde. I hold then that in the struggle between Arikbugha and Khubilai, Bereke sided with the former; but this was a mere episode in the history of the Golden Horde. A much more serious matter was the feud that arose, as I have said, between Bereke and Khulagu. I have already mentioned how the Mongols, south and north of the Caucasus, had a rival policy in regard to Georgia and its queen, Rusudan, in the days of Batu, but the causes of quarrel were now much more potent.

When Khulagu marched westwards into Persia, he was accompanied, as Batu was in Hungary, by princes belonging to the other Khanates, each of whom seems to have had command of a contingent of men from

* Wassaf, 22. † Golden Horde, 160.

‡ These coins bear on one side the inscription "The Great Khan Arighbugha," and on the other "Money of Bolghari." (Fræhn, loc. cit.) § Bretschneider, 106.

his own people. The object of this probably was to act as a check upon the chief commander, and to prevent him using his army for the furtherance of his ambition rather than in the service of the cause. With the contingent from the Golden Horde went, as I have said, Kuli, the son of Orda; Bulghai, the son of Sheiban; and Kutar, the grandson of Tewel. On the march into Syria, Bulghai died at a feast, and Kutar was suspected of having caused his death. Khulagu sent him, in accordance with the Yassa of Jingis Khan, to Bereke to be tried. He was found guilty and remitted to Khulagu for punishment. Khulagu put him to death.* Soon after Kuli died, and Bereke suspected that he had been poisoned. The families of the three princes made a hasty retreat from Persia, and embarked at Derbend for the Kipchak. Another, and perhaps the most important grievance of all was the fact that Bereke, who was a Mussulman, was naturally much irritated at the conduct of Khulagu towards the Khaliph and the terrible slaughter of the faithful that occurred in his Syrian and other campaigns.

Again, Bereke filled the post of agha or patriarch among the princes of the Mongols. That post, according to the laws of Jingis, carried with it the subordination in many ways of the other princes, and Bereke patronised Khulagu somewhat pointedly, and seems to have sent him some harsh messages. Lastly, Bereke claimed the provinces of Arran and Azerbaijan as belonging to the Khanate of Juchi, whose army sometimes wintered south of Derbend; while they had been assigned to Khulagu in Mangu's disposition of the western lands, and in consequence a fierce strife arose about them. This is the statement of Wassaf,† which is confirmed by that of Marco Polo.‡ The increasing tension of the relations of Bereke and Khulagu was a warning to the contingents of troops belonging to the Golden Horde which had marched with the latter that they had better escape. They accordingly scattered, one section reached Kipchak by way of Derbend, as I have said; another, under the generals Nigudar and Ongujia, traversed Khorassan, pursued by Khulagu's forces, and took possession of Ghazni and the neighbouring district;§ a third body, two hundred in number, took refuge in Syria, then subject to the Mamluk Sultan Bibars, who ordered that they should be well treated and supplied with barley and other grain, robes of honour, sugar, &c., and on their arrival at Cairo he went out in person to meet them, assigned them quarters at Luk, outside Cairo, furnished them with horses, &c., and persuaded them to embrace Islamism. Their chiefs were given the titleof Emir, while the rest of them were incorporated among the Mamluks.‖ Bibars was a Mamluk. The Mamluks were a corps of soldiers originally founded by the Egyptian Sultan Salahuddin, and consisted of young Turks, chiefly from the Kipchak, who were

* Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 216. † Von Hammer's ed., 93. ‡ Yule's ed., ii. 495.
§ D'Ohsson, iii. 379, 380. ‖ Makrizi, i. 181.

bought as slaves. Salih VI., descendant of Salahuddin, rewarded them for their faithfulness by giving their corps the pre-eminence. When the Mongols overran the Kipchak, a great number of young Turkish captives were sold, and augmented this force considerably; they were much trusted by the Sultans, who chose from among them their chief officers. Their chiefs had now become Sultans of Egypt. Bibars had belonged to the Kipchak tribe of the Alborlis. He was the bitter enemy of Khulagu, whom he had recently defeated and driven out of Syria. His full name was Rokn ud din Bibars el Bundokdar. He was a Kipchak Turk by birth, and had been sold by the Mongols to the Venetians, by whom he had been again sold at Sivas to the Ayubite Sultan Malik el Moassem Turanshah, who put him in the Life Guards, and gave him the title of Bundokdar, *i.e.*, pillar of the faith. He was then in the service of his successor; the Mamluk Sultan Seifuddin Kotuz. It was by his advice that Khulagu's envoy was put to death in July, 1260, and it was he who defeated Khulagu's general Keitbuka on the 3rd of September of the same year, and recovered Syria for the Egyptians. When returning from this campaign, the Sultan having refused him the government of Aleppo, he killed him while hunting, and made himself Sultan.* Such was the truculent person who now ruled in Egypt, and under whose patronage the Khaliphate was revived at Cairo in the person of Abul Kasim, the uncle of the last Abassidan Khaliph of Baghdad, Mostassim.

As I have said, he received the Mongol fugitives hospitably, and they were converted to the faith. Having questioned them about their country, Bibars determined to send envoys to Bereke, and chose for the purpose an old employé (a jamdar) of the Khuarezm Shah Jelal ud din, named Seif ud din Keshrik, who knew the country and language, and the Jurisconsult Majd ud din, together with two of the Mongol fugitives.† These envoys were bearers of a letter, in which Bibars assured Bereke of his friendly feeling towards him, urged him to fight against Khulagu, boasted of the number of his troops, consisting of Turks, Kurds, and Arabs; recounted the Mussulman and Frank princes who were his vassals, and ended by telling him of the recent arrival in Egypt of the fugitives, who had told him he was their master. He also sent him a solemnly certified genealogy of the Khaliph Hakim, whom he was about to have duly inaugurated. These envoys left with provisions for several months, but the doctor fell ill at Constantinople (probably of home sickness), and returned to Egypt.‡

Let us now revert to the quarrel between Bereke and Khulagu. The tension having at length become too great, a body of 30,000 men, under Nogai, the cousin of the murdered Kutar, was despatched by Bereke to attack his rival. Wassaf describes the advance of this army in very turgid phrases. The passage has been well translated by Colonel

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* Wolff, 403. † D'Ohsson, iii. 384, 385. ‡ Makrizi, i. 188. D'Ohsson, iii. 386.

Yule. It runs as follows:—"In the winter of 662," *i.e.*, 1262, "when the almighty goldsmith covered the river of Derbend with plates of silver, and the furrier of the winter had clad the hills and heaths with ermine. The river being frozen hard as stone to the depth of a spear's length, an army of Mongols went forth at the command of Bereke Oghul, filthy as ghuls and devils of the wilderness, and as numerous as the rain drops, their waves rolled over the frozen river with the speed of the wind and of fire. The rattling of their waggons and horses' hoofs was like thunder and lightning. With the flaming fires of rage did they advance as far as the Kur. The army of Khulagu marched against them."*

Nogai, having passed the defile of Derbend, encamped in the district of Shirvan. The army of Khulagu set out meanwhile from Alatak (his summer residence, situated in the mountains about the sources of the Euphrates). It was made up of contingents from the different provinces of Persia. His advance guard, under Shiramun, son of the great Chormagun, was completely defeated, but another body, under Abatai and Basmahgai, was equally successful near Shaburan or Shabran.† Nogai was put to flight. The forces of Khulagu thereupon having occupied Shamakhi, set out again for Derbend, the famous fortress defending the eastern flanks of the Caucasus. This was captured after a three days' struggle, and eight days later Nogai was again defeated. This was on the 16th of December, 1262.

Khulagu had sent his eldest son Abaka to assist his two generals. When Nogai had been beaten, they begged him to return to his father, while they pursued the enemy; but this he would not consent to do, and the army accordingly advanced, commanded by Abaka and nine other leaders, namely, Shiramun, Abatai, Turan Behadir, Batu, Saljidai, Chaghan, Belarghu, Kodos, and Ilkai Noyan.‡ They advanced to the Terek, and came up to Nogai's camp, which they found abandoned. The steppe was strewn with tents, horses, mules, cattle, and sheep, and also apparently with women and children. For three days the pursuers revelled in their booty, and made free with the maidens they found in the camp.

While thus given up to debauchery, Bereke arrived with a large army from the north. A fierce fight ensued on the 13th of January, 1263, which lasted from dawn till sunset, and ended in the defeat of Khulagu's army, which in retiring across the frozen Terek broke the ice, and thus a great number of the soldiers perished. Abaka was pursued by Bereke as far as Derbend. Meanwhile let us revert somewhat.

The envoys who had been sent by Bibars met on their way some ambassadors who were going to Egypt from Bereke. The former were well treated by the Emperor Michael Palæologos, who paid the expenses

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* Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 496. Von Hammer's Wassaf, 93.

† Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 123. Note.

‡ Golden Horde, 167.

of their journey onwards. Their audience with the Emperor was at Aniah (*i.e.*, Ænia), whence they reached Constantinople in twenty days, and went on by Istambul to Deksaita (? Odessa), which was the port of embarkation for Sudak. The sea passage generally took ten days, but with favourable winds two days. Having arrived at the top of the mountain of Sudak, they found Tabuk or Taiuk, the governor of the district, who furnished them with horses and conducted them to Krim, which was inhabited by Kipchaks, Russians, and Alans. Having gone on a day's journey, they entered a great plain, where they met Tukbuka (? Tulubuka), who commanded the whole province, and was set over a tuman or 10,000 horsemen. After journeying for twenty days over a steppe covered with tents and herds, they reached the river Itil (*i.e.*, the Volga), where the camp of Bereke was. They tell us the river was as big as the Nile, and was navigated by many Russian boats. The travellers had been supplied with sheep and other provisions on their route. On nearing the Ordu, the Vizier Shiref ud din, who was a native of Kazvin and spoke both Arabic and Turk, came out to meet them. He furnished them with very good lodgings and with meat, fish, milk, and other provisions. They were at length admitted to an audience, and rigidly observed the prescribed etiquette. Entering on the left side they delivered their letters, and then passed on to the right, where they knelt down. No one was allowed to enter the Khan's tent with a sword, knife, mace, or other arms. It was forbidden to tread on the wooden threshold of the tent, to remove one's armour except on the left side of the tent, to carry a bow which was strung or in its case, or arrows in a quiver, to eat snow, or to wash one's clothes within the camp. In all this the narrative of the envoys exactly confirms those of the Christian missionaries Carpini and Rubruquis. The tent of audience would hold 100, or according to others 500 men. It was covered outside with white felt, and lined inside with rich silken hangings, decorated with pearls and precious stones. Bereke was seated on his throne with his legs propped up with cushions, as he had the gout. Beside him sat his chief wife Tagtagai Khatun. He had two other wives, Jijek Khatun and Kehar Khatun, but none of them had given him any children. He had but little beard, and his face was big and of a yellow colour. His hair was plaited into tresses hanging beside his ears, from each one of which there hung a precious stone of great value. He was dressed in a robe of Chinese silk, with his head covered with a cap. His boots were made of red velvet. He did not wear a sword, but had a gold belt decorated with stones, from which hung a purse of green Bolghari leather. In this girdle or belt were inserted some black horns, bent and incrusted with gold. About him were fifty or sixty emirs sitting on seats.* The envoys having been admitted presented their letters, and

* Quatremere, Makrizi, i. 214, 215. Notes.

the vizier was ordered to read them; they then passed on from the left side to the right, and were placed against the wall of the tent behind the emirs. They were supplied with kumiz and cooked honey, after which meat and fish were handed them. After they had eaten, the Khan ordered that they should be lodged in the quarter of his favourite wife Jijek Khatun, and the following morning they were received by that princess in her tent. They had several audiences with Bereke, who asked them many questions about Egypt, about elephants and giraffes, and one day asked if the report was true that there was a giant's bone thrown across the Nile which served as a bridge. The envoys replied that they had not heard of such a thing.*

The Sultan's letter was translated into Turkish by the Kadhi of the Kadhis, who lived near Bereke. A copy of it was read before Bereke, who seemed much pleased with the contents. He at length sent the envoys back again, accompanied by an embassy of his own. They arrived safely in Egypt in the year 1263. They reported that each princess and emir at the court of Bereke had an imaum and a crier, who cried out the hours of prayer, and that the children in the schools were taught from the Koran.† While these envoys were on their way to Bereke the latter, in view of his impending struggle with Khulagu, had himself despatched two envoys, whose arrival at Constantinople I have already mentioned. These envoys were named Jelal ud din el Kadhi and the Sheikh Nureddin Ali. With them arrived the commandant of the Genoese, and envoys from the Emperor Michael, and from Iz ud din, Sultan of Rum. Bibars was then on his way home from an expedition into Syria, in which he had captured the town of Karak. They were received in a grand audience by the Sultan, and there Nureddin presented a letter from Bereke, in which he set out that he had become a Mussulman, together with his brothers, their children, and a great number of emirs, giving the name of each and the tribe to which he belonged; that he was the enemy of Khulagu, against whom he intended to fight, in order to strengthen and restore the faith to its ancient grandeur, and to revenge the death of the Khaliph, the imaums, and other Mussulmans who had been put to death contrary to justice. He asked Bibars to send an army to the Euphrates to cut off Khulagu's retreat and recommended to his favour Iz ud din, the joint Sultan of Rum, and the rival of Rokn ud din, who was the *protegé* of Khulagu. Bibars received the envoys with great honour, gave them a splendid feast, and paid them visits every

* In regard to this report, M. Quatremere tells us it was founded on a very ancient Arabic tradition. In "The History of the Conquest of Egypt," written by Abd al Hakam, we are told that a giant named Auj, having been killed by Moses, his body fell across the Nile and made a bridge. Schiltberger, the Bavarian traveller, tells us that there was a bridge in Arabia made out of a giant's leg-bone, which united two rocks separated by a deep chasm. Travellers to Arabia had to cross this bridge. A toll was charged, from the proceeds of which oil was bought with which to oil the bone, and thus prevent it decaying. (Op. cit., 218. Note.)

† *Id.*, 215.

Tuesday and Saturday, the two days on which he was accustomed to play at tennis.*

The newly founded Khaliphate was then represented by Hakim bi amr allah, and we are told he caused the khutbah, or Friday state prayer, to be pronounced in the presence of Bereke's ambassadors. The names of Bereke and Bibars were mentioned together in the prayer, and afterwards the Khaliph had a conference with the Sultan and the envoys, in which various points of the faith were discussed. Some days after Bibars presented the envoys with some rich robes of State. On their return they were accompanied by two ambassadors from Bibars, namely, the emir Fares ud din Akush Masudi and the sherif Amad ud din Hashemi. They bore with them a letter written by the scribe Mohi ud din ben Abd aldaher. This letter was written on seventy sheets of paper of Baghdad. It contained, we are told, all the verses of the Koran, and all the traditions which urge that war should be made on the infidels; then followed the passages and traditions referring to Egypt, an account of the shrines there to which pilgrimages were made, and of the mosques where prayers were said for the Sultan, with protestations of amity for Bereke, and a recital of all that could flatter that prince, irritate him against his enemies and increase the Sultan's importance in his eyes. The tale of the Egyptian army was told, and the results of its prowess were narrated. The letter was read over to the Sultan, who made some alterations and additions. The presents which Bibars sent form an interesting catalogue of what was then deemed most valuable in the East. Among them was a copy of the Koran, traditionally said to have been written by the Khaliph Othman. It was contained in a case of red silk embroidered with gold, and this in another of leather; a throne decorated with carved ivory and ebony, a silver casket with a lock of the same metal, carpets for saying the Namaz or prayer upon, of different kinds and colours, curtains of different kinds, numbers of seats, cushions, and stands for torches, splendid swords with silver handles, musical instruments in painted wood wrapped in cases, silver lamps and candlesticks, saddles from Khuarezm, bows from Damascus with silken cords, wooden spears of Kana whose iron heads had been tempered by the Arabs, beautiful arrows in leathern boxes, warming pots of the stone of Beram, great enamelled lamps with chains of silver gilt, black eunuchs, young girls skilled in cookery, parroquets of gorgeous plumage, Arab horses, dromedaries, swift and active mules, wild asses, and monkeys, saddles for the dromedaries, bits and bridles, woollen saddlecloths for the mules, silk dresses for the monkeys, and several giraffes with painted saddlecloths and bridles.† Among the presents there was also a turban which had been to Mecca, for Bibars had commissioned one of his officers to perform the pilgrimage to that town in Bereke's name.‡

* *Id.*, 215. Note. † Quatremere, op. cit., 216. Note. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 390, 391.

Abul Kasim, the first of the Cairene line of Abbassidan Khaliphs, was the brother of Mostansir, the predecessor of Mostassim, the last Khaliph of Baghdad, who was killed by Khulagu. He had been defeated, and lost his life in a struggle with the Mongols on the 20th of November, 1261, when he was attempting to recover Baghdad,* and was succeeded by El Hakim bi emir illahi Abul Abbas Ahmed, who had escaped in the recent struggle with the Mongols, and found refuge in Egypt. He was the fourth in descent from the Khaliph Mostereshid, who had been killed by the Assassins in 1135.† On the 5th of August, 1262, the new Khaliph pronounced the khutbah in presence of the Sultan and his courtiers, in the name of Bibars, ruler of Egypt and Syria, and of Bereke, ruler of the Kipchak. Bibars also sent couriers to Mecca and Medina to order the name of Bereke to be inserted after his own in this solemn Friday state prayer of the Mussulman world. The same thing was done at Jerusalem.‡ A copy of the khutbah was also sent to Bereke, and likewise the 200 Tartars who had sought refuge in Egypt.

We can well believe that in this sumptuous hospitality there was something more than mere friendship on the part of the Great Sultan for a valuable ally and a recent convert to the faith, that it rather represented the patriotic yearnings of the Kipchak slave for his old land and its ruler, and that the Mamluk Sultan was only too pleased to be able to intervene in the affairs of his old land as the dispenser of the luxuries and surroundings of civilisation; and it was from this source, as we shall see presently, that the Khanate of Kipchak received its culture, and was eventually converted from a mere camp of Nomades into a State with solidly built cities and a well organised administration. This culture acted no doubt beyond these limits, and among much that was deplorable gave a new life to the Russian form of Greek civilisation, and prevented it from dying of mere inanity, as it did at Byzantium.

The envoys and their charges were shipped on a large vessel, with a great number of archers and arbalisters, with provisions for a year. The party was detained at Constantinople by the Greek Emperor, on the plea than Khulagu would be suspicious of their intentions, and that he was his ally. After fifteen months of delay, he allowed the Sherif to return to Egypt. Fares ud din Akush was detained for two years, during which time the greater part of the slaves and animals which he took with him perished, and the other presents were much spoiled.§ When news of this treacherous conduct on the part of the Greek Emperor reached Bibars, the latter summoned the patriarchs and bishops, and asked their canonical decision in regard to one who had broken his word. They all replied that he ought to be excommunicated. He then despatched a monk who was a Greek philosopher, a bishop, and a priest to the

* *Id.*, 369. † *Id.*, 391. ‡ *Id.* § Quatremere, op. cit., 217. Note. ‖ Makrizi, i. 240.

Emperor to convey their excommunication to him. He also wrote him a very severe letter.

Meanwhile Bereke, who had doubtless heard of the detention, had made an attack upon the empire, and approached Constantinople. Michael thereupon sent out Fares ud din Akush, who had probably been gained over, to say that the detention had been at his own instance, and that Michael wished to be the friend and ally of Bereke as he was of Bibars. Upon this the Tartars retired. Fares ud din was released, and allowed to continue his journey, and Michael sent an envoy with him on his own account, offering the Khan his friendship and a tribute of 300 silk robes. On his audience with Bereke, Fares ud din laid the blame of his delay on the Emperor, whereupon the Tartar Khan reminded him of his former story, and said he should inform Bibars and leave him to punish him. Iz ud din, the Sultan of Rum, had written to Bibars to inform him of Fares ud din's tortuous conduct, and telling him that he had been largely bribed by Michael. On his return to Egypt the latter was therefore arrested, and the precious objects which he had received, and which amounted to 40,000 dinars, were confiscated.*

Three months after the envoys of Bibars had left Cairo, there arrived there a body of 1,300 Mongols and Behadurs (*i.e.*, warriors) who had migrated from Khulagu's kingdom. Soon after, we read that Hosameddin, son of Bereke, who had gone to Cairo to cement the friendship of his father and Bibars, died, and on the 9th of November, 1262, Bibars attended his funeral, marching on foot with the crowd.† The next day there arrived another body of Tartars, whose chiefs were Keremun, Amtaghiah Nokiah, Jerek, Kaian, Nasaghiah, Taishur, Bentu, Sobhi, Jaujelan, Aj-Karka, Adkerek, Kerai, Salaghiah, Motakaddem, and Daragan. The Sultan went out to meet them. When they saw him they dismounted and kissed the ground before him. He received them well and gave them State robes, and then went to visit the tomb of Bereke's son. A third body of Tartars soon after arrived, and were also received with honour; their leaders were given the title of emir. At Bibars' solicitation they became Mussulmans and were circumcised.‡

In August, 1265, Bibars sent one of his chamberlains, Shuja ud din ben Daiah the Hajib to prevail upon Bereke to cease his incursions on the territory of the Greek Emperor, who had asked for his intercession. He also sent him three turbans that had been to Mecca, two marble vases, some balm, water from the wells of Zemzem, and three pictures representing the ceremonies of the pilgrimage to Mecca, drawn on gilded paper which he had made at Bereke's instance.§

This contest with Byzantium has been described at some length by Pachymeres and Metrophanes. The former dates it in 1265 and the

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* Defremery, Makrizi, 218. Note. † Makrizi, op. cit., i. 221, 222. Ilkhans, i. 218.
‡ Makrizi, i. 222. § D'Ohsson, iii. 392, 393. Makrizi, ii. 19.

latter in 1264.* I have previously referred to the strife between the two brothers Rokn ud din and Iz ud din, who were joint Sultans of Rum or Asia Minor. The latter had allied himself with the Egyptian Sultan Bibars, and had incurred the jealousy of Khulagu. Pressed hard by his brother and the Mongols, he took refuge at Constantinople, where he was well received by Michael Palæologos, who had recently won back for the Greeks the Byzantine crown, which for fifty-seven years had been usurped by the Franks. With Iz ud din there went his general Ali Behadur and his equerry Oghuslu. Michael was not powerful enough to quarrel with Khulagu, and was in fact negotiating with him for a marriage with his daughter, he readily, therefore, fell in with a suggestion of Iz ud din that he should make him a grant of land in Rumelia. He granted him the Dobruja, *i.e.*, the land between the Danube and the sea, a name probably connected in etymology with the Dobiros of Thucydides.

Iz ud din accordingly crossed the water from Nicomedia to Scutari, and took with him the Turcoman tribe Saltukdede, with some other Turk families, who all settled in the Dobruja. These were the first Turks who settled in Europe, and the date of the occurrence was 1263. The number of the emigrants was from 10,000 to 12,000 families. One day a proposal was made to Iz ud din at a feast to dethrone the Emperor and seize the throne. News was taken to Michael, who seized the conspirators and imprisoned the Sultan and his son at the castle of Enos, on the south coast of Rumelia, fifty miles from Constantinople. Upon this Rokn ud din, the former rival of Iz ud din, sent messengers to Bereke begging him to invade the Byzantine dominions and release his brother. Iz ud din also found means to send Bereke a letter, and to conspire with Constantine, the King of Bulgaria and the *protegé* of Bereke. The latter sent a considerable army, which crossed the frozen Danube and marched to the Hæmus, chased the Imperial forces from one place to another, and at length laid siege to Enos. The Emperor gained the hill of Ganos, whence he escaped by sea to Constantinople. The Bulgarians, under their King Constantine, assisted with a contingent at the siege. One section of the defenders was for surrendering the castle, the other for killing the Sultan Iz ud din. At length terms were made with Constantine, by which the Sultan was to be surrendered to him but not the castle. The Tartars retired with their prize. His mother, sister, and two young sons, however, were carried off to Constantinople, and his riches were confiscated.† The Turcomans who had settled in the Dobruja were carried off to the steppes of Kipchak. They were settled there, and the Sultan was granted an appanage in the Crimea. There he held the two

* Stritter, iii. 1047, &c.
† Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 176-179. Stritter, iii. 1046-1060.

towns of Soljak and Sudak, where he died in 1279. A mosque in Moldavia, where he also had an appanage, bore his name.*

Let us now revert to the strife between Bereke and his rival Khulagu. The latter returned to Tebriz in a very ill humour after the defeat of his troops, and gave orders for raising another army. He wreaked his vengeance on the merchants from Kipchak, who were then at Tebriz, whom he seized and put to death, and confiscated their goods. Wassaf, in a peculiarly business like tone, says that much that was seized did not belong to these traders, who were mere agents for people elsewhere. Bereke made reprisals, and put to death the merchants in his dominions who were subjects of Khulagu. Upon this the latter enlarged his operations. Bokhara was at this time garrisoned by contingents from the several Khanates, and we are told that of the sixteen Hezarehs (or regiments) there, five belonged to the Golden Horde, three to the Emperor's mother Siurkukteni, and the rest to the Balghkul, *i.e.*, to the common property of the Imperial family. Khulagu ordered the retainers of the Golden Horde at Bokhara to be driven out of the city into the adjoining plain. They were there slaughtered, their goods were plundered, and their women and children were reduced to slavery.†

In the next year, *i.e.*, 1264, rumours were abroad that another army was meditating an assault from Kipchak, and Khulagu sent the Sheikh Sherif Tebriz to Lesghistan to make inquiries. He was captured and taken before Nogai, who demanded of him bitterly why Khulagu had put to death mere traders and dervishes instead of attacking warriors and nobles. The Sheikh tried to excuse his master on the ground that he was much excited by the civil strife between his brothers Khubilai and Arikbugha. He also told him how the civil war had been quelled, and how Khubilai had named Khulagu, Ilkhan and Padishah of the country from the Oxus to the borders of Syria, and had sent him 30,000 young Mongols to reinforce his army. This news cooled the ardour of Nogai, and the Sheikh returned to Khulagu with the news that, although he had not secured peace, he need not fear any attack.‡ Khulagu died on the 8th of February, 1264, and was succeeded by his son Abaka.

In 1265 Nogai, as the general of Bereke, made another incursion by way of Derbend. Yashmut, the brother of Abaka, who commanded the frontier from Derbend to Alatak, crossed the Kur and encountered the Kipchak army near the river Aksu. After a severe struggle, during which Nogai was wounded in the eye, the army of the Golden Horde was forced to retire in disorder to Shirvan. Upon this Abaka in turn crossed the Kur, but hearing that Bereke was on the other side with a formidable army, which rumour put at 300,000 men, he recrossed the river, broke down the bridges, and encamped on its southern bank. The two armies faced one another for fifteen days, and their archers practised across the

* Golden Horde, 187. † Wassaf, 94. ‡ Ilkhans, i. 221.

river upon each other, when Bereke marched westwards, intending to cross near Tiflis; but he died on the way, and his army retired. His body was taken to Serai, while his troops dispersed.*

I must now revert a little to mention some other events of interest that happened during the reign of Bereke. Probably piqued by the family alliance that Khulagu had made with Michael Palæologos in agreeing to marry his daughter, Bereke aimed at a similar alliance, and proposed to Bela IV., King of Hungary, that either one of his own daughters should marry Bela's son, or that one of Bela's daughters should marry his son. I have already described how the King of Hungary deputed the question to the Pope Alexander IV., and how he decided that it would be scandalous to marry a Christian princess to a heathen.

It was during the reign of Bereke that the elder Poli, uncles of Marco Polo, visited the Kipchak. The Poli were Venetian merchants, and had a house at Constantinople and another at Soldaia in the Crimea. In 1260, we find that two of the partners, who were brothers and were named Nicolo and Maffeo, setting out from Constantinople† on a trade venture to the Crimea. They laid in a store of jewels, and set forth from Constantinople, crossing the sea to Soldaia; having stayed there a while they went on to the court of Bereke Khan, whose residences Marco Polo tells us were at Serai and Bolghari. He was esteemed, he tells us, as one of the most liberal and courteous princes that ever was among the Tartars. He treated the two brothers with great honour, and they presented him with all the jewels they took with them. When they had been a twelvemonth at his court there broke out the war, already described, between Bereke and Khulagu, who is called "Alau the Lord of the Tartars of the Levant" by him.‡ He has devoted four chapters to the struggle between the two Khans, but they consist merely of conventional phraseology, and furnish us with no details to add to the account already given. He tells us that in consequence of the war no one could travel without peril of being taken, at least on the route by which the two brothers had gone to Serai, so they determined to go onwards. Quitting Bolghari they proceeded to Ukek, and thence passing the great river Tigris (*i.e.*, the Volga), they travelled across a desert for seventeen days' journey, meeting with no towns or villages on the way, but only with Tartar encampments, and at length reached Bokhara.§

Bereke died, as I have stated, near Tebriz, in 1265. He left two sons, one of whom had four sons, the other one, but none of them succeeded to the throne. Abulfeda tells us they lived in the town of Saksin. The fame of Bereke was very wide spread. As over-lord of the Russian princes, as the ally of Bibars, and the rival of Khulagu, he fills an important page in history. His subjects long after his death

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* Golden Horde, 172. Ilkhans, 254. D'Ohsson, iii. 418.

† Yule's Marco Polo, Introduction, 14, 15. ‡ Op. cit., text, 4, 5. § *Id.*, i. 5-10.

called the steppe that lies between the Volga and the Ural after his name. It was known as the Desht Bereke. Even so late as the time of Abulfeda the Mongols of the Kipchak were called the Barkai Tartars. Bibars, the Sultan of Egypt, called his son, Muhammed Bereke Khan, no doubt after his friend and ally the chief of the Golden Horde.

It was the intercourse which Bereke had with Egypt and Byzantium which first enabled the Tartars to secure sufficiently skilled artisans for the building of costly structures, while his conversion to Muhammedanism made his court the resort of the peddlars and merchants of Persia and other homes of Islam. This conversion was a very serious matter in other ways. It commenced a process of disintegration, in consequence of which it was found impossible presently to keep up even a formal obedience to the Great Khan. Islam is too proud a faith to yoke itself at the chariot wheels of peaceful Buddha or of the Fetishism of the Shamans; and it is further, as we know in numberless other cases, a great civilising power among semi-barbarous races. We shall find that from this date, however well the Tartars of the Russian steppe kept up their renown for martial virtue, that they ceased to be the ferocious creatures they were but a generation before, when they desolated Khorassan. While they became, by accepting the law of the prophet, an important factor in the world of nations who were bound together by the freemasonry of the Crescent. That great brotherhood was as yet largely free from the fierce strife which separated Sunni and Shia at a later period, while in regard to literature and art the very heyday of its prosperity was fast dawning.

Bereke, as the first important Mongol convert, becomes under these circumstances an important historical figure; but we must on with our story.

MANGU TIMUR KHAN.

Bereke, judged by Western rules of succession, was a usurper, but according to the law of the East, which prevails with the Mongols and Turks, and prevailed also in the mediæval times among the Russian princes, brother was succeeded by brother, at least until the nephews were sufficiently old to reign. It is the inevitable and probably the only feasible plan of succession among nomadic and predatory peoples, where the strong man is chosen to fill the place of chieftain. On Bereke's death his brother Berkajar survived him, but he did not succeed to the throne, nor did Bereke himself found a line of rulers. One son of his, named Hosameddin, is mentioned as dying in Egypt in 1262;*

* Ilkhans, 218.

another one, named Salah ud din, as among the leaders of the Mamluks there.* On Bereke's death the inheritance passed again into the family of Batu.

Batu left four sons, Sertak, Tutukan or Toghan, Andewan, and Ulaghji or Ghulasji. Sertak is given a son named Kanju in Rashid's lists, but as he does not occur in history he was doubtless now dead. On the extinction of the line of Sertak, Tutukan's descendants became the heirs to the Khanate. Tutukan or Toghan, *i.e.*, the falcon,† had five sons, Bartu, Mangu Timur, Burasinku, Tuda Mangu, and Udaji, of whom Bartu was probably at this time dead. The mother of Mangu Timur was sister to one of the wives of Khulagu. They were both daughters of Buka Timur, whose mother Chichegen was the fourth daughter of Jingis Khan, so that both on the father's and mother's side he was directly descended from the great conqueror.‡ We are told he granted the country of the Ak Orda or White Horde to Behadir, the son of Sheiban, and to Ureng Timur, the son of Tuka Timur, he gave the towns of Krim and Kaffa in the Crimea. Von Hammer, in pursuit of a strange theory, would make out that this Tuka Timur was the grandson of Orda, Batu's eldest brother, and further suggests that Ureng Timur was the grandson and not the son of Tuka Timur, thus removing him by four generations from Orda, an impossible theory. I have no doubt that Ureng Timur was the son of Tuka Timur, the youngest brother of Batu, the founder of the Blue Horde, to which I shall return presently. Orda and his family lived far to the east, and were far removed from Mangu's frontiers.

Mangu Timur was nominated to the Khanate of Kipchak by the Khakan Khubilai, but he did not long retain his allegiance to him. When Arikbugha submitted in 1264, his cousin Kaidu, one of his chief supporters and the heir to the pretensions of his grandfather Ogotai, refused to acknowledge Khubilai, and returned to the special ulus of his family on the river Imil. Endowed with considerable talents, he succeeded, we are told, in gaining the friendship of the princes who ruled the ulus of Juchi, and with their assistance recovered the country watered by the Imil which belonged to Ogotai and Kuyuk.§

Gaubil tells us that after the death of Mangu, Kaidu earned a considerable state for himself in the country of Olimali (*i.e.*, Almaligh), made himself popular among the people there, and among the chiefs of the tribes who camped north-north-east of Turfan and west and north of the Altai, and also won over several princes of his family.‖ That Mangu Timur was won over seems clear from the subsequent proceedings, and from the further fact that on his coins the name of Khubilai does not appear. Early in 1267, we are told that Bibars, the Sultan of Egypt,

* Makrizi, ii. 218. † Golden Horde, 248. ‡ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 250. § D'Ohsson, ii. 360, 361. ‖ Op. cit., 471. *Ante*, vol. i. 174.

wrote to Mangu Timur to condole with him on the death of Bereke, and to incite him against the son of Khulagu (*i.e.*, the Ilkhan Abaka).*

In 1269, we read of envoys of Mangu Timur being at Damascus, and there meeting those of the Greek Emperor and of Abaka, the Ilkhan of Persia.† Mangu Timur continued the struggle which Bereke had begun with Abaka, but we do not hear of any direct invasion of Persia, which was probably prevented by the rampart the Ilkhan had erected near Derbend. In the year 1270, according to Makrizi, the Egyptian Sultan received a letter from Bisou Nogai informing him of his conversion to the faith. He is called a relative of Bereke's and the commandant of his army, and was no doubt the Nogai previously mentioned.‡

Let us now turn to the intercourse of the Tartars with the Russians at this time. On the death of Alexander Nevski, in 1263, the grand principality of Vladimir fell to his brother Andrew, who, however, only lived a few months, and was in turn succeeded by his brother Yaroslaf of Tuer. The people of Novgorod were engaged in the early years of his reign in a very sanguinary war with the Danes and their allies the Knights of Livonia. This was not much favoured by the Grand Prince, but as his dependents at Novgorod were an obstinate race, they had their own way, and as further they got rather the worst of it in the struggle, he was constrained to assist them.

The position of Novgorod at this time was a singularly interesting one. Perhaps the most important member of the Hanseatic league, its merchants were very rich and enterprising, and it possessed municipal liberties which might have been the envy of Lubeck and Hamburgh in later times. The Grand Prince, by a special treaty, had undertaken not to appoint any but natives as magistrates there, and they were to be *personæ gratæ* to the possadnik. The dues he received were not called a tax, but were styled presents. He even undertook that neither himself nor his boyards should acquire any demesnes in any of the possessions of Novgorod, namely, in Beyitzi, Volok, Torgek, Vologda, Zavolochia, Kola, Permia, or among the Petchorians or Yugrians. He was *permitted* to visit the town of Russa in the autumn. While at Ladoga only the officer who went for the fish and hydromel supplied to his table was admitted. He undertook that the citizens should not be transferred from their own lands, willingly or otherwise, nor seized as debtors, and that his grandees who visited the republic should pay for the horses, &c., which they used. The citizens on their part undertook to pay a customs tax of a squirrel skin for each small boat, cart, and bale of linen or hops.§

Novgorod at this time had a quarrel with its neighbour Lithuania. Mindug, the king of the latter country, as well as Tortivil, Prince of

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* Makrizi, ii. 48. † Ilkhans, 258. D'Ohsson, iii. 426. ‡ Makrizi, ii. 82. § Karamzin, iv. 114-116.

Polotsk, his brother-in-law, had been assassinated in 1263. Tortivil's sons took refuge at Novgorod. Mindug's son Voichelg, after a reign of sanguinary cruelty at Novogrodok, had been baptised during his father's lifetime, had then retired from the world and founded a monastery on the banks of the Niemen, where he lived. On his father's murder he left his retreat, headed an army, and exacted a terrible vengeance. He was speedily acknowledged as king, and 300 Lithuanian families took refuge at Pskof, the younger sister of Novgorod. The citizens of Pskof put a relative of Mindug's named Dovmont, who had been baptised, at their head without Yaroslaf's consent, and ravaged the province of Gerden, a Lithuanian prince. It was at this time that the allied Novgorodians and Pskovians had a bloody struggle with the Danes, who were the rulers of Esthonia, and their allies the famous German Knights of Livonia. As I have mentioned, the struggle was a severe one, and many lives were lost, the balance of advantages being against the Russians.* The Grand Prince, although he disapproved of the war, agreed to assist his *protegês*, and his troops with those of his dependents, the princes of Suzdal, accordingly assembled at Novgorod. There also went Amragan or Arghaman, the chief Baskak or Tartar commissioner of Vladimir, and his son-in-law Haidar, who took part in the council, and approved of the Russians attacking Revel; but the Danes and the Livonian knights were cowed by the preparations, and agreed to surrender the country on the banks of the Narva to the Russians.†

Shortly after this, in the year 1270, the people of Novgorod quarrelled with and drove Yaroslaf away for his incapacity and tyranny. Like his brother Alexander, he seems to have been on good terms with the Tartars, and he now appealed to them for help, and sent Ratibor as his envoy to report how his master had been driven away, and how the people of Novgorod had determined to kill himself (Ratibor) and others merely because they had demanded the tribute which was due to the Khan. The latter had already despatched an army, when it was recalled at the instance of Vasili, Yaroslaf's brother, who explained that the Novgorodians had good reason for expelling Yaroslaf, and that the story of Ratibor was untrue. Yaroslaf then marched alone against his rebellious subjects, with whom peace was at length made, at the intercession of Cyril, the Metropolitan of Kief. A treaty was drawn up between them, which is still extant in the Russian archives, and Karamzin tells us the deed is sealed with a leaden seal, and there is a note on the back stating that Schevgn and Banchi, the envoys of the Khan, had come in his name to reinstate Yaroslaf on the throne of Novgorod, showing, as he says, how servilely dependent the Russian princes had become.

Meanwhile perfect tranquillity reigned in the Grand Principality, or, to

* *Id.*, 121-125. † Karamzin, iv. 125, 126. Golden Horde, 255, 256.

use the phrase of Karamzin, "it supported in silence the yoke of slavery."* Gleb, the Prince of Bielosersk made a journey to the horde and returned safely.† On the other hand, Roman, the Prince of Riazan, had the temerity to speak slightingly of Islam, the faith the court had recently adopted. He was cut limb from limb, and his head, after being stripped of its skin, was exposed on a lance.‡ Notwithstanding this severity, Christians were tolerated at the court. In 1269, Metrophanes sent in a description of the bishopric of Serai. He is first named as Bishop of Serai in 1261.§ He apparently died in 1269, for we are told that in that year Theognost was nominated Bishop of Serai and Pereislavl by Cyril, the metropolitan of Kief.‖ In 1272, the Grand Prince went with his brother Vasili and his nephew Dimitri Alexandrovitch to the horde, but died on his way home.

On the death of Yaroslaf, he was succeeded as Grand Prince by his brother Vasili, Prince of Kostroma; his nephew Dimitri and he were both candidates for the suffrages of the Novgorodians. The former, however, prevailed, inasmuch as he controlled Suzdal, the granary of Novgorod, whence he had stopped the export of grain, and thus threatened a famine.¶ The authorities followed by Von Hammer would make out that Vasili, with the assistance of the Tartars, marched against and pillaged Novgorod, while his nephew Sviatoslaf of Tuer, ravaged the towns of Volok, Bejesk, and Wobogd on the Volga.** In 1275, Vasili went in person to the horde.

Meanwhile let us turn to Gallicia. Daniel, the brave prince of that country, had died in the year 1266, after a reign which, although its latter days were overclouded by the terrible Tartar invasion, had shed great lustre on his kingdom, while he had by his various alliances made himself respected, not only by the Christians but even by the Tartar Khans, so that his country was far more free than the neighbouring Russian States from their oppression.†† After his death, his sons Leon, Mitislaf, and Schvarn became respectively princes of Peremysl: of Lutsk and Dubno, and of Galitch, Kholm, and Droguichin, while his brother Vassilko, as Prince of the Southern Vladimir, was acknowledged as their feudal superior by the young princes. Soon after this Voichelg, the Monk Prince of Lithuania, who wore a monk's hood over his royal robes, and was therefore known as the wolf in sheep's clothing, after uniting many of the petty principalities of Lithuania in his own hands, resigned his power in favour of the young prince Schvarn, already named, and again became a monk. This so aroused the jealousy of Leon, that the latter assassinated Voichelg after treacherously inviting him to an entertainment. Schvarn did not long outlive his promotion, and was succeeded as king of Lithuania by Troiden, who was still a pagan.

* Op. cit., iv. 133. † Golden Horde, 256. ‡ Karamzin, iv. 133.
§ Golden Horde, 173. ‖ *Id.*, 256.
¶ Karamzin, iv, 147, 148. ** Op. cit., 256. †† Karamzin, iv. 138.

Vassilko, who died shortly after, was succeeded by his son Ivan Vladimir, while Leon inherited Galitch, Kholm, and Droguichin, which had belonged to his brother Schvarn, and fixed his capital at the new town of Lvof.*

The Lithuanians did not naturally forget the outrage committed on their prince Voichelg, and we read how in 1275 they captured Droguichin, slaughtered most of its inhabitants, and then crossed the Dnieper and laid waste the inner recesses of the principality of Chernigof. Leon appealed to the Tartars for assistance against the Lithuanians. They accordingly sent an army, which was joined by contingents sent by some Russian princes, but the result was not successful, and the Tartars in retiring carried off the cattle, goods, and even clothes of their allies; and, as one of the annalists says, "pointed the moral that an alliance with infidels is as bad as war itself."†

Irritated by the ill luck of the Tartar arms, Nogai sent a fresh army to attack Grodno, and ordered the Gallician princes to lay siege to Novogrodek. The former was defended by a garrison of Germans, who had been planted there by Troiden, as similar colonies had latterly been planted in the larger towns of Poland.‡ The allies gained no advantage except that they carried off considerable booty.

I have mentioned how the Grand Prince Vasili went to the court of Mangu Timur in 1275. He died on his return at Kostroma. During his reign the Tartar publicans made a fresh census, and levied new taxes upon Russia, but, as the Khans encouraged commerce and the people were growing wealthier, this was not much felt.§ The tax had hitherto been half a griwna, levied on each plough, which counted for two peasants, but it was now increased.‖

The Grand Prince Vasili was succeeded in 1276 by his nephew Dimitri, the son of Alexander Nevski, a name which is connected with a dreary period in Russian history. While he set out for Novgorod to receive the allegiance of that great city, the princes Boris of Rostof, Gleb of Bielo Ozero, Feodor of Yaroslavl, and Andrew of Gorodetz the brother of Dimitri, marched their troops southwards, at the command of Mangu Timur, to assist the Tartars in their campaign against the Yasses or Ossetes, who rivalled the usual fame of mountaineers in submitting uneasily to the yoke. The allies, on the 8th of February, 1278, captured the town of Tetiakof, situated on or near the site of the modern fortress of Vladikaukas. The grateful Tartars divided the spoil with the Russians.¶ On another side we read how Mangu Timur sent Theognost, the Bishop of Serai, three times to Byzantium as his envoy to the Emperor.

Meanwhile Russia was suffering from the jealousies and quarrels of its

* Karamzin, iv. 138-142. † *Id.*, 149. ‡ *Id.*, 150. Lelewel Hist. de Pologne, i. 59.
§ Karamzin, iv. 151 and 156. ‖ Golden Horde, 257.
¶ Karamzin, iv. 157. Golden Horde, 257.

many princes, and the Tartars were naturally reaping the fruits of such disorder. We read that in 1278 they burnt Riazan. Gleb, Prince of Rostof, on the other hand, returned from a visit to the horde well laden with booty while his son Michael and Feodor, Prince of Yaroslavl, entered the Tartar service,* surely a degrading mercenary duty for Christian princes to be performing. In 1279, on the death of Boleslas, King of Poland, the Tartars and Russians in alliance devastated the districts of Lublin and Sendomir, and although they were beaten on the 3rd of February, 1280, at Goslic, near Sendomir, they returned home with their plunder. The following year Andrew, the brother of the Grand Prince, incited by some of the boyards, conspired against his brother, conciliated the Tartars by presents and flattery, and basely obtained from them the title of Grand Prince, and Mangu Timur sent his "voivodes" Kawghadi and Alchidai with an army to assist him, and with an order to the various dependent princes to join him with their troops. They dared but obey, and the Grand Prince seeing himself deserted fled. The Tartars then proceeded to react the part they performed in the days of Batu. Murom, the environs of Suzdal, Vladimir, Yurief, Rostof, Pereislavl, Tuer, and Torjek were ravaged, and they advanced as far as Novgorod. They burned and pillaged the houses, churches, and monasteries; carried off the sacred images, the precious vessels, and the books with jewelled covers; troops of people were marched off as slaves, and the nuns and wives of the priests were made the victims of Tartar lust, while the poor peasants who sought refuge in the deserts perished there from hunger. Pereislavl having dared to resist them, received the most dire punishment, and, as one chronicler says, "There was not a survivor who had not to grieve the death of a son or a father, of a brother or a friend;" Andrew, the son of Alexander Nevski, meanwhile fraternised with the Tartars and sent them back to the Great Khan with his acknowledgments.† Thus was Russia at this time the victim more of its own sons than of the ruthless foes whom they called in to their help.

It was in the reign of Mangu Timur that the Genoese greatly extended their colonies in Southern Russia. They had hitherto shared the Crimean trade with the Venetians, but now determined to monopolise it altogether. With the consent of the Tartars, they founded factories at Kaffa, and built bazaars and shops there, and then surrounded the settlement with a rampart and ditch, and they rapidly monopolised the chief trade in corn, stock, fish, and caviare: the Venetians being limited to their small settlement at Old Tana.

Architectural remains and inscriptions still survive to testify to their ancient importance. The Genoese retained their power and influence in these parts until the fall of the Eastern empire, when they were almost exterminated by the Turks. Marinis tells us, in 1665,

* Golden Horde, 258. † Karamzin, 160. Golden Horde, 259.

that Genoese families still survived at Tanais or Azof. Among these were some of the famous name of Spinola.* The rise of the Genoese supremacy was probably due to the influence of Ung Timur, to whom the city of Krim had been granted, as I have said, by Mangu Timur.

Krim was a neighbouring town to Kaffa, and from it the Crimea derived its name. It was one of the most prosperous towns of Asia. So large was it that a well mounted horseman could hardly ride round it in half a day. It is now represented by the poor village of Old Krim on the Churuxa, near Kaffa.†

Those who know what the three months' journey from the Crimea to Khiva means will not fail to appreciate some of the benefits which the strong-handed Tartars conferred upon this district. We are told that although the people of Krim were rich they were also avaricious. They hoarded up their gold and neglected the poor, and they built mosques to make themselves a name rather than for the sake of religion. With Kaffa, Krim was the great entrepôt of the slave trade, by which the supply of Mamluks, &c., was furnished; and we are told that the Egyptian sultans obtained the privilege from the Greek emperors of sending annually one ship for the purchase of such slaves in Circassia and the Lesser Tartary. Sometime after they possessed themselves of Kaffa, the Genoese also occupied Sudak, Balaklava, Azof, and Cherson. The Venetians took refuge at Old Tana, not far from Azof, which was their mart in these parts for a long time.‡

I shall postpone the account of Nogai's intercourse with the Bulgarians to a later chapter, and shall now revert to the Eastern politics of the horde.

Khubilai Khan had in 1265 nominated Borak to the Khanship of Jagatai, intending him to make head against his rival Kaidu. He, however, made friends with the latter, and seized on Turkestan, which was an Imperial appanage and did not belong to his Khanate. The two allies agreed to divide Transoxiana between them, but on Kaidu's withdrawal for a while Borak seized a portion of his friend's territory. Kaidu having returned, was defeated on the banks of the Sihun by his treacherous friend. We are then told that Mangu Timur sent an army of 50,000 men, commanded by his uncle Berkejar, to assist Kaidu. Borak was beaten, but the three princes afterwards made peace and divided Transoxiana between them.§ Borak took two-thirds of Transoxiana, while the remaining third was divided between Kaidu and Mangu Timur. This peace was ratified in the year 1269. As Borak complained of the smallness of his heritage, it was agreed he should invade Khorassan. He accordingly did so in the following spring, but was badly beaten, and soon after died. This was in the year 1270.‖

* Karamzin, iv. 386. † *Id.*, 145. ‡ Von Hammer, 254, 255.
§ Ilkhans, 259, 260. D'Ohsson, iii. 428-431. ‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 429 and 452.

It would seem, as I have said, that Mangu Timur inherited Bereke's strife with the Ilkhan Abaka, and we are told by Wassaf that he marched an army of 30,000 men against him. Abaka in turn posted a considerable army close to the defiles of the Caucasus, and built the wall called Siba, at Derbênd, to protect his frontier.* The two rivals seem then to have made peace, and, according to Abulghazi, were on amicable terms for the rest of their lives, and frequently exchanged presents.†

We are told consequently that Mangu Timur sent to congratulate Abaka upon his victory over Borak, and offered him presents of gerfalcons and other noble birds.‡ Abaka outlived Mangu Timur, and died in 1282. It is probable that Mangu Timur was withdrawing from his older policy. We read that in 1275 Khubilai sent his sons Numugan and Kukju and some other princes to make head against Kaidu and his confederates, and appointed Numugan as governor of Almaligh. Among the princes sent with the latter was one named Toktimur, who proposed to Shireki, the son of the Khakan Mangu, to put him on the throne. The conspirators seized Khubilai's two sons, as well as the general Hantung. The former were handed over to Mangu Timur, chief of the ulus of Juchi, and the general to Kaidu. Khubilai having sent troops against the rebels, the latter were defeated, and Toktimur, discontented with Shireki, set up Sarban, the son of Jagatai, in his place, and sent messengers to inform Kaidu and Mangu Timur of the fact. Toktimur was himself shortly after killed by Shireki, to whom Sarban submitted.§ Shireki, we are told, sent him to Kochi Oghul, grandson of Juchi, but on passing through the district of Jend and Uskend his escort was overpowered by some of his own retainers who nomadised there, and he was released.‖

This Kochi Oghul, grandson of Juchi, was assuredly no other than the Kapgé, son of Orda, son of Juchi, who is mentioned by Abulfeda, and who tells us he was the lord of Ghazni and Bamian and the neighbouring provinces, and that he died in the year 1301.¶ The direction taken by the escort, which in marching from the country of the Imil towards Kochi Oghul went by way of Uzkend and Jend, makes it nearly certain that they were bound for Ghazni. Now the history of Ghazni at this period is singularly obscure. As I have mentioned, in 1262, when the quarrel arose between Bereke and Khulagu, the contingent of the Golden Horde which marched with the latter scattered, and one of them under Nigudar and Onguja fled eastwards and seized upon Ghazni and other districts bordering on India.** There can be small doubt that it was over these emigrants that Kochi Oghul ruled, and his name is perhaps disguised in the Onguja above named; but let us on with our

* Wassaf, 95. † Abulghazi, 182. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 456.
§ D'Ohsson, ii. 452-454. *Ante*, vol. i. 176. ‖ *Id.*, 454-455. ¶ Op. cit., v. 179.
** *Ante*, 114.

story. Numughan is called Lemghan by Wassaf, who tells us further that Mangu Timur sent him back to his father with suitable state.*

Mangu Timur, according to Novairi, died in the month rabi ul ewel 679 (*i.e.*, in the year 1280), of a tumour in the throat, which he had pierced,† and he left nine sons, namely, Alghui (whose mother was called Chichek), Buzluk, Seraibuka, Toghrul, Bulakhan, Tudan, Tukta, Kadan, and Kutukan. Rashid names a tenth son Abaji.

The Mamluk Sultan Kalavun had sent two envoys, named Shems ud din Sankur el Gutmi and Seif ud din el Khas Turki, to the court of Mangu Khan with a present of sixteen sets of State robes, of which some were for Mangu Timur, others for Nogai, others for Aukji,‡ others for Tuda Mangu (who succeeded him on the throne), for Tulabugha, and for the Khatuns Chichek, Elchi, Tunkin or Tutelin, Kadaran or Tataian, Sultan, and Khutlu; for Maou or Madua, the commander of the left wing; for Tira, commander of the right wing; for Kalik, wife of Kukji,§ and for the Sultan Ghiath ud din, son of Iz ud din, the late governor of Rum. The envoys also took with them all kinds of objects fit for presents, magnificent stuffs, beautiful robes, precious jewels, bows, cuirasses, and helmets, to be distributed to the grandees according to their rank. On the arrival of the embassy Mangu Timur was already dead, and the presents were given to his successor, by whom the envoys were magnificently entertained. They were afterwards received by Nogai and the other princes.‖ Mangu Timur, we are told, was styled Kilk, which means an embroidered cloth, and which Von Hammer connects with the English word quilt.¶ He was the first of the sovereigns of Kipchak to coin money in his own name. On some of these coins he styles himself, "Mangu Timur the Supreme," and on others "the Just." They were nearly all struck at Bolghari.** The only exception is a coin mentioned by M. Soret, struck in the year 665, the first of Mangu Timur's reign, at Krim.††

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* Wassaf, 127. † Makrizi adds that he died at Aktukiah. Op. cit. ii. 201.

‡ Makrizi calls him the brother of Mangu Timur and styles him King, but Mangu Timur had no brother of that name. I believe him to be the person who lower down is called the agha or patriarch among the Mongol princes, and who was the grandson of Bereke D'Ohsson, in his translation of a passage of Novairi, calls him Edekyi. (Op. cit., iv. 750.)

§ He is called Abaji by D'Ohsson, loc. cit.

‖ Makrizi, ii. 200. Novairi in D'Ohsson, iv. 750, 751. ¶ Golden Horde, 261.

** Fræhn, op. cit., 648.

†† Fræhn publishes a coin of Mangu Timur with a mutilated inscription, on which he read hypothetically "Moneta Chorasmiæ," but the two letters which alone remain of the name won't bear this reading. Nor is it probable that Mangu Timur exercised much, if any, authority in Khuarezm. It would seem in fact to have then formed part of the government of Transoxiania, which was under the control of the Imperial commissary Massud Bey, for in 1272 the Ilkhan Abaka, who was then at peace and on cordial terms with Mangu Timur, sent an army under Yussuf and Kargadai, the sons of Chin Timur, of Churgadai, and Ilabugha against Khuarezm. This army devastated Urgenj, the capital, and Khiva and Karakush, two of the chief towns of Khuarezm. (D'Ohsson, iii. 457, 458. Ilkhans, i. 271, 272.) This makes it exceedingly improbable that Mangu Timur should have had authority or struck coins at Khuarezm.

TUDA MANGU KHAN.

We now reach a period when, to use a French phrase, the solidarité of the Khanate of Kipchak was giving way. Nogai, who had become very powerful by his experience in war, by his alliance with the Byzantine empire, and by the number of tribes who obeyed him, held a separate court of his own, and was fast thrusting aside the feudal bonds which made him the servant and not the peer of the Lord of Serai, and events were ripening which made his path in this direction more easy. He had faithfully served both Bereke and Mangu Timur, although it would appear that he had not very cordially, if at all, adopted the faith of Islam, and remained attached to that cosmopolitan religion which was patronised by the early Mongol Khans. The Mongol law of succession, which was admirably suited to a pastoral or predatory life, gave rise to difficulties under more settled conditions, and was the ready means of intrigue. A sovereign who had once occupied the throne did not like the heritage to pass away from his descendants to the descendants of his brother; and we have lately witnessed in Turkey the lever which may be made out of this natural prejudice for opening huge rents in the civil structure. Again, however reasonable it may be that brother should succeed brother where the children are still children, it loses much of its force when these children are grown men and themselves fit to take charge of the helm of the State. It was thus now. Mangu Timer's elder brother Bartu had a son, Tulabugha, who had, as I have mentioned already, distinguished himself as the companion of Nogai in the campaign in Lithuania. He was the eldest son of the eldest son, and was now quite old enough to rule, but the Mongol law of succession excluded him in favour of his uncle Tuda Mangu, the younger brother of Mangu Timur.

I have explained how the Russian Grand Prince Dimitri was displaced by his younger brother Andrew, and how the latter was supported by the court at Serai. It would seem that on the retreat of the Tartar forces which had installed him, his partisans were overcome, for we find him once more repairing to Serai in the beginning of Tuda Mangu's reign. The Tartars were only too glad of such an opportunity, entered the province of Suzdal, and ravaged it in various directions, and also advanced in the same ruthless manner upon Pereislavl.* Andrew himself returned from the horde in company with the Tartar grandees, Turai Timur and Ali.† Dimitri thereupon repaired to the court of Nogai, and was by him reinstated on the throne of Vladimir. About the same time that potent chief married his daughter to Feodor, the son of Rostislaf, Prince of Smolensko and Pereislavl. On the other hand, we

* Karamzin, iv. 164. † Golden Horde, 259.

read of a visit paid by the metropolitan Maximus to the court at Serai, doubtless in connection with the see there.* Tuda Mangu, who feared Nogai, was constrained to accept his decision in regard to the Grand Principality, the two brothers Dimitri and Andrew made outward show of reconciliation, and even the turbulent people of Novgorod, who had espoused the latter's cause, deemed it prudent to submit to Dimitri.†

Let us now turn our view to another part of Russia. The principality of Kursk was at this time governed by the two princes Oleg and Sviatoslaf, both descended from the ancient line of Chernigof. The former reigned at Rylsk and Vorgol, and the latter at Lipetsk. Ahmed, the Mongol baskak or commissary of Rylsk, who farmed the taxes there, had performed his office in a very tyrannical manner, and had built two villages near Rylsk, where many bad characters, who plundered the neighbourhood, found asylum. Oleg, at the request of Sviatoslaf, went to Serai to complain; and the Khan gave him a small body of Tartars, with orders to destroy Ahmed's two villages. This was accordingly done. Ahmed was then at Nogai's court, and he represented to the latter that Oleg and Sviatoslaf were his secret enemies. "Send your falconers to catch swans in Oleg's country," he added, "and summon him to your presence, and you will find that he will not obey." Oleg was not disposed to trust himself at Nogai's court to answer these attacks, and on the approach of Nogai he fled to Serai, while Sviatoslaf found refuge in the forests of Voronej.

Nogai's troops handed over thirteen boyards with some poor travellers to the vengeance of Ahmed, who, having put the former to death, released the latter, gave them the bloody garments of his victims, and bade them return home and show them as a warning to those who should offend a baskak. The villages which Ahmed had built were again tenanted, and became rich with plunder, while the principality became almost deserted, the people fleeing before Ahmed's agents, who exposed to view the mangled remains of the boyards. Ahmed himself repaired to Nogai's court, and left his two brothers in charge. Sviatoslaf now emerged from his hiding-place and put to death a great number of the robbers, not thinking of the consequences. When Oleg returned from the horde, having brought together the people and buried the remains of the boyards, which were still suspended from trees, he, to avoid the vengeance of Ahmed, declared his brother Sviatoslaf a criminal, in that he had attacked the plunderers instead of submitting humbly to the Khan. Sviatoslaf bravely defended his conduct, but Oleg, having once more been to Serai, returned and put his brother to death. Well may Karamzin denounce the cowardice and meanness of the annalists who, in applauding this act, maintain that remonstrance

* *Id.*, 260. † Karamzin, iv. 165.

to such tyranny was a crime; but Oleg and his two sons were speedily punished, being killed by a third brother Alexander, who found means of conciliating the Tartars. They contented themselves with receiving presents, and left to the Russian princes the privilege of killing each other.*

Let us now turn to Tuda Mangu's Eastern policy. Novairi tells us how in the year 1283 he sent the fakir Mejd ud din Ata and Nur ud din as envoys to the Egyptian Sultan with a request that they might be permitted to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, doubtless a vicarious pilgrimage on his own account. Makrizi tells us he also asked that a standard of the Khalif and another of the Sultan might be sent him, under which he could do battle with the enemies of the faith. This author wrongly calls him Mangu Timur, who was already dead.† Novairi tells us further that Tuda Mangu was much devoted to religious exercises. Neglecting the affairs of State, he surrounded himself with sheikhs and fakirs, and lived an austere life. He was given to understand that the State wanted a ruler, and accordingly he resigned the throne to Tulabugha.‡

This is confirmed by Abulfeda,§ who tells us he abdicated in favour of Tulabugha and dedicated himself to God, and by Makrizi, who says he voluntarily renounced the throne of Kipchak, announced his intention of devoting himself to a religious life, and that he advised his subjects to elect Tulabugha as their chief.‖ This, according to Novairi, was in the year 686, *i.e.*, 1287.

Tulabugha was in a sense the rightful heir to the throne, and represented the senior branch of the family of Batu Khan, being the eldest son of Bartu, who was the eldest son of Toghan, who, although he was Batu's second son, became by the extinguishment of the family of Sertak, the head of the family; but his father had never ruled himself, and he lacked the prestige, which in the East counts for a great deal, of having had a sovereign for his father. It is generally supposed that he succeeded to the throne as the actual ruler of Kipchak, and this view is endorsed by the names of Von Hammer, D'Ohsson, Fræhn, &c., yet I believe it to be erroneous.

He is not named among the Khans of Kipchak by Abulghazi, nor yet in the very ample list of Khuandemir. By both of these authors Toktu or Toktugha is made the immediate successor of Tuda Mangu.¶ This is the case also in the list of the Khans of Kipchak given in the Yuan shi,** which may be considered as the official list of the Khans kept at the headquarters of the Mongol world. Marco Polo also, in his 24th chapter, makes Toktu the immediate successor of Tuda Mangu.†† But we may go further. Apparently there are no coins known with the name of

* Karamzin, iv. 166-171. † Makrizi, part ii. 64. Note, 65. ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 751.
§ Annals, v. 89. ‖ Op. cit., ii. 91. ¶ Abulghazi, 183. Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 114.
** Bretschneider, 106. †† Op. cit., ii. 491.

Tulabugha upon them. Those assigned to him by Fræhn and others are so assigned on the ground of their dates; but this is a very unsafe guide in such a question, for we actually find a coin of Tuda Mangu which seems to be dated in 1288, two years therefore after his retirement from the world.* I have small doubt myself, therefore, that Tulabugha was never a Khan at all. My own view is that when Tuda Mangu retired from the world he continued to be the titular Khan, while Tulabugha controlled the government; a kind of mayor of the palace to the Roi fainéant, a sort of secular ruler like the Tipa of Thibet in old days, or the Tycoon in Japan, or probably more nearly like to the position filled by the Great Timur in his early years as the first subject of the Khans of Jagatai. He doubtless commanded the armies and otherwise controlled matters, but Tuda Mangu continued meanwhile to be the figurehead of the State and the nominal ruler of the Khanate. Tulabugha had distinguished himself a few years before, as I have mentioned, in company with Nogai in a campaign in Lithuania. From the account of Rashid it would seem that his brother Kunjuk-bugha shared his new authority.†

In 1285 we find the Tartars making a terrible invasion of Hungary, under the leadership of Tulabugha and Nogai, and compelling the Gallician princes to march with them. This campaign, which was disastrous for them, I shall describe in a later chapter on the Nogais. Here it will suffice to say that Tulabugha is reported to have retired on foot accompanied only by a woman and a sumpter beast.‡ This disaster did not, however, prostrate them, for two years later, namely, in 1286-7, we find Tulabugha and Nogai making another great campaign. This time against Poland.

Boleslas V. of Poland having died without children, Leo, Prince of Gallicia, deemed it a good opportunity to secure the Polish crown, but the grandees of Cracovia elected Leshko, nephew of Boleslas. Leo appealed to Nogai for assistance, which was granted him, but in the battle which followed he was beaten; 8,000 of his people were killed, and 2,000 of them with seven standards were captured. This, as I have said, was towards the end of 1286.

The principal Polish chiefs at this time were Leshko (the black) of Cracow, and Konrad of Masovia. The invaders advanced amidst smoking churches and monasteries through the districts of Lublin, Masovia, Sendomir, Siradia, and as far as Cracow. Leshko had fled into Hungary, but his deputy George defeated a section of them near Sendomir. On Christmas eve they set out from Cracow into Volhynia. At Vladimir they divided 30,000 boys and maidens, and on leaving left the plague behind them as a legacy.§ The chronicler Dlugos has a lugubrious story, that this plague, which killed 12,000 men in Gallicia alone, was

* Fræhn, op. cit., 196, 197. † D'Ohsson, iv. 758. ‡ Karamzin, iv. 181.
§ Wolff, 413. Golden Horde, 264.

caused by the Tartars having infected the water with poisonous matter which they extracted from dead corpses.*

According to Karamzin the crushing of Poland was only averted by the quarrel of the two generals, Tulabugha and Nogai, who separated and returned by different routes. The former, we are told, on his return halted in Gallicia, and compelled the princes there, who had been (perhaps not altogether unwillingly) his companions in his march across the Vistula, to entertain him.†

In 1286 we read of an attack made by the Tartars, under Ortai, the son of Timur, who was probably a dependent of Nogai's, upon the frontier districts of Murom, Riazan, and Wordwa ‡ (? Mordwa).

About this time we find the Tartars of Kipchak engaging in another campaign against Persia. The latter country was now governed by the Ilkhan Arghun, who had succeeded to the throne on the 11th of August, 1284, by the murder of his predecessor Ahmed. It was probably to avenge his death that we find the Khan of Kipchak sending an army of 5,000 men to invade Persia. News reached Arghun at Pelsuwan that Toktu had passed the defile of Derbend and had plundered the merchants there. He accordingly set out on the 7th of May, 1289, for Shaburan, but meanwhile the army of Kipchak had deemed it prudent to retire. In the spring of 1290, while Arghun was at Meragha, news arrived that a fresh and much larger army was again advancing by way of Derbend, Arghun set out once more and reached Shaburan on the 11th of May, 1290, and both armies met on the banks of the Karasu, then forming the boundary between Persia and Kipchak. The army o the latter Khanate was 10,000 strong, and was commanded by Abaji, Menglibuka, and Toktu, the sons of Mangu Timur.§ Three hundred of the Kipchaks were killed, among whom were the two chiefs, Burultai and Kadai, while among the prisoners was the Prince Jeriktai.‖ This narrative was derived by Von Hammer from Rashid and Binaketi, and seems all right so far as it goes; but we can supplement it with a very valuable notice (unknown apparently to Von Hammer), from Novairi, whose knowledge of the Kipchak was very intimate, and which enables us to clear up the further story very materially. Novairi tells us that Tulabugha sent an army against the country of Kerk (Circassia ? or perhaps Kirk Majar, the old name of the city of Majar), and ordered Nogai to march and join him with his tumans.¶ The two armies having united, advanced into the country of Kerk, where they pillaged and killed, and then retired, but there was much snow about, and Nogai left Tulabugha

* Karamzin, iv. 182. † *Id.* ‡ Golden Horde, 264.

§ Von Hammer says no son of Mangu Timur called Menglibuka occurs in the tables, and I find that Abulghazi calls the Kipchak generals Toktu and Turktai, the latter probably a corruption of Toghrul, a son of Mangu Timur, named in the genealogies. (Abulghazi, op. cit., 182.)

‖ Golden Horde, 265, 266.

¶ Tuman = 10,000 men, but it is used by the Mongols as equivalent to a division or section.

and went to his winter quarters, where he arrived safe and sound. Tulabugha's forces, on the other hand, got lost, and suffered great want. His men were forced to eat their horses, their hunting dogs, and their dead companions. He suspected that Nogai had been treacherous to him, and conceived a violent hatred for him. On his return home from the expedition he prepared an army to march against Nogai and the sons of Mangu Timur, who were his *protegés*. Nogai was an old and crafty person. He pretended to be ignorant of Tulabugha's feelings towards him, and when the latter summoned him to his presence to ask his advice, he sent word to Tulabugha's mother. "Your son is young, and I wish to give him advice, but I can only do so alone. He alone ought to know what I wish to tell him, and I wish him to come to me with a very small escort." The princess advised her son to trust Nogai, and he accordingly disbanded his forces and ordered Nogai to go to him. I may add that Rashid tells us that when Nogai went to see Tulabugha he feigned to be very ill, and even put fresh blood in his mouth to make-believe he was spitting blood.* Nogai went at the head of his troops, and with him went Toktu, Buzluk, Serai-bugha, and Tudan, sons of Mangu Timur. When he drew near the place fixed upon for the interview, he put his troops in ambush, under the command of the four sons of Mangu Timur already named, and went with a few others to see Tulabugha. The latter went to meet him with Alghui, Toghrul, Bulakhan, Kadan, and Kutugan, other sons of Mangu Timur, who had sided with him. The two princes met, and were about to exchange greetings, when the cavalry, who had been in ambush, came forth. Nogai compelled Tulabugha to dismount, and then with the assistance of his *protegés* strangled him. He then addressed the young princes, and said, "Tulabugha has usurped the throne of your father, and your brothers who are with him have agreed to arrest you and put you to death. I deliver them up to you, and you may do with them as you will." Upon which Toktu had them put to death.†

This account is consistent and clear, and Novairi no doubt got it from the Egyptian archives, Egypt then being in very close relationship with Kipchak. He was much more in the way of getting correct information than Rashid or the writers of Persia, with which country the Kipchak had only hostile intercourse. It explains the statements of Rashid and Binaketi about the four tetrarchs or joint sovereigns, which are as they stand at issue with what we know from the coins and from other sources, and otherwise quite contrary to Mongol traditions. The confused account of Rashid has been followed by Abulghazi, and strangely enough the narrative of Marco Polo, otherwise tolerably correct in its account of the Kipchak, is hopelessly involved at this point, as Colonel Yule has shown.‡

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* Von Hammer, 266. † Novairi in D'Ohsson, iv. 751, 752. ‡ Op. cit., ii. 497-499.

Tulabugha was killed in the autumn of 1290, and it is probable that with him also perished his brother Kunjuk, who is made one of the tetrarchs by Von Hammer. I don't know when Tuda Mangu died. As I have said, we have a coin of his probably dated in 688 heg., *i.e.*, 1289.* It may be that he was put to death by Tulabugha and Nogai, as the exceedingly confused narrative of Marco Polo in chapter xxix. of his work implies. We have no notice of him after the coin just named. Tuda Mangu was styled Kasghan, another form of the word Kazan, which means a kettle.† On his coins he styles himself Tuda Mangu Khan and Tuda Mangu Padishah. They were struck both at Bolghari and Krim,‡ and Fræhn publishes specimens of the years 682, 683, 686, and 688.§ Von Hammer says his wife was called Kutluk, and that she belonged to the Tartar tribe.

TOKTOGU OR TOKTU.

The accession of Toktu was the first event of the kind in the history of Kipchak which was marked by violence. It was in a measure condoned by the strong hand with which he held the reins of power afterwards, and thus secured a period of considerable prosperity for the Khanate, and by the necessity there was to integrate a power which was in danger of falling to pieces. It is not improbable that Rashid's story already told about the tetrarchs may have had this foundation also, that during Tulabugha's reign Mangu Timur's sons did set up claims to the succession, and were supported by Nogai, who no doubt welcomed the part of Warwick, and liked nothing better than being a king-maker. Besides Nogai, Toktu had also courted the friendship of Ilkeji or Bilkeji, the son of Kukju, the son of Bereke who was then Agha or senior prince of the Imperial family.‖

Toktu's mother was Elchi Khatun, the daughter of Gulmish Agha.¶ His name is written Toktu in Arabic and Toktogu in Mongol characters. On one of his coins published by M. Savilief he seems to style himself "The just Sultan, Mir Toktu," which is probably the explanation of the name Toktumir, sometimes given him by the Russian chroniclers.**

When Nogai had put his *protegé* on the throne and pardoned the chiefs who had taken the part of Tulabugha, he returned home again,†† and shortly after, in 1291, we read of an invasion by the Tartars in Poland. They marched in their usual manner as far as Sendomir.‡‡

Meanwhile let us turn for a while to the Grand Principality. I have described how Andrew was constrained to retire after attempting to displace his brother Dimitri. He remained quiet for two years, and then

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* *Vide ante*, 138. † Golden Horde, 261.
‡ Fræhn, op. cit., 196 and 648. § *Id.* Opusc. Post., 110. ‖ Golden Horde, 266.
¶ Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 114. ** Soret, Lettre au cap., Kossikofski, Brussels, 1860.
†† Novairi in D'Ohsson, iv. 753. ‡‡ Golden Horde, 267.

sent for Tzarevitch from the horde and prepared for war; but Dimitri assembling his feudatories drove away the prince and captured some of Andrew's boyards. A similar feat of bearding the Tartars was performed at Rostof, where a number of the invaders who had settled down and were pillaging the inhabitants were driven away. The Prince of Rostof sent his brother to justify the conduct of his people, and the Tartars were either pacified by his presents, or else the internal troubles of the horde did not allow them to take advantage of such temerity.*

In 1292 Alexander, the son of the Grand Prince Dimitri, went to the horde of Nogai and there died. The intrigues of Dimitri's brother Andrew began to have effect at headquarters. We read that he repaired there with the dependent Princes of Rostof, Bielosersk, Yaroslavl, Smolensk, and Tuer, and the Bishop Terasi, who were his allies. Karamzin says he went to Nogai's camp, who was the patron of Dimitri, but Von Hammer, with greater probability, makes them go to Toktu's headquarters at Serai. They went partially to have their titles confirmed, but also to complain of Dimitri. Toktu accordingly sent his brother Tudakan, who is called Diuden by the Russian writers. Andrew himself and Feodor of Yaroslavl performed the disgraceful duty of guides into the interior of the country. The Grand Prince fled to Pskof to his relative, the Lithuanian Dovmont, while the Tartars proceeded to seat his brother on the throne. They had not taken so much trouble, however, for this very small reward. They proceeded after their wont to attack and pillage the Russian towns. Murom, Suzdal, Vladimir, Moscow, and many others suffered; their inhabitants were carried off as slaves, and their girls and women dishonoured. The churches were sacked, and even the iron roof of the cathedral of Vladimir, quoted as a wonderful piece of workmanship by the chroniclers, was broken. Pereislavl was deserted by its inhabitants, who took refuge in the woods. Tuer alone of the cities of Central Russia escaped. Although its prince was absent at the horde, the boyards and citizens swore on the cross to perish rather than give up their town. They assembled a large army, which was reinforced by fugitives from the other desolated districts, and presently Michael, their young prince, having returned, he was received enthusiastically by the people. The prudent Tartars, who did not wish to spend their blood but to acquire treasure, turned aside when they found the preparations going on, went towards Novgorod, and pillaged the town of Volok. The merchants of Novgorod sent presents to Tudakan, with protestations of devotion to Andrew, whom they received with cordiality.

The succession of the Russian princes resembled very curiously that of the Tartars. When a father distributed appanages to his sons, they became their private domains for life, and when the eldest

* Karamzin, iv. 171.

succeeded to the overlordship of the rest as Grand Prince he retained his minor appanage. Thus Dimitri, when driven away from Vladimir, tried to return to his special appanage of Pereislavl, but his march was arrested at Torjek by his brother, to whom he was obliged to abandon his treasure. He afterwards fled to Tuer. Michael of Tuer and the bishop of that ancient town concurred in urging peace upon the brothers. Dimitri at last consented to abdicate the throne, but he fell ill and died almost immediately. This was in the year 1294.*

During his reign Russia reached almost the lowest point of its degradation. The Tartars harried it to and fro, led by its own princes. In 1293 the Swedes founded the town of Wiborg to overawe the Fins. This fortress was a menace to the Novgorodians, and was meant as a focus whence to spread the Roman Catholic faith in Carelia, whence also to intercept the profits of the trade between the other Hanseatic towns and Novgorod the Great. On another side the Lithuanians, downtrodden but cruel, also inflicted deep wounds on the neighbouring Russian provinces.†

In the year 1294 Toktu, who is here called Toktimur, made a raid into the principality of Tuer and ravaged the land.‡ In the early spring of that year Toktu sent an embassy to Gaikhatu, the Ilkhan of Persia, who was spending the winter at Meragha. The Princes Kalmitai and Pulad were at the head of this embassy. They were well received, and on the 7th of April joined in the ceremony of founding a new city on the river Kur, which was named Kutlugh baligh or the lucky city.§ Gaikhatu died the next year, as did also Khubilai, the great overlord of the Mongol world, to whom Toktu, like the other Western Khans, was to some extent feudally subject. The same year, *i.e.*, in 1295, Andrew, the new Grand Prince of Russia, went with his wife to Toktu's camp to pay his respects, and no doubt also to receive due investiture, and to settle a quarrel between himself and the dependent princes. Alexander Newrui was appointed by the Mongols to go to Vladimir and mediate between the rivals.‖ We are told he listened to both sides with patience, but even his presence could not restrain the passions of the contending princes, who drew their swords. The bishops, Simeon of Vladimir and *Ismael of Serai*, intervened and prevented bloodshed. A hollow peace was made, and the Tartar envoy retired covered with presents, but the princes were soon at strife again.¶ Meanwhile a quarrel between more important persons occurred elsewhere. This was between Toktu and his former patron Nogai. The latter had been several times summoned to the court, but had always evaded the invitation, and at length matters were brought to a crisis, which I have described further on.**

* Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 268. Karamzin, iv, 171-178.
† Karamzin, iv. 178-180.
‡ Karamzin, iv. 190. Golden Horde, 268.
§ Golden Horde, 269. Ilkhans, i. 404.
‖ Karamzin, iv. 192, 193. Golden Horde, 269.
¶ Karamzin, iv. 193.
** *Vide*, sub. voc. Nogai.

Here I need only say that it ended in the complete defeat and death of Nogai and the suppression of his family. On the final defeat of Chaga, Nogai's son, we are told that Toktu gave the appanage of Nogai to his brother Buzluk, and gave Yanji, the son of Kumush, the inheritance of his brother Abaji, while he gave two of his own sons, Irbasa and Beguilbugha, appanages within the old territory of Nogai; the former was settled on a river whose name D'Ohsson does not transliterate, while the latter was planted in the country of Saikji on the Don (? Saksin), and in the neighbourhood of Derbend. Toktu also gave an appanage to his brother Seraibugha.* Shortly after this, namely, in 1301, Turai, the surviving son of Nogai, plotted to recover his father's dominions. He persuaded Seraibugha to rebel against his brother. The latter tried to draw his other brother Buzluk into the plot, but Buzluk informed Toktu, who had the conspirators seized and put to death, and he gave Seraibugha's inheritance to his own son.† In 1307 died Buzluk, Toktu's brother, and also his son Irbasa, who commanded the forces under him.‡ Novairi tells us that in the same year, in 707, *i.e.*, 1307, news arrived in Egypt that Toktu, irritated against the Genoese and "the pagans of the northern countries" by reports which reached him that they were in the habit of capturing Tartar children and selling them to the Mussulmans, sent troops against Kaffa. The Genoese took to their ships, so that not one of them was captured. Toktu, however, seized such of their goods as were deposited at Serai and in its neighbourhood.§

Let us now turn again to the Tartar intercourse with Russia. In the year 1299 Tartar auxiliaries fought beside the Russians in Poland, and were defeated near Lublin.‖ The same year the final death-blow was given to the ancient precedence of Kief, which had been so long a mere shadow by the removal of the metropolitan throne to Vladimir, the seat of the Grand Principality. This was the work of the metropolitan Maximus.¶

We now reach a time when the principality of Moscow begins to come more to the front. It was held as an appanage by Daniel, the younger brother of the Grand Prince Andrew. In 1302 Ivan, the Prince of Pereislavl and Dimitrof died, and left his province, which from its population, the number of its boyards and soldiers, and the strength of its capital, was second in importance only to Rostof among the appanages to Daniel, the Prince of Moscow, who was a brave prince, and had two years before severely defeated the Prince of Riazan, and dared to put a number of Tartars to death. Andrew, Daniel's brother, resented the latter's growing power, and went to the horde to complain of his occupying Pereislavl,** but meanwhile the Prince of Moscow died suddenly. He was the first of the Russian princes to be buried in the

* Novairi in D'Ohsson, iv. 756. † *Id.* ‡ *Id.* § D'Ohsson, iv. 757.
‖ Golden Horde, 274. ¶ *Id.* ** Karamzin, iv. 195, 196.

church of Saint Michael at Moscow, and he prepared that city to become the eventual capital of Russia.* He was succeeded by his son George, who proceeded once more to enlarge the principality by the conquest of Mojaisk, a dependency of Smolensk.† After a stay of twelve months at the horde, Andrew returned in 1303 with the Khan's envoys, called a diet at Pereislavl, and there, in the presence of the metropolitan Maximus, he read out the Khan's message, which announced that his wish was that there should be peace in the Grand Principality, and that the princes should cease their strife with one another.‡ The Grand Prince Andrew died in 1304, and was buried at Gorodetz on the Volga. "None of the princes brought so many calamities on his family as he," says Karamzin, "and his reign of ten years was marked by disasters of various kinds—famine and pestilence, drought and hurricane caused dreadful destruction." While the palace of the princes of Tuer was burnt in 1298, with all its treasures, a similar fate overtook, in the next year, a large part of Novgorod; and these ills in popular prejudice were fitly marked by the appearance of the famous comet of 1301, which exercised the skill of the Chinese astronomers, and was described in verse by Pachymeres.§ The death of Andrew was no less disastrous than his reign. I have already remarked how the Russians had adopted the Eastern laws of succession, by which the eldest male within two degrees succeeded to the throne. That throne was now contested by George, Prince of Moscow, nephew of Andrew, and Michael of Tuer, his uncle, and brother of the two last Grand Princes. The latter, according to the rules just referred to, was the rightful heir, and was so acknowledged by the boyards of the Grand Principality and by the people of Novgorod; but George refused to concur, nor would he listen to the metropolitan Maximus, and the matter was referred to the Tartars. The various towns of Russia were in mutual strife and in open war with one another. The Tartars decided for Michael, who returned from the horde with the patent of Grand Prince, and having been duly enthroned, marched against Moscow, which he besieged twice without success, and finally, apparently contented himself with his own territory.‖ It would seem to have been a common fashion at this time for the Russian princes to marry Tartar wives. Thus we read that in 1304 Michael, the Prince of Nishni Novgorod, who had gone to the horde, doubtless to get his position confirmed, was there married.¶

If we turn elsewhere we read that Toktu, in the year 1302, sent an embassy to the court of Gazan Khan, the greatest of the Ilkhans of Persia. Mirkhond tells us the chief envoy of Kipchak was Issa Gurkhan, and that he was deputed to ask for the surrender of the two provinces of Arran and Azerbaijan, so long an object of contention. Gazan was

* *Id.*, 196. † *Id.*, 197. ‡ *Id.* § *Id.*, 205. ‖ *Id.*, 212. ¶ *Id.*, 212.

irritated at their extravagance, they having required 325 post horses at each station, and he told them that if they went to conquer his kingdom they were too few, while if they were merely bearers of a message that a suite of five persons to each ambassador was enough. As to the two provinces, he told them they had belonged to his house since the reign of Khulagu, and that he meant to keep them.* Wassaf reports the arrival of this embassy at some length. He tells us that in the year 1303 there arrived three aimaks of envoys with 370 couriers from Toktu, by way of Derbend. He dates the great defeat of Nogai in the beginning of the same year, and tells us that Toktu had in consequence of it become so arrogant that he sent to demand the surrender of the provinces of Arran and Azerbaijan, and threatened in case of refusal to put in motion the tribes who encamped from Karakorum to Derbend; and as a further gauge of his meaning, he sent no presents except a bag of millet, as if to say his army was as numerous as the grains in the sack. Toktu's son Temta (? Tuluk), who feared the consequences, had sent Issa Gurkan to accompany the envoys as bearer, unknown to his father, of various presents. Among these, we are told, were Kirghis Sonkors (*i.e.*, jerfalcons), Karluk oxen, Slave ermines, Bulgarian sables, and Kipchak mares.

The Ilkhan spoke defiantly to the envoys, and complained to them of the number of their escort, as I have already mentioned, and in answer to the symbolical message conveyed by the bag of millet, he ordered some hens to be brought in and loosened, which speedily ate up the grain, and he said, " It is well known that the hen, above all things likes peace and order, and objects to fly about like a dove, while the wolf destroys the greater part of the herd from mere wantonness."†

On the feast of the Mongol New Year, 1303, which fell on the 17th of January, Gazan Khan gave a grand reception, which was attended by a large concourse of notables, including the envoys from the Kipchak.‡ The latter were presented with costly robes and other gifts. The twenty-one jerfalcons they had taken with them were sent to his hunting establishment. Each of the envoys was presented with pearls to the value of 1,000 ducats. They were also commissioned to carry a letter and rich presents for their master.§

While Toktu thus carried on intercourse with the Ilkhan of Persia, we find him forming a closer tie with the Byzantine empire, the masters of which had latterly adopted the policy of securing the alliance of their northern neighbours by marriages with their natural daughters. As Michael had married Irene to Nogai, so we now find Andronicus surrendering his daughter Maria to the harem of the Kipchak Khan. Her hand had been offered to him during the struggle with Nogai, but he postponed the alliance until he had subdued that refractory relative. On

* D'Ohsson, iv. 319, 320. Note. † Wassaf, Ilkhans, ii. 350. ‡ *Id.*, 351. § *Id.*, 119.

the termination of the war the match was completed, and Toktu seems to have paid the price in supplying his father-in-law with a contingent of troops.*

By these marriages, which had now become frequent, the Emperors endeavoured to secure the alliance of the Tartars against their troublesome neighbours, the Turkomans of Asia Minor, nor was it felt to be degrading in the artificial atmosphere of Byzantium for the Christian Emperor to send his *bastard* daughter to the harems of the barbarous but powerful Mongols. With the pride that the family of Jingis generally displayed, it is hard to see how they were satisfied with "these children without a name," and that they did not aspire to princesses of more legitimate blood.

In the year 1307 Toktu lost his son Irbasa, who commanded his armies and also his brother Buzluk.†

Let us now turn once more to the intercourse of the Tartars with the Russian princes. I have mentioned how Daniel, the Prince of Moscow, had defeated Constantine, the Prince of Riazan. It seems that he had also imprisoned him, and probably intended to appropriate his appanage. George, Daniel's son, deemed that this prize might best be secured by putting his prisoner, who had been in durance for six years, to death, which he accordingly carried out.‡ This was in 1308. Yaroslaf, the son of Constantine, appealed to the Tartars, who accordingly put him on the throne. George, however, retained possession of the town of Kostroma.§ In the following year, Vasili, Prince of Briansk, went to the horde to complain of his uncle Sviatoslaf Glebovitch. The Tartars supplied him with a contingent of troops, with which he defeated the latter. He afterwards, with the same allies, defeated the prince of Karachef.‖

Toktu died in the year 712 of the Hejira, *i.e.*, in 1313.¶ According to Khuandemir, he was drowned in a boat in the middle of the Volga.** Abulghazi says he was buried at Seraichuk.†† After the defeat of Nogai and his family he became absolute ruler of the Kipchak, and one of its most powerful sovereigns. He was a pervert from Islam, and reverted to the old faith of Jingis Khan, and with it adopted that old chief's tolerance. He patronised the Christians. In the last year of Toktu's reign the metropolitan Peter dethroned Ismael, the bishop of Serai, and nominated Warsonof in his place.‡‡

The extent of Toktu's dominion and power is best shown by the number of his mints. Coins of his are extant struck at Serai, New Serai, Bolghari, Ukek, Khuarezm, Krim, Jullad, and Majar, and they range from the year 691, *i.e.*, 1291, to 711, *i.e.*, 1312. The legends on these coins are very various.

* Golden Horde, 276, &c. † Novairi in D'Ohsson, iv. 757, 758. ‡ Karamzin, iv. 213.
§ *Id.* ‖ Golden Horde, 279. ¶ Novairi, D'Ohsson, iv. 758. Golden Horde, 279.
** Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii., 115. †† Op. cit., 183. ‡‡ Golden Horde, 279.

Thus he is styled Toktogu, Ghaiyas el Toktogu the Just and Toktubeg. Fræhn has made a second Khan out of this last name, but, as I think, without warrant. He publishes coins struck by him at Serai, the capital of the Golden Horde and the seat of Toktu's court,* and others struck at Khuarezm, at the other end of the empire,† while they range in dates from 693, *i.e.*, 1293-4, to 707, *i.e.*, 1307-8. This makes it pretty certain that Toktubeg is a mere synonym of the Khan Toktu, whose history we have just been relating.

UZBEG KHAN.

According to Binaketi, Toktu left three sons behind him, Tukel aka, Ilkasar, and Pirus, but none of them succeeded to the throne, nor were they in fact heirs to it, since Toktu had an elder brother, Toghrul, who left issue. The person who now succeeded was Uzbeg, the son of Toghrul. Toghrul had sided with Tulabugha in the struggle between him and Toktu,‡ and had in consequence been put to death by the latter. In order to secure the throne for his own children, he had sent Toghrul's young son Uzbeg to live in the dangerous country of the Circassians, and thereupon married his widow. On his death-bed, having repented of what he had done, he confessed to his wife, the boy's mother, where the boy was living, and sent two Begs to bring him home, but before their return Toktu was already dead.

Toktu's son Tukel did not appreciate his father's generosity, and determined to seize the throne and to put Uzbeg to death. The latter was however warned in time, and the two Begs, who had safely convoyed Uzbeg, fell upon Tukel in the palace at Serai and put him to death. This is one story reported by Von Hammer.§ Another is told by a continuator of Rashid, who assigns the controversy to the resentment of certain generals of Toktu, who disapproved of the proselytising tendencies of Uzbeg, and who consequently determined to support the son of Toktu. "Content yourself with our obedience, what matters our religion to you. Why should we abandon the faith of Jingis Khan for that of the Arabs," had been their language to him. They now determined to assassinate him at a feast. He was warned of the plot by one Kutlugh Timur, and escaped in time. He hastily mounted his horse and fled to his troops, with whom he returned and put to death Tukel, who is called Tuklughbeg, and 120 of his principal supporters, and rewarded Kutlugh Timur by giving him the chief post in the government, namely, the charge of the great province of Khuarezm or Khiva.‖

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* Rèsc., &c., 203. † *Id.* Opusc., Post., 296. ‡ Novairi, D'Ohsson, 752. Golden Horde, 283.
§ Golden Horde, 282. ‖ D'Ohsson, iv. 573.

In 1315 Baba, a prince of the Golden Horde, who is probably to be identified with one of the rebel generals, passed with his ulus or tribe into Persia, and entered the service of Uljaitu, the Ilkhan of Persia. He then made an invasion of Khuarezm. Kutlugh Timur, its governor, marched against him with 15,000 troops, but most of his men deserted, and he had to retreat. Baba proceeded to ravage the province in all directions. He sacked several towns, and retired with 50,000 captives and loaded with booty. The hordes of Juchi and Jagatai were generally on very good terms. At this time Yassavur, a prince of the house of Jagatai, was encamped at Khojend with 20,000 men, and marched to the rescue so quickly that he compassed a month's journey in eight days. He attacked Baba on his return, defeated him, and compelled him to abandon his prisoners. Uzbeg was greatly irritated at this invasion, and the irritation was increased by the counsel of Issenbugha, the Khan of Jagatai, who doubtless wished to see the two hordes north and south of the Caucasus at war. Uzbeg sent Akbugha, of the race of the Kiyats (*i.e.*, the Mongol royal race), to Tebriz as his envoy, to demand satisfaction. He arrived at Tebriz on September, 1315, and the Emir Houssein Gurkan, the commander-in-chief on the frontiers of Arran, gave him a grand feast there. His host, however, presented him with the cup without rising. The envoy upon this said sharply, "That he could not accept the cup from a slave who was seated, and who had forgotten the ancient etiquette of the Mongols, by which a gurkan (*i.e.*, one who had married into the Imperial family) ought to stand in the presence of a prince of the blood." Houssein replied that he was there to execute a mission, and not to regulate etiquette.* At the audience with Uljaitu at Sultania Akbugha said to him, "If the Prince Baba has acted on his own accord, let him be delivered up to us. If he did it by your orders, we counsel you not to winter in Arran, for we shall enter that province with an army as numerous as the sand of the desert." Uljaitu disowned the act altogether, and had Baba put to death in the presence of the ambassador, whom he sent home shortly after with a friendly message.

The previous year Uzbeg had sent envoys to Egypt with magnificent presents and a letter, in which he congratulated the Khalif Nassir on the spread of Islamism to the borders of China. In it he said that in his empire there were now only Muhammedans. That on his elevation to the throne he had left the northern tribes the option of war or conversion, that those who had been obdurate had been beaten and reduced to obedience. Nassir sent envoys back with this embassy on its return, bearing rich presents with them.† Uzbeg's messengers had been accompanied by a representative of the Byzantine Emperor. The Egyptians returned home in the end of 1315, and the next year Nassir sent other envoys, demanding in marriage a princess of the house of Jingis, with

* D'Ohsson, *id.* Golden Horde, 284.

† Novairi in D'Ohsson, iv. 575.

suitable presents. These envoys having delivered their letters, asked for a private interview, but were told by Uzbeg, through the interpreter, that if they had anything else to communicate than a simple compliment they must do it through the Emirs (surely a very constitutional monarch). The proposition was thereupon renewed in the assembly of the military chiefs, who were met together to the number of seventy. They feigned to be much shocked at the demand. Such a thing had never happened since the days of Jingis Khan. Why should a daughter of Jingis be sent across the seven seas to Egypt? The first day they rejected the demand, but the next, having received the presents Nassir had sent them, they were more yielding, and ended by giving their consent, but the marriage was to be postponed for four years; the first year to be spent in negotiations, the second for the formal demand, the third for the mutual presents, and the fourth for the marriage. One hundred tumans (*i.e.*, 1,000,000 gold pieces or dinars), besides a great number of horses, suits of armour, &c., were fixed as the price of the young lady, and a large *cortège* of Emirs with their wives was to be sent to escort her. Impossible conditions were in fact annexed. The Tartars perhaps deemed it a good opportunity for a large extortion. Nassir on hearing of the conditions simply dropped the subject. Other embassies passed between the two, but it was not named. At length Uzbeg reopened the question on the return of one of Nassir's envoys, named Seif ud din, who had taken him a present of a royal robe decorated with gold and jewels. He told him he had assigned to Nassir a princess of the house of Jingis and sprung from Bereke, the former Khan of the Golden Horde. Seif ud din said that it was no part of his commission to undertake the responsible duty of a matchmaker, and that if he waited his master would send suitable presents. Uzbeg, who was a man of business, would not hear of delay, and said the lady should return with him, and asked for the usual marriage gift. The envoy said he had brought nothing with him. Uzbeg, with the usual Mongol skill in monetary matters, bade his merchants advance Seif ud din 20,000 dinars. They also advanced him a further sum of 7,000 dinars, which he spent in feasting. He then set out with his charge, with many ladies, and with the chief Kadhi of Serai.

They embarked on the 17th of October, 1319, and landed at Alexandria in the month of April following. When she left the ship, the Khatun entered a tent of golden tissue, placed on a carriage which was dragged to the palace by the Mamluks. The Sultan sent chamberlains and eighteen boats to meet her. On her arrival at Cairo, she was received in State by the Emir Seif ud din Argun, the Sultan's lieutenant, at the head of the chief Mamluks, and borne on their shoulders in a palanquin to the pavilion called Meidan us Sultaniyu. There had been erected a silken tent, in which she was feasted. Three days after, Nassir gave audience

to the envoys of Uzbeg and those of Byzantium and Georgia who had accompanied them. The princess, taken from the Meidan to the "Castle of the Mountain" in an araba drawn by a mule, was at length conducted to her apartments in the palace, which had been decorated in a fashion hitherto unknown among the Mussulmans. Eight days after, the marriage contract was drawn up, by which the Sultan paid over 30,000 mitscals, from which were deducted the 20,000 dinars already advanced. The envoys and the attendants on the princess were sent home with rich presents for themselves and the Khan. This account, which is taken from Novairi, gives a good view of the mercenary tactics of the Tartars in their marriage transactions, and of the luxury of the court of Egypt at that date.*

Let us now turn our attention to Russia. We have described how Michael became Grand Prince, and how he struggled with and at length compelled George, the Prince of Moscow, to keep the peace with him. He lived chiefly at Tuer, and ruled both the Grand Principality and also the appanage of Novgorod by his lieutenants. The democratic citizens of the latter district having made a successful and sanguinary expedition against Finland, began to quarrel with Michael on the ground that he had not kept the terms of the treaty with them. He accordingly seized Torjek, and brought them to submission by cutting off their supplies of corn. Peace was ratified through the intervention of David, archbishop of Tuer. This was in 1312. It was apparently in the following year that Michael was summoned to the horde, and arrived there to find Toktu dead and his successor on the throne. There he had to stay for two years, doubtless against his will, and as the Carelians and Swedes used the opportunity for attacking Novgorod, it naturally caused great discontent there. George, the Prince of Moscow, deeming the troubled waters good to fish in, sent his relative Feodor of Kief to seize Michael's partisans at Novgorod, and he was soon master of that republic. He too was now summoned to the horde to answer the charges of Michael, and left his brother Athanasius in charge of Novgorod. This was in 1315.†

Michael had already set out to recover his own, and was assisted by a Tartar contingent, commanded by Taitimur, Omar Khoja, and Indrui. He marched upon Novgorod with these allies and the troops of Vladimir and Tuer. The troops of Novgorod met him at Torjek, and a fierce fight took place in the early spring of 1316. Michael won the battle, and compelled his opponents to pay a large tribute, and to surrender Athanasius and some of the boyards as hostages.

While Michael was thus asserting his authority, his rival George of Moscow was circumventing him by more peaceful methods. He so ingratiated himself into the favour of the young Khan Uzbeg that he

* D'Ohsson, iv. 652-657. Golden Horde, 284-286. † Karamzin, iv. 217. Golden Horde, 286.

appointed him chief of the Russian princes, and gave him his sister Konchak in marriage. She was baptised and received the name of Agatha, which fact, as Karamzin says, seems very inconsistent with Uzbeg's usual zeal for the Muhammedans. Having been three years at the Tartar court, George returned with an army of Tartars and Mordvins, the former led by Kawgadui, Astrabit, and Ostref (? Chosref). Michael sent envoys to him to say that if it was the Khan's wish he would surrender the Grand Principality to him, but he asked to be allowed to retain his hereditary appanage (Tuer). The ruthless George answered this temperate message by ravaging the villages of Tuer as far as the Volga. Michael then summoned his boyards and told them his story. They gladly undertook to support him, and having assembled his forces he fought a battle against his nephew at Bortnovo, not far from Tuer. This was in December, 1318. He was completely victorious, and freed an immense number of captives whom the Tartars were carrying off. He also captured George's wife, his brother Boris, and Kawgadui, Uzbeg's deputy. The latter he treated with great civility, made him some handsome presents, and sent him back to the Khan. George fled to Novgorod, where he raised an army and marched towards the Volga. Michael, who seems to have been a very humane person, suggested that their quarrel should be remitted to the Khan for decision, and meanwhile he consented that George should be treated as Grand Prince. At this juncture Agatha, the latter's wife, unfortunately died at Tuer, and it was suggested that Michael had poisoned her. George repaired with a large body of boyards and notables to the horde, while Michael intrusted his case to his son Constantine, a boy of twelve years of age, and no match for his crafty opponent.*

George intrigued successfully, and also distributed gold freely among the leading Tartars. He was supported too by Kawgadui, and it was determined to summon Michael to the horde in person. A Tartar named Akhmil was sent to bring him.

The Grand Prince, who had a presage that this journey would be his last, made a disposition of the appanages among his sons, and set out against the advice of the boyards. He met Uzbeg on the shores of the sea of Azof, and near the mouth of the Don. He distributed presents among the chief Tartars, and for six weeks lived in peace among them, when suddenly Uzbeg ordered the grandees to judge of the matters in dispute between the uncle and nephew, and to decide impartially which of them deserved punishment. The trial took place in a tent adjoining the Khan's, and there Michael was accused by several baskaks, *i.e.*, Tartar commissioners, of not having paid the whole tribute fixed by the Khan. These he answered successfully; but Kawgadui, his principal accuser, was also one of his judges. At the second sitting of the court he was

* Karamzin, iv. 221-226. Golden Horde, 257.

led in with a cord about his neck, and charged with having taken up arms against the Khan's ambassador, and with having poisoned the Khan's sister. "One cannot distinguish envoys in a battle," said the Grand Prince, "but I saved the life of Kawgadui and sent him back covered with honours. As to the other charge, I call God to witness, as a Christian, that I never committed such a horrible crime." But the judges were obdurate. The Chinese prisoner's yoke, called the cangue, was fastened round his neck, and his rich garments were divided among the guards. At this time Uzbeg set out on a hunting expedition with his army and a troop of tributary princes and ambassadors. These were occasions of great festivity, when each soldier donned his richest uniform and mounted his best horse: in which merchants from India, Byzantium, and Cathay offered their treasures in the vast camp. Michael went with the rest, for Uzbeg had not yet pronounced judgment. He spent his time in religious exercises, and as his hands were bound, a page turned over the leaves while he sang the psalms. Meanwhile Kawgadui made him undergo the indignity of a public exposure in the market place. He refused to escape, pleading that he would not make his country the victim of his imprudence. The horde had already crossed the Terek, and was encamped near Derbend, and near the Ossetian town of Tetiakof, which Mangu Timur, in alliance with the Russian princes, had captured in 1277. Uzbeg, who was young and disposed to be just, long delayed his sentence; but at length, induced by the representations of Kawgadui, he ordered the execution.

The fatal day arrived, and having blessed his son Constantine and repeated the religious services, a crowd of people came in sight, and with them his nephew George and Kawgadui. They ordered the executioners to enter the tent and finish their work. The attendants were driven out; he was then seized by the cangue, thrown down and trampled under by the Tartars; and lastly, a Greek or Russian named Romanetz thrust a knife into his side and dragged his heart out. This happened on the 22nd of November, 1319, and the place of martyrdom was beyond the river, which bears the fitting name of Ajissu or Bitter Waters. Like his relatives Boris, Gleb, and Michael of Chernigof he was made a saint. His tent was plundered by the Tartars, as was customary. George and Kawgadui then rode up to it and looked in at the naked corpse, where the Christian was reproached by the Muhammedan in the words, "He is your uncle, will you permit his corpse to be outraged?" One of George's attendants then threw his mantle over the remains. These were conveyed to the town of Majar on the Kuma, and thence to Moscow, and were buried in the monastery of Saint Saviour in the Kremlin.* Thus perished another of the Grand Princes, the victim rather of his own ruthless relatives than of Tartar brutality, and thus

* Karamzin, iv. 226-234. Golden Horde, 290, 291.

did the Prince of Moscow sustain the character which, two centuries later, gave his descendants a wide notoriety for unscrupulous vigour. The reign of Michael was marked by two or three minor incidents in which the hands of the Tartars had a part. Thus we are told that in 1316 Constantine, Prince of Rostof, having died at the horde, his son Vasili returned to his capital with two Tartars named Sawlich and Kasanji, whose extortions were long remembered. Such officials bore the harmless title of ambassadors. In 1318 Kochka, who filled such a post, had 120 men put to death at Kostroma, pillaged Rostof, with the church of Our Lady there, and the monasteries and villages in the neighbourhood, and carried off a number of the inhabitants.*

The church fared well at the hands of the Tartar Khan. The metropolitan Maximus had died in 1305. His position was seized by an abbot named Gérontius, but, at the instance of the Prince of Gallicia, the patriarch Athanasius deposed him, and in 1308 consecrated Peter, Abbot of Volhynia, metropolitan of Russia. It was he who deposed Ismael the Bishop of Serai, as I have mentioned. In 1313 he accompanied Michael to the horde, and obtained a diploma from Uzbeg granting special favours to the clergy, which was thus phrased :—

"By the will and power the grandeur and grace of the most high and immortal God. Uzbeg to all our princes, great and small; to our voivodes, grandees, appanaged princes, superior and inferior officers; to our learned men and doctors of law, our men of letters, baskaks, and ambassadors, our couriers and receivers of tribute, our scribes, our envoys *en route*, our huntsmen, falconers, and all people of high, mediate, and low degree; our grandees in all our provinces and uluses, wherever by the power of the eternal God our rule is established and our word is law.

"It is forbidden to injure in Russia the metropolitan church, of which Peter is the head, or his subordinates; to seize their property, wealth, or people. He is empowered to judge his own people in all cases of theft and plunder, according to right and justice, and he alone or his deputy is to be arbiter. All his subordinates in the church are to obey him according to the ancient laws, and according to our former orders and those of the Khans our predecessors. No one is to meddle with the affairs of the church, since they are divine. He who disobeys us in this will commit sin against God, and he will suffer from his anger and from our punishment. . . . We promise for ourselves, our children, and the governors of our provinces, not to meddle with the church's affairs; and we forbid anyone to interfere in its towns, districts, villages, chases, and fisheries, beehives, lands, fields, forests, towns, or places under its bailifs; its vineyards, mills, winter quarters for cattle, or any of its properties and goods. . . . That the mind of the metropolitan may

* Karamzin, iv. 236 and 390.

be always at peace, so that with an upright mind he may pray to God for us, our children, and our nation. Such is our wish according to the policy of the Khans our fathers. . . . Our baskaks, customs officers, receivers of tribute, scribes, &c., will take care that all the Basilicas of the metropolitan are unharmed, and that no one does them injury. That the archimandrites, abbots, priests, and other ecclesiastics are also respected. When imposts such as those from customs, the plough-tax, and that for transit or requisitions of farm produce, and for the post service are made, or in cases of general levies of our subjects in time of war, nothing shall be demanded from the cathedral churches, from the metropolitan Peter, or any of his clergy, for they pray to God for us and protect our army. Who is ignorant that at all times the Eternal gives means of sustaining life or providing for war? . . . We desire that nothing shall be demanded for the support of our envoys, ourselves, or our horses. . . . If anything be demanded from the clergy it shall be returned threefold, and those who use violence against it shall be duly punished. It is forbidden to employ the servants of the church, such as painters, masons, carpenters, huntsmen, falconers, &c., for our purposes. . . . Anyone who condemns or blames this religion shall not be allowed to excuse himself, but shall suffer death. The brothers and sons of priests and deacons, living at the same table with them, shall enjoy the same privileges. Any priest not immediately subject to the metropolitan shall not be deprived of his office, but shall pay tribute. The priests, deacons, &c., who enjoy the immunities we grant them shall pray for us unceasingly with a pure heart. Evil to him who neglects to do so. All authority in the church is given to the metropolitan, so that he may exact rigid conformity. . . . It is thus we have decreed the present ordinance, which we shall see duly carried out.

"Given at our camp the year of the hare, the 1st month of autumn, the 4th of the ancient days."*

This document points several morals. It shows, in the first place, how terribly down-trodden at this period the Russians must have been. How every act and movement of life was under surveillance and subject to taxation, and how the hungry tax-collectors, many of whom, according to Karamzin, were Jews from the Crimea and the Kuban, sucked like an army of leeches the very life-blood of the nation.

It shows, on the other hand, to some extent how the church acquired its paramount influence in Russian life. It was the only institution in the country free from taxes and claims. Its property was essentially a sanctuary, and its dependents privileged people, while such diplomas as that given by Uzbeg, by concentrating and centralising the whole authority in the metropolitan and making him absolute, created that discipline in religious matters which can best be compared

* Karamzin, iv. 390-395

with the condition induced in the Roman Catholic church by the policy of the Vatican in our day.

Uzbeg's tolerance was very Catholic, and not confined merely to the Greek Christians, for we read that a year before the metropolitan Peter appeared at the horde, the Pope John XXII. had written Uzbeg a letter, in which he thanked him for the kindness he had shown the Christians.*

Let us now turn to the Tartar doings elsewhere. The expedition of Uzbeg and his army towards Derbend, which the Russian chroniclers describe as a grand hunt, was that and something more; it was a demonstration against Abusaid the Ilkhan of Persia. The Egyptians, doubtless in concert with him, made an attack at the same time upon Diarbekr. It was decided at a council of war that the emir Irenchin should defend the latter province while the Ilkhan in person marched against Uzbeg,† The emir Taremtaz was sent on as an advance guard to the frontier. Meanwhile Serai Kutlugh, brother of Kutlugh Timur, on behalf of Uzbeg, ravaged the country far and wide.

Taremtaz was not strong enough to resist Uzbeg's powerful army, in which, we are told, each warrior had three horses, and he retired to Abusaid's ordu.‡ Uzbeg, who was a zealous Mussulman, visited the tomb of the emir Pir Houssein Perwana, and was told at the mosque there that the guardians of the tomb had been robbed by Serai Kutlugh's troops of 30,000 sheep and 20,000 cattle and asses, and that two Tartars had entered in at the windows and stolen the sacred carpets. He ordered the robbers of the carpets to be put to death, and issued a sharp Yarligh, *i.e.*, mandate, to the emirs Kutlugh Timur and Issa to halt the troops, and to inform them that the stolen herds must be restored. He also presented the guardians of the tomb with several bars of gold, polished on both sides, called sum, each worth twenty gold pieces. He also gave them some sable and ermine skins. "On the following morning," says the gloriously inflated Wassaf, "when on the green sea the golden ship unreefed its morning sails," that is, he explains, "when the sun had thrown its dazzling banners of light over the edge of the tower of the blue enamelled castle, the hoarse trumpets were sounded, and the march was continued towards the river Kur."

It would seem that Uzbeg was induced to invade Persia by a report that Choban, the Ilkhan's general-in-chief, who was now in Khorassan, meant to rise against his master, for we are told when he reached the Kur he inquired from the guardians of the tomb how it was that Choban did not appear, and where he was. Choban was in the neighbourhood of Bailakan. The emir Issa Kutlugh, who had marched into Arran, had lost nearly all his mules and horses with the plague, and such distress reigned in the Sultan's own camp through the mortality among the cattle

* Golden Horde, 290. † D'Ohsson, iv. 613. ‡ Ilkhans, ii. 272.

and the dearness of everything, that a load of straw, only worth ten dirhems, was sold for forty-five ducats. Messengers were sent to summon the various armies. As soon as Choban heard of his master's peril he set out post haste for Derbend. Uzbeg was told of his approach, and that he was marching with ten tumans, *i.e.*, 100,000 men, from Karjagha directly upon Derbend, and thus threatening him in rear. He gave orders to retire. The army retreated hastily, but lost several prisoners to Choban, who pursued it rapidly. This campaign took place apparently in the winter of 1318-1319.*

In this year we unfortunately loose the assistance of three of the best Eastern historians, namely, Rashid ud din, Binaketi, and Wassaf, and become largely dependent on the Russian annalists.†

Michael had intrusted his young son Constantine to the generosity of Uzbeg's wife, who protected him and also such of the boyards as put themselves under her ægis. On his return home George took his young cousin with him. When the sad news of the martyrdom of Michael reached Tuer, its people put his eldest son Dimitri on his father's throne, and set out dressed in mourning to ask for the surrender of their late master's ashes. George agreed that the corpse should be exhanged for that of his Tartar wife Konchak, the sister of Uzbeg, and a mournful cavalcade set off down the Volga to escort it home. About this time, *i.e.*, in 1320, we read of a Tartar commissary named Baidar being at Vladimir and committing great excesses there. We are also told that the prince John Danilovitch made a journey to the horde, while another prince named George Alexandrovitch died there.‡ Dimitri, the son of Michael, seems to have now repaired to the horde, and there secured the punishment of Kawgadui, the instigator of his father's murder. The next year, *i.e.*, in 1321, a Tartar deputy named Tayanchar went to Kashin with a Jew to collect the arrears of taxes. He committed considerable depredations.§

Meanwhile George, the Grand Prince, was prosecuting his plans in Russia. He compelled the Prince of Riazan to submit to him, and extracted from his cousin Dimitri of Tuer a treaty by which he agreed to pay him a tribute of 2,000 roubles and to resign all pretensions to the Grand Principality. This is the first occasion, according to Karamzin, when roubles are mentioned. They were not coins, but pieces of silver four inches long and of the thickness of one's finger, weighing 2⅜ Russian ounces. A number of these old roubles are preserved, and may be seen in the splendid room devoted to Russian coins at the Hermitage at St. Petersburgh. George now went to Novgorod and prosecuted a war against the Swedes. On his return he found the Tartar Akhmil had been once more in the Grand Principality, making sad ravage there, had devastated

* Ilkhans, ii. 271-27 , 372-380. Golden Horde, 290.
† Golden Horde, 291.
‡ Golden Horde, 292.
§ *Id.*

the town of Yaroslavl, under the plea of restoring order, and had returned in triumph to his master. He also heard that his cousin had solicited at the horde the Grand Principality for himself, and that the Tartar Sewinj Bugha had arrived at Tuer with the Yarligh or patent of investiture. George wished the people of Novgorod to supply him with some troops, but the prudent merchants there declined. He then repaired to Pskof, where he was amicably received, but where he found the people unable to assist him, as they were engaged in war with the Esthonian Knights, who were at this time, says Karamzin, commanded by David, Prince of Lithuania, known in the history of the Teutonic order as the "Castelan of Garden." Returning once more to Novgorod, George made a favourable peace with the Swedes, the Lithuanians, and the Ustiughes, and having thus won the regard of the Novgorod people, he deemed it prudent to repair to the horde to try and regain his former influence there. He travelled by way of Permia, and descended the Kama to the Volga.

Meanwhile let us turn to the doings at the horde. In 1323 Uzbeg lost his wife Beilun, and in the same year the Pope John XXII. sent him a brief asking him to send back the Christians who had been driven away from Soldaia in the Crimea by the Muhammedans. In the same year an army of Tartars made an invasion of Lithuania.* They also kept up an intermittent intercourse with the Eastern empire. Thus we read that in order to conciliate them the Emperors supplied their chiefs with beautiful girls for wives. The chronicler Cantacuzenus qualifies the statement by the questionable argument that they were maidens of plebeian origin.† This did not entirely pacify the Tartars, for we read that in 1319 a number of them made an incursion as far as Adrianople. The next year they made a similar raid into Thrace. In 1324 an invasion took place on a much larger scale. We are told that they were 120,000 in number, and were led by their chiefs Taitach (? Kaitak) and Toghlu Toghan. They ravaged Thrace for forty days, and captured a great booty and many captives. The Emperor's nephew took measures against them. Having put Adrianople in a state of defence, he planted his army near the Hebrus, and there fought a bloody battle with a section of their forces, which was badly beaten, many of them being drowned in the Hebrus. Having spoiled the corpses and carried off other plunder, the Romans returned to Didymotichum. This was, it would seem, but a contingent. When the news of the disaster reached the main army they sent a division to punish the victors and to inter the dead. Having buried the corpses, this division returned, not to the main army, but to their own homes. Meanwhile the Emperor, having collected a considerable force, marched with them against the main army. The Greeks and Tartars were separated by the river Tuntza. Each party

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* Golden Horde, 292, 293.

† Stritter, iii. 1104.

was afraid to attack the other, but we are told that the Emperor with a few of his followers held a colloquy with Tasbugas,* one of the Tartar chiefs. The Tartar began by asking who they were. The Emperor replied by an interpreter who spoke Greek and Mongol, that they were people like themselves, on the look out for what they could get. That they, the Tartars, behaved neither justly nor in a manly fashion, but were only robbers, who approaching by stealth adopted a hostile method, and imposed servitude on mere peasants unused to war. It would be more manly if they were to announce their coming and to fight with soldiers trained to war, then if they vanquished, they might fairly carry off the others as the reward of their victory. Tasbugas replied that all this was nothing to them, who were under another ruler, and who according to orders, were willing to advance or retire, or to stay where they were. He also inquired if it were true that some of his people had recently been defeated by the Romans. The Emperor answered that if such a thing had occurred it was not his soldiers who had beaten them, and that he had not heard of it, but it might be that they had suffered elsewhere in making an incursion, a disaster which might perhaps have been repeated again there, if the river had not divided them. Tasbugas assented, and ended by affirming that those were very cruel who transfixed innocent people with darts. Having spoken thus he retired, unaware that he had been having a colloquy with the Emperor himself. After this the Tartars withdrew and returned to their own homes again. This was in 1324.† They seem at this time to have made frequent visits to Thrace, and to have taken part there in the rebellions and struggles of a very unsettled period.

I have mentioned how George, the Prince of Moscow, repaired to the horde to try and regain his former influence. He was speedily followed by his nephew, the Grand Prince Dimitri of Tuer, who having met his father's murderer plunged a sword into him, and thus revenged himself. This was on the 21st of November, 1325. His body was removed to Moscow and buried in the church of the Archangel Michael. Dimitri by this act of violence had courted the vengeance of the Tartars. It was, however, delayed for ten months, and his brother Alexander was allowed to return to Tuer with the Tartar commissaries. He was, however, at length executed, together with the Prince of Novossilk, a descendant of Michael of Chernigof, who was also accused of a capital crime. They were put to death on the river Landraklei. Dimitri's brother Alexander was nominated Grand Prince in his place. He also held his court at Tuer. Ivan Danilovitch now became Prince of Moscow, and repaired for investiture to the horde. With him went Constantine

* Probably the Tashbeg, son of Choban, mentioned by Mirkhond as being sent against the Circassians. (Golden Horde, 293. Note, 4.)

† Stritter, iii. 1107, 1103.

Michaelovitch of Tuer, and an envoy of the people of Novgorod named Kolesnich.

In the summer of 1327 there appeared at Tuer a cousin of Uzbeg's named Cholkan (he is called Shevkal by Karamzin). His father Tudakan had led an army into Russia four and thirty years before. He was accompanied by bands of Tartars. A rumour spread that his object was to make an end of Alexander, the Grand Prince, and to occupy his throne, to divide the various Russian towns among his grandees, and to convert the Russians to Muhammedanism. The feast of the Assumption, when a large gathering of Christians took place at Tuer, it was said, was fixed for the slaughter. The rumour was doubtless false, for Cholkan had only a few of his people with him, and such an act was entirely ontrary to Uzbeg's ecclesiastical policy; but these rumours, as Karamzin says, soon arise and spread very fast among ignorant and downtrodden people. The young prince himself was infected with the panic. Having killed Michael and Dimitri, he was persuaded the Tartars were about to exterminate his race.

The citizens were easily persuaded, they rushed to Michael's palace, where the Tartar prince was lodging. Meanwhile the Tartars were aroused, and planted themselves in the garth. They fought desperately, but were overwhelmed by numbers; some took refuge in the palace, which was fired by Alexander, and Cholkan and his people all perished. Even the Tartar merchants were put to death. This act of madness, which is fitly called the vespers of Tuer by Von Hammer, soon brought a terrible vengeance. Uzbeg summoned Ivan, Prince of Moscow, and conferred on him the Grand Principality of Russia. He also gave him an army of 50,000 men, commanded by five temniks, of whom four were called Theodor, Chuk, Turalik, and Singa.* With him also marched Alexander Vasilivitch of Suzdal and his people. It was a strange and crafty policy thus to exact vengeance from the Russian ruler at the hands of another Russian prince.

At the approach of the terrible army Alexander fled to Pskof, and his brothers Constantine and Vasili to Ladoga. It was winter, and the ground was thickly covered with snow. The capital Tuer, the towns of Kashin and Torjek, with the neighbouring villages were devastated, and the inhabitants put to death or carried off into slavery, while the people of Novgorod appeased the Tartars by a fine of 2,000 roubles, &c.† This victory was very welcome at Serai, where about this time Ivan Yaroslavich, Prince of Riazan, was put to death, and his son Ivan Karotopol mounted a throne "still stained with his father's blood."

The accession of Ivan (surnamed Kalita or "the Purse," from the alms' bag he carried round his neck), to the throne of the Grand Principality was a famous epoch in Russian history. Moscow

* Golden Horde, 294. Karamzin, iv. 254.

† Golden Horde, 295. Karamzin, iv. 256

then became the capital of Russia, and it was from this period that the parties to the great struggle which led eventually to the expulsion of the Tartars from Russia ranged themselves fairly on either side. At this epoch also the Russians of the North began to get very isolated and separate from the Russians of the South and West, *i.e.*, from the people of Kief, Volhynia, and Gallicia. These latter districts became the prey of the Lithuanians, who, having suffered terribly at the hands of the Russians and the Livonian Knights for many years, now began that career of conquest which made them a terrible menace to Muscovy for a long period. I have mentioned how, about 1275, Lithuania was ruled by a prince called Troiden. He seems to have been succeeded by Lutewer, who was reigning in 1291, and he in turn by his son Viten.* Viten was assassinated by his master-of-the-horse Gedimin, who usurped the throne and who founded a famous dynasty, he is described as brave and ambitious. Having reunited the ancient principality of Pinsk to Lithuania, he married his sons Olgerd and Lubart to the daughters of the Princes of Vitebsk and Lodomiria. They succeeded to the heritage of their fathers-in-law, and thus enlarged the territory subject to Gedimin.

Meanwhile George Danilovitch, Prince of Volhynia and Gallicia, having died in 1316, was succeeded by his sons Andrew and Leo, who determined to attack their neighbour the ambitious King of Lithuania. They took advantage of a struggle he was engaged in with the Teutonic Knights to invade his borders, but having successfully finished his German war, he marched against them, and fought a savage battle under the walls of Vladimir. With him were Russian soldiers from Polotsk, while the enemy was supported by a contingent of Tartars. Gedimin won a complete victory, and having captured Vladimir, marched upon Lutsk, the capital of Leo. He won his way as much by his clemency as his sword. Having passed the winter at Brest, he advanced in spring upon Ovrutch and Gitomir, dependencies of Kief, and then to the Dnieper. Stanislas, Prince of Kief, in alliance with the Princes Oleg of Pereislavl, Leo of Lutsk, Roman of Briansk, and a body of Tartars, met him on the river Irpen. They were however defeated, Oleg and Leo were killed, Stanislas and Roman fled to Riazan, and Gedimin, having distributed the captured booty, laid siege to Kief, which was at length obliged to open its gates. The clergy and inhabitants having sworn allegiance to the Lithuanian King, the latter, who was still a heathen, left his Christian nephew Mindug there, and proceeded to conquer Southern Russia, as far as Putivle and Briansk. Such is the story told by the historian of Lithuania. Karamzin questions its details, but in the main it probably represents pretty accurately the overwhelming of South-western Russia by the Lithuanians. It seems certain, however,

* Karamzin, iv. 398, 399.

that there were baskaks of the Khan at Kief in 1331, which was still governed by a Russian prince, while it was in the year 1324 that the Princes Leo and Andrew of Volhynia perished, and were succeeded by George, a young off-shoot of the great Daniel, who calls himself "Prince and sovereign of all Little Russia." In letters still extant, which he wrote to the Teutonic Knights, he undertook to protect the country of the latter from the Tartars.* He lived sometimes at Vladimir and sometimes at Luof. It is probable that he was dependent on Gedimin. The latter now took the title of Grand Prince of Lithuania and Russia, and held his court at the famous city of Vilna. He preserved the old customs of the people, patronised the Greek religion, and allowed his people of that faith to acknowledge the metropolitan; he wrote to the pope telling him he had protected the Franciscan and Dominican friars in his dominions, and asking him to restrain the Livonian Knights who plundered his country, and it was only when the latter continued their attacks that he refused to receive the pope's envoys. He allowed free trade in his dominions to the merchants of the Hanseatic league, and remitted ten years' taxes to all handicraftsmen who settled in Lithuania. Besides dominating over the districts of Little Russia, he was also master of Polotsk or White Russia.† Such was the power which grew up in Western Russia at the time when Moscow became the capital of the Grand Principality. As was usually the case now that the Golden Horde was in the hands of a strong master, the condition of its dependents much improved. This was due largely to the judicious conduct of Ivan Kalita. Like his predecessors, he looked upon Vladimir as a mere official capital, and resided in Moscow, his own appanage, and he determined at length to make that the *de jure* as well as the *de facto* capital. He persuaded the metropolitan to move his seat from Vladimir, and on the 4th of August, 1326, he laid the foundations of the first stone church there, and dedicated it to the "Assumption of the Virgin."‡

One of the first acts of the Grand Prince was to make a journey to the horde in company with Constantine, a younger brother of Alexander of Tuer, and of some merchants from Novgorod. They were well received by the Tartars, who, however, insisted that Alexander, the author of the vespers of Tuer, should be handed over to them for punishment. An important deputation, representing the Grand Prince, the people of Novgorod, and accompanied by the archbishop Moses and a superior officer named Abraham, went to Pskof to entreat Alexander to submit himself to the Khan. He reproached them, but said he would nevertheless go for the sake of his country; the people of Pskof, however, gathered round him, and offering to die for him, told him not to obey. These citizens were then rich, for Pskof divided the German trade with

* Karamzin, iv. 263. † *Id.*, 266. ‡ *Id.*, 271.

Novgorod. They put their walls in order, and also built a fortress at Izborsk.* Ivan with the dependent princes upon this marched against them. He ordered the metropolitan to put Alexander and his people under an interdict, a proceeding until then unknown in Russia. Still the citizens stood by him, but he determined to escape to Lithuania, in order to free them from the interdict. He was well received by Gedimin, and after a while returned home again to his people, who now separated from Novgorod and put him on the throne.†

About 1230 there died at the horde Timur, the son of Uzbeg, who had killed "the Khan beyond the mountains" (? of Circassia). His death caused great grief there.‡ We also read that in this year the Tartar Beg Hasan was killed by his wife, and Feodor, Prince of Starodubsk, was executed, being the fifth Russian prince who had fallen a victim at Serai since the accession of Uzbeg. On the other hand, we are told how the bishop of Serai received certain privileges from the Khan. This year Pope John XXII. again sent Uzbeg a letter commending the Catholics and their bishop Mancarolo to his good graces.§

Ivan seems to have made several journeys to the horde. Thus he went in 1332 with Constantine, the young Prince of Tuer, and had scarcely reached home again when the Tartar envoy Saraichik was sent to summon him again. He returned to Russia the following year laden with honours.‖ The horde was becoming a cemetery of Russian princes. In 1333 Boris of Dmitrof died there. We also read that Dimitri of Briansk made an attack upon Ivan Alexandrovitch, and was assisted by a Tartar contingent.¶ Kutlugh Beg, called Kadlubeg by the Polish writers, was one of Uzbeg's vassals or governors, and held dominion in the Krim. We read that in the summer of 1333 he with the Princes Demetrius and Kaizibeg (? Hajibeg) made a raid into Podolia. They were defeated by Prince Olgerd. Their people were driven down towards the mouth of the Dniester, and eventually were scattered in the Dobruja and the Nogay steppe.

It was in August, 1333, that a pact was made on the Kuban between Kutlugh Beg, on behalf of Uzbeg, and the Venetian consul, by which the Venetians at Tana were granted a space of ground behind the church of the Hospital for a trading mart. This was where their consul lived, and where their magazines were. It was agreed that they should pay a tax of three per cent. upon the commodities they sold, and dues were charged on their ships according as they had one or two sails, while it was agreed that the settlement of the duties should be made in the presence of an agent of either side.**

In the same year, *i.e.*, 1333, the great traveller Ibn Batuta was in the Kipchak. He tells us he landed at the port of El Kirash, in the steppe

* Karamzin, iv. 273, 274. † *Id.*, 276. ‡ Golden Horde, 296. § *Id.*, 297. ‖ *Id.* ¶ *Id.* ** *Id.*, 298 and 25.

country of Kipchak, and speaks of this steppe as treeless, and as having neither hill nor wood on it, and tells us how the inhabitants (as they do still) burnt dung for fuel. The greater part of the people of Kaffa, he says, were Christians. Thence he went on by way of Krim towards Serai, travelling on an araba over the steppes. He remarks how although these abounded in cattle yet theft was unknown, it having been suppressed by the law "that any beast stolen was to be restored ninefold, and if the culprit had not enough for this his children were to be taken, and if he had no children then he was to be slain himself." The first town he mentions was Azak, situated, as he tells us, on the sea shore, where Uzbeg Khan had a deputy. Thence he travelled towards the Kuma and to the city of Majar. Our ingenious traveller was surprised at the honourable position held by the women; he remarks as strange that they went unveiled, and he tells us they were given to almsgiving and other good works. From Majar he went on to Beshtau, the famous five mountains now occupied by the Circassians, but where Uzbeg had an ordu or camp. There Ibn Batuta tells us he witnessed a moving city, with its streets, mosques, and cooking-houses, the smoke of which ascended as they moved along. Ibn Batuta was evidently much impressed with the power and grandeur of his host, and he tells us he was one of the seven great kings of the world, the others being the Takfur of Constantinople, the Sultan of Egypt, the King of the two Iraks (*i.e.*, the Ilkhan), the Khakan of Turkestan and Mavera un nehr, the Maharajah of India, and the Faghfur of China.

Every Friday after prayer the Khan sat under a golden canopy on a throne covered with silver plates and richly jewelled. His four wives sat beside him on the throne, two on either side. Before it stood two of his sons, one on the right the other on the left. In front of him sat his daughter. When any of his wives came in, he rose, took her by the hand, and showed her to her place. They were all unveiled. Then came the great emirs, who sat on chairs right and left of the throne. Next to them stood his nephews and the other princes of the blood. Next again the sons of the great emirs in their order of precedence.

When all was ready the people entered according to their rank, and having saluted, returned to their seats. After evening prayer, the supreme queen returned, followed by the others, and attended by beautiful slaves. The women, who were separated on account of any uncleanness, were on horseback; the rest were in carriages, were preceded by cavalry and followed by handsome mamluks. Ibn Batuta tells us he was very well received by the Sultan, who sent him a present of some sheep and a horse, with a leathern bottle of kumiz. He tells us that the Sultan's wives were highly honoured. Each one had a separate establishment for herself, her followers, and servants, and each visitor at the horde was expected to pay his respects to each of the wives

of the prince. He tells us it was in consequence of his having done so that Uzbeg Khan received him.* He goes on to say how he had heard of the fame of the city of Bulghar, and wished to test for himself the stories he had heard about it, and at his request Uzbeg furnished him with a guide. It was ten days' journey, he says, from the Tartar camp, and he stayed three days there. He describes how the night was so short that he had barely time to recite his evening prayer before he had to begin that of midnight, and then that called el witr, when he was overtaken by the dawn.† There he was told of the land of darkness, situated forty days further north, where travellers had to go on sledges drawn by big dogs, and during the whole journey the roads were covered with ice, upon which neither the feet of man nor the hoofs of beasts could take hold. The dogs, however, he says, had nails which clung to the ice. None went there except merchants, each with some hundred sledges loaded with provisions, drinks, and wood, for there were neither trees, stones, nor horses there. The guide on these occasions was an experienced dog, for which as much as a thousand dinars was paid. He formed the leader, and with him were three other dogs, who stopped when he stopped. The master, he tells us, never chastised this leader; at meals the dogs were fed first. The trading with the natives was done by barter, the merchant depositing his goods and then retiring, and next day finding sable and ermine skins, and the fur of the sinjab in their place. If the merchant was content he took this with him; if not, he left it and more was added. Sometimes the natives would withdraw their own goods and leave those of the merchants. The latter, says the old traveller, did not know whether they were mankind or demons they had to deal with.‡ After his return to Uzbeg, Ibn Batuta set out again with him for Haji Tarkhan or Astrakhan, where he had his winter quarters, and he tells us that in the winter, when the river and adjoining waters were frozen over, hay was strewn about in immense qnantities on the ice, on which he travelled.§

Uzbeg had married a daughter of the Greek Emperor. Ibn Batuta calls her the Khatun or Lady Beilun. This seems a generic name for princess; one so named, a wife of Uzbeg's, died in 1324.‖ She was doubtless a daughter of Andronicus II., who followed the policy of the Emperors of his house in allying himself with the Tartar chiefs. Von Hammer suggests that the match between Uzbeg and the princess was arranged when the metropolitan Theognost went to Constantinople as Uzbeg's envoy.¶ The young wife of Uzbeg, it would seem, was *enceinte* on Ibn Batuta's arrival, and was about to pay her father a visit, intending to leave the child with him, and our traveller requested permission to accompany her. This was at first refused, Uzbeg being apparently

* Ibn Batuta, Trans., 77. † *Id.*, 78. ‡ *Id.*, 79. § *Id.* ‖ Golden Horde, 298. Note, 3.
¶ *Id.*, 299.

jealous of him, but after some diligent flattery he at length received permission. Uzbeg accompanied them for a day's journey, and they had an escort of about 5,000 men, 500 of them being cavalry. They first arrived at Ukek, which our author says was a moderately sized town, but very cold. He tells us further, it was ten days distant from Serai.

At Ukek the travellers left the Volga, and in ten days arrived at Sudak, *i.e.*, Soldaia, their intention, as Colonel Yule suggests, being doubtless to travel by sea. They seem, however, to have changed their minds, and to have completed their journey overland. They passed through a town which Ibn Batuta calls Baba Saltuk or Babatagh in the Dobruja, which was named from Saltuk, whose tomb is still reverenced there.* This was the frontier of the Turks he says, and on leaving it they had an eighteen days' journey before reaching Rum, *i.e.*, the Byzantine dominion.† The first Byzantine town they reached was Mahtuli. He tells us he paid his respects every morning and evening to the princess, who treated him very kindly, and made him several presents, *inter alia* were fifteen horses.

Mahtuli was twenty-two days from Constantinople. The Emperor having heard of his daughter's approach, sent out some ladies and nurses with an escort to meet her. The road being bad, they had to leave their carriages behind and to proceed on horse and mule back. The post roads of the Mongols, it must be remembered, were very good. The Tartar escort having returned home, she now proceeded with her own people. She had a mosque with her, which was set up at every stage, as in the case of her husband, and in which daily prayers were said, but this was left at Mahtuli, and after leaving that town the saying of the Muezzin ceased. She drank wine and, evidently to Ibn Batuta's horror, ate swine's flesh; some of her Kipchak servants alone said their prayers with our traveller. "Thus," says he, "were tastes changed by entering into the territories of infidelity." At a day's journey from the city the princess's brother went out to meet her with about 5,000 cavalry in armour. He met her on foot as he was her junior. When she had kissed his head he passed on with her. Next day her elder brother, who was heir-apparent, went out accompanied by 10,000 horse. In this case both dismounted to greet one another. They then went on together. When she reached the city, the greater part of the inhabitants came to meet her in holiday attire. The crowd was so great that Ibn Batuta got separated; he was told, however, that when she met her parents she alighted, kissed the ground before them, and also their horses' hoofs.‡ They entered Constantinople at sunset amidst a tremendous ringing of bells.

The porters refused to admit Ibn Batuta until a special permit was obtained from the Emperor by the princess, when he was also given a letter of safe conduct, to enable him to pass about the city as he liked,

* Golden Horde, 299. † Ibn Batuta, 80. ‡ *Id.*, 82.

and was lodged next to his charge, who sent him provisions morning and evening. On the fourth day he was introduced to Andronicus. He tells us he was searched before entering the palace, for fear he should have any concealed weapons. He found the emperor and empress seated on their throne, with their daughter, whom he had accompanied, beside them, while her brothers were seated below. He was kindly treated, he tells us, and was asked about Jerusalem, the temple of the Resurrection, the cradle of Jesus, Bethlehem, the city of Abraham (*i.e.*, Hebron), Damascus, Egypt, Irak, and the country of Rum. A Jew, he tells us, acted as interpreter. Andronicus presented him with a State robe, and a saddled horse with one of his own umbrellas, which was a mark of protection. An officer was also appointed to escort him about the city. He mentions seeing St. Sophia, which, however, he would not enter as he would not make obeisance to the cross at its door. He also tells us there were other churches, monasteries, &c., almost innumerable.

The people of Kipchak who had accompanied the princess, seeing she wished to be a Christian and to remain at Constantinople, asked permission to return home, which was granted them. Ibn Batuta accompanied them, and received a present of 300 dinars and 2,000 dirhems in money from the princess, with dresses of cotton and woollen, and horses from her father. He had been at Constantinople a month and six days, and returned once more to Astrakhan. Finding that Uzbeg had gone thence to Serai, he followed him thither, and reported the result of his journey, and was reimbursed his travelling expenses. There he met the famous sheikh Nejmeddin El Khuarezmi, who behaved, he tells us, proudly before Uzbeg, but humbly with the poor and his pupils. The former visited him every Friday.

From Serai he went to Khuarezm, a journey of forty days, which was travelled in carriages drawn by camels. He passed on the way the city of Seraijuk, situated on the river Ulugh su (*i.e.*, the great river, this was the Yaik), which he tells us was crossed there by a bridge like the one at Baghdad. Khuarezm, he tells us, was the largest city of the Kipchak Turks, and was subject to Uzbeg, who had an emir there as his viceroy. He tells us he had never met better bred or more liberal people than those of Khuarezm, nor any more friendly to strangers (surely a curious contrast to the present Uzbeg lords of Khiva). He tells us they had one commendable practice. When anyone absented himself from his place in the mosque, he was beaten by the priest in the presence of the congregation and fined five dinars, which went towards the repair of the mosque. Each mosque was provided with a whip for the purpose.* The prevailing sect at Khuarezm, he tells us, was that of the Schismatics (*i.e.*, the so-called Kadarits, who denied predestination), but this they kept secret as Uzbeg was a Sunni. He also describes the celebrated

* Ibn Batuta, 86.

melons of Khuarezm, which he tells us were green outside with red flesh, very sweet and somewhat hard. They were cut into oblong pieces and dried, and were carried as far as India and China, where they were much esteemed as dried fruit.* From Khuarezm he went on towards India, by way of Bokhara and Samarkand.

Let us turn once more to Russia. The various princes kept up a string of visits to the horde, and the Grand Prince Ivan was there again in 1334. Meanwhile Alexander of Tuer, who had for so many years been a practical exile at Pskof, was growing weary of his expatriation. "Alas," he said, "if I live in exile my children will be without inheritance." He accordingly determined to pay a visit to Uzbeg in person, but to prepare the way he sent his young son Michael Feodor, who returned with a Tartar deputy named Abdul.† The news they brought was reassuring, so he determined to go himself. When he was presented to the Khan he addressed him thus: "Great King, I deserve your anger, and I submit my fate to you. Act according to the dictates of heaven and your own heart. To you belongs the right to pardon or punish me. In the one event I shall thank God for your clemency, in the other I offer you my head." Uzbeg was appeased by this language, and granted him the principality of Tuer. He was accompanied home by the two Tartars Kindak and Abdul, and he sent his son Feodor to the horde, where Ivan Kalita once more repaired with his two sons Simeon and Ivan. His object in going there was to undermine the position of Alexander, of whom he was jealous. He was himself a *persona grata* at the Tartar court, where he had always been subservient. He now poisoned Uzbeg's mind against his rival, suggested that he was an irreconcilable enemy of the Tartars, and the head and front of the Russian opposition. Uzbeg thereupon despatched his envoy Istrochei to bring Alexander and other princes his friends to Serai. The crafty Ivan, to remove all suspicion from his own shoulders, returned himself to Moscow. Alexander set out amidst bad omens; a hurricane blew so fiercely that the rowers could scarcely control their oars. He was accompanied by Roman Michaelovitch of Bielozersk and Vasili Davidovitch of Yaroslavl, while his young son had already preceded him. The presents offered by the Prince of Tuer were received in silence. For a month matters remained undecided, and Uzbeg's wife and some of the Tartar grandees seem to have interested themselves on his behalf; but, urged on probably by Ivan's sons, who had now arrived, the authorities were immovable. Having received the sacraments in his tent with his son, they were both put to death, and their bodies hewn limb from limb.‡ The date of the martyrdom was the 28th of October, 1339, and they were the sixth and seventh Russian princes who were thus victims during Uzbeg's reign. As Karamzin says, he doubtless thought it good policy to thus strike

* Ibn Batuta, 86. † Karamzin, iv. 284. Golden Horde, 300. ‡ Karamzin, iv., 290, 291.

terror into the dependent princes, but in fact he merely strengthened the hands of the Grand Prince at the expense of his subordinates.

Ivan was very ambitious. He probably saw that the degradation to which Russia had been reduced was due to its power being frittered away by its feudal institutions, and he determined to get into his own hands at least the ancient appanages of Vladimir.

Alexander, Prince of Suzdal, having died in 1333 without children, Ivan seized the throne and displaced Constantine, Alexander's brother. He married one of his daughters to Vasili, Prince of Yaroslaf, and another to Constantine of Rostof, and followed this up by dictating the internal policy of those principalities; and it was because Alexander of Tuer was in some sense a rival that he pursued him so ruthlessly. He largely justified his ambition by restoring order and exacting obedience to the laws within his borders, and thus making the Grand Principality a contrast to the surrounding appanages, where lawlessness largely prevailed.* He surrounded Moscow with a wooden wall, rebuilt the Kremlin, originally called Kremnik, or burnt stone from the volcanic rock on which it was placed,† and built several churches, among others that of St. Michael the Archangel, which became the burial place of the Russian princes.‡ Meanwhile trade flourished. The Hanseatic league furnished Russia with the products of the northern seas, while the Genoese traders at Kaffa and Azof distributed those of a more southern latitude, the merchants being provided with safe conducts by Uzbeg. The first of the great Russian fairs was organised at Kholopigorodok, at the mouth of the Mologa, where a great concourse of traders assembled annually.§ Seventy inns there provided for the needs of the visitors, and 7,200 pounds weight of silver was collected in the shape of dues by the Grand Prince.‖ These dues and the increasing prosperity of the country increased also the relative wealth of the Princes of Moscow. Periodical censuses and perennial imposts, which were apparently introduced by the Tartars, were another potent instrument in breaking down the feudalism of Russia and pouring a stream of wealth into the lap of the Grand Prince. With this he bought special demesnes elsewhere, as in the governments of Novgorod, Vladimir, Kostroma, and Rostof. His most important purchases were the towns of Uglitch, Bielosersk, and Galitch;¶ but probably the most potent revolution introduced by him was acquiring the post of farmer of the taxes in Russia on behalf of the Tartars, and it was under the pretence that such was the will of the Khan that he required the stiff-necked burghers of Novgorod, in 1337, to pay a double tribute. "Armed against the Russians," says Kelly, "with the dread inspired by the Tartar name, and against the Tartars with the money of the Russians, intoxicating the Khan and his courtiers with

* Karamzin, iv. 300. † *Id.*, 413. Note, 52. ‡ *Id.*, 301. § *Id.*, 303.
‖ Kelly's Russia, i. 85. Note. ¶ Karamzin, iv. 308.

gold, and adulation in his frequent journeys to the horde, he was enabled, as lord paramount, to bring about the first union of all the appanaged princes against his competitor the Prince of Tuer. . . . From the Kremlin which he fortified, he proclaimed himself the arbiter of his kinsfolk; he reigned in their principalities by the medium of his boyards; he arrogated to himself the right of being the sole distributor of gifts, judge, and legislator; and if the princes resisted and dared to wage war against him—*a war of the public good*—he hurried to the horde, purse in hand and denunciation on his lips, and the short-sighted Uzbeg, deceived by this ambitious monitor, was impolitic enough to disembarrass him of the most dangerous of his competitors."* His renown attracted many celebrities to his court, among others, we are told that the Tartar Prince Chetmurza was baptised under the name of Zacharias, and settled at Moscow.†

Ivan died in the year 1340. It was apparently in the latter months of his reign that we read of the rebellion of the Prince of Smolensk, who, having allied himself with the great Lithuanian Gedimin, ventured to break off his vassalage to the Tartars. Uzbeg sent his envoy Tawlubeg (*i.e.*, Tuklughbeg) and the emir Mengkukash to bring him to his senses, and ordered the Russian princess to assist them. They marched two armies, one led by the Prince of Riazan, the other by the dependents of the Grand Prince, which advanced until in sight of Smolensk, when, either deterred by its fortifications or soothed by a payment of black mail, they withdrew.‡

On Ivan's death his sons went to the horde to secure the succession. Constantine Prince of Tuer, and Constantine of Suzdal had pretensions to the throne, but the Grand Prince had left his family too rich to make them fear competitors in the eyes of the Tartars, who were soon appeased by a heavy largess. We accordingly find that Simeon, son of Ivan, was duly nominated Grand Prince. While he adopted his father's humility towards the horde, he acquired the title of "Proud" from his rigorous attitude towards the other princes.§

We have now reached the term of Uzbeg's life. "It was," says Karamzin, "at this time that the Russian proverb originated, 'Near the king near to death.'" The princes went to the horde as if they were bound for the last judgment. Happy those who returned safe and sound. The oldest Russian will extant is the one made by Ivan Danilovitch when he set out on one of these journeys.‖ Von Hammer mentions nine such victims among the Russian princes.¶

Let us now turn shortly to Uzbeg's intercourse with other powers. Karamzin remarks how he was on terms of friendship with Pope Benedict XXII., who had great hopes of his conversion. He allowed

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* Kelly, i. 83, 84. † Karamzin, iv. 303. ‡ *Id.*, 298. Golden Horde, 302.
§ Karamzin, iv. 315. ‖ *Id.*, 304. ¶ Golden Horde, 303.

him to introduce Christianity into the countries bordering on the Black Sea, and it was during Uzbeg's reign that the Yasses or Ossetes were converted by the monk Jonas Valent. This we learn from the letters of their princes, called the Princes of the Alans, written in 1338, to tell the Pope that, having been converted eight years before by that monk, they were then without any spiritual guide.* Uzbeg, his wife, and son several times sent envoys to the Pope. In the year 1340 Benedict, in a letter addressed to him, mentions the arrival of two Genoese, Petromer de Lorto, formerly governor of Kaffa, and Albert, his companion, as the Khan's envoys, accompanied by Helym of Hungary, a minor friar, the envoy of his son Tinibeg.†

This friendly intercourse on the part of a rigid Muhammedan like Uzbeg is a matter of some interest. As Kelly says, it is remarkable that Muhammedanism stopped short at the Russian frontier. It has nowhere apparently, except in Bosnia, made a permanent conquest of a purely Arian race; and while there can be small doubt that Uzbeg forced the faith of Islam upon his Siberian subjects and *protegés*, his far-seeing prudence or some other potent cause led him to treat Christianity with great deference. Like his predecessors, he was in a state of chronic quarrelling with the Persian Ilkhans. I have described his campaign beyond Derbend in 1319. In 1327 Choban, the commander-in-chief of the Ilkhan's forces, and his eldest son Jelad were executed by the command of Abusaid. He left nine other sons, the eldest of whom, the emir Hassan, had been governor of Khorassan and Mazanderan, while Hassan's son Talish governed the provinces of Ispahan, Kerman, and Fars. Hassan and Talish, on their father's flight, went first to Mazanderan. Thence they escaped to Khuarezm by way of Dabistan, where they were well received by Kutlugh Timur, Uzbeg's deputy. Having made their way to the court of Uzbeg, they were also handsomely treated by him, and shortly after they shared in a campaign which he ordered against Serai-Majar, and the Circassians. Hassan was wounded there and died. Talish died shortly after.‡

A few years later, namely, in 1334, Uzbeg determined to make an invasion of Persia by way of Derbend. Abusaid the Ilkhan was preparing to meet him when he suddenly died at Karabagh, and was succeeded by Arpa Khan. The latter marched against the invaders in the middle of the winter. When opposite each other, Arpa Khan detached a division to take Uzbeg in rear, but the latter was saved by the arrival of his dependent Kutlugh Timur, who soon after died, and Arpa Khan retired.§

Uzbeg seems to have made another attack on Persia in the last year of his reign.‖ He died in 1340, after a reign of twenty-eight years,

* Karamzin, iv. 425. Note, 62. † *Id.* ‡ D'Ohsson, iv. 685. Golden Horde, 296.
§ Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 132. Golden Horde, 301. D'Ohsson, iv. 720.
‖ Golden Horde, 303.

which was the most flourishing period in the history of the Kipchak. His realm extended, in the alliterative phraseology of Eastern writers, from Solgat in the Krim to Sogd in Transoxiana, a distance of six hundred fersenkhs. In Khuarezm he was represented by his deputy Kutlugh Timur, and in the Krim by Kutlughbeg.* On his coins Uzbeg is called Ghaiyas ud din Uzbeg Khan, Muhammud Uzbeg Khan, Uzbeg Khan the Just, &c. His coins occur from the year 713 (*i.e.*, 1313-14) to the year 740 (*i.e.*, 1339-40). They were struck at Serai, Khuarezm, Mokshi, Bolghari, Azak, and Krim.† Mokshi and Azak first occur as mint places in his reign. His strong religious tendencies are shown by the mottoes on the reverses on his coins, on which we read, "The Succourer of the Faith," "The Exalted Great Khan," &c. We also find on them the blazon which was put on Solomon's seal, *i.e.*, a falcon or eagle on a sunlion.‡ Langles says Uzbeg was not originally a Muhammedan, but that he was converted by four doctors from Persia, named Seyid Sheikh Muhammed, Sheikh Kolkat, Sheikh Ahmed, and Sheikh Hassan Kerkan.§ So great was his influence in Asia that the important tribes of the Uzbegs beyond the Ural, who were probably converted during his reign, adopted and still retain his name,‖ while the principal square of Cairo was called Esbekye after him.

The names of three of his wives are recorded, one the daughter of the Emperor Andronicus, to whom we have already referred; Sheritumgha, the mother of Janibeg, and probably also of his other sons, Timur, Tinibeg, and Khidrbeg;¶ and Taidula, a Christian, who gave her name, according to the tradition reported by Karamzin, to the famous iron capital of Russia, Tula.**

It is curious to find that Uzbeg still kept up the intercourse of the Golden Horde with China, and we are told in the Yuen shi or Imperial annals of the Yuen dynasty how, in 1336, he sent an embassy to the Emperor asking for the payment due for his appanages in China, viz., Ping yang in Shansi, Tsin chau in Cheli, and Yung chau in Honan. This money was required for the establishment of post stations to facilitate the movement of troops. The envoy reminded the Emperor (who was evidently still considered as the nominal suzerain) that the post stations within his master's dominions were not kept up by the Emperor but by Uzbeg himself.††

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* Golden Horde, 303.

† Fræhn Die Munzen der chane von ulus Dschutschi ans der Samlung Fuchs, 6-10.

‡ Golden Horde, 304. § Forster's Voyage du Bengale, &c. Appendix, 368.

‖ Khuandemir. Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 115. Abulghazi, 184. ¶ Golden Horde, 309-311.

** Karamzin, quoted in Golden Horde, 411.

†† Bretschneider Notices of Mediæval Geography, &c., 105.

TINIBEG KHAN.

Uzbeg had four sons, Timur (whose death I have already mentioned), Tinibeg, Janibeg, and Khidrbeg. Tinibeg is called Insanbeg or Insan by Western writers, but this seems to be clearly a mistake. He is called Tinibeg not only by the Russian writers but in the Pope's letter, in which he acknowledged receiving an envoy from him.* Tinibeg only occupied the throne a few months, when he was murdered by his younger brother Janibeg. According to the chronicle of Troitzki, Janibeg also killed his brother Khidr Beg.†

JANIBEG OR JANBEG KHAN.

Notwithstanding the murder by which he secured the throne, Janibeg ruled very exemplarily, and is much praised by Eastern writers for his wisdom and justice. "He was," says Ibn Haidar, "just, God-fearing, and the patron of the meritorious." Mewlana Saad ud din Testasani, one of the two pillars of Arabic learning in the eighth century of the hejira (the other being Seid Sherif Jorani), dedicated to him his work entitled "Telkhisol Miftah." It was an epitome of the philosophical encyclopædia of Sekaki, called "Miftah" or the Key. Like his father, he was a great patron of learned men, who resorted to Serai in large numbers during his reign.

On his accession the Russian princes and the metropolitan Theognost received a summons to attend and do honour to their new sovereign. The Grand Prince Simeon was very civily treated. Theognost was detained, and pressure was put upon him to pay an annual ecclesiastical tribute out of his large revenues, information about which was apparently furnished by the Russians. Theognost cited the various documents by which his predecessors and the Russian clergy had been exempted from taxes. The latter were much pleased with the address of their hierarch, who, instead of assenting to a regular taxation, persuaded Janibeg to content himself with the payment of a lump-sum of 600 roubles.‡ It was probably on this occasion, says Karamzin, that Theognost received from Taidula, the widow of Uzbeg, with the assent of the Khan, a special exemption from taxation. The edict had a scarlet tamgha or official signature.§

Alexander, Prince of Pronsk, had been murdered by Ivan Korotopol, Prince of Riazan, about 1339, when he was on his way to the horde with tribute.‖ Alexander's son Yaroslaf sought assistance from Janibeg, who sent an officer named Kinduk, and apparently an army, with him. They

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* Karamzin, iv. 425. Note, 62. † *Id.* ‡ *Id.*, 319. § *Id.*, 426. Note, 62. ‖ *Id.*, 300.

besieged Ivan in his capital. He was captured and put to death, and a portion of his principality was added to Yaroslaf's. The Tartar contingent who had assisted him, as usual, plundered the district.* We also read that at the accession of Janibeg Constantine of Rostof, Constantine of Suzdal, and Vasili of Yaroslavl went to the horde to get a confirmation of their authority.†

In the year 1343 the Tartars made a raid into Poland, which was the same year devastated by locusts. The Tartars were invited by Dasko, whom Casimir had made governor of Przemisl, and by Daniel Ostreg. Casimir hastened against them, and prevented their crossing the Vistula near Sendomir. Having spent some days in ravaging the neighbourhood, and tried in vain to capture Lublin, they once more retired. About the same time strife arose at Tana between the Tartars and the Genoese and Venetians. It arose out of a trade dispute between a Genoese and a Tartar, in which the latter was killed. Janibeg accordingly called upon the Genoese to leave the town. They treated his message cavalierly, and sent him an insolent reply, and not only so, but proceeded to arm their galleys and to plunder the coast. In February of 1344 they attacked the Tartars, who were besieging the town, killed 15,000 of them, and destroyed their siege apparatus, and the latter were at length constrained to give up the attack. Two months later some Tartar envoys appeared at Genoa to offer reparation, and peace was accordingly ratified.‡ Shortly after we find the Grand Prince Simeon and his brothers Ivan and Andrew once more at the horde.

Let us turn our attention elsewhere for a short time. Gedimin, the founder of the Lithuanian kingdom, died in 1341, leaving each of his seven sons an appanage. He was succeeded in his chief authority by the second of these, named Olgerd, who surpassed all the rest in bravery and skill. We are told he avoided drinking both wine and hydromel, nor did he engage in frivolous amusements, but devoted himself to improving his position.§ Olgerd apparently reigned at Vitebsk, Unuti at Vilna, Narimant at Pinsk, and Kestuti at Troki.

Olgerd, who was ambitious, in alliance with his brother Kestuti, proceeded to displace Unuti and Narimant from their appanages and to make himself sole monarch of Lithuania. Narimant took refuge with the Tartar court.‖ Constantine, Prince of Tuer, also went to the horde to settle a dispute with his nephew Vsevolod of Kholm, the son of the famous Alexander. Constantine having died while among the Tartars, they thereupon gave the principality to his nephew Vsevolod, but the latter's victory was short lived. Vasili of Kasin, another brother of Constantine's, secured the countenance of Sheritumgha, Janibeg's mother, and other influence there to enable him to displace his nephew, who had

* Karamzin, 319, 320. † *Id.*, 426. Note, 62. ‡ Golden Horde, 307.
§ Karamzin, iv. 325. ‖ *Id.*

to content himself eventually with his smaller heritage of Kholm.* In 1352 the Khan sent Ahmed with a special yarligh or patent of office for Vasili.† In 1345 a Tartar Beg named Emir made a descent on the town of Alexin, and plundered the house of the metropolitan there.‡ The same year (*i.e.*, in 1345) the black plague appeared in Russia. It seems to have originated in China, where 13,000,000 people became its victims. Thence it spread over the Mongol world. The country on both sides of the Caspian was devastated by it. Khuarezm, Turkestan, Serai, and Beshdeshe (? the village of Wesedef below Yenotacwsk on an arm of the Volga),§ all fell under its influence. The Armenians, Abkhazians, and Circassians; the Jews, the Genoese, and the Venetian colonists in the Krim were decimated.‖ It also swept over Greece, Syria, and Egypt. The Genoese ships carried it to Italy, France, England, and Germany. Fifty thousand people, says Karamzin, were buried in one cemetery in London. At Paris the distracted people wished to exterminate the Jews, whom they charged with having introduced it. In 1349 it appeared in Scandinavia, and thence passed to Pskof and Novgorod. One-third of the inhabitants of Pskof perished. Each priest found as many as thirty bodies daily for burial in his church, and the service for the dead was performed for them *en masse*. The cemeteries being full, the bodies were buried beyond the walls and in the forests. The contagion was so dangerous that the rich even could not find nurses. Children fled from their parents, and the despairing people devoted their wealth to the service of religion. Winter put an end to the plague.¶ It seems to have been a violent dysentery or cholera, and was marked by an effusion of blood, after which the victims lived but two or three days. Its effects among the nomades were doubtless terrible. Such diseases when they attack strong hearty people, for the most part flesh eaters, are singularly fatal, and the history of the spread of such scourges as small-pox, measles, &c., in Siberia and North America is a grim story.

On the 15th of February, 1347, a treaty was made between the Venetians and Janibeg, of which the terms at full length are set out by Von Hammer. It was made in the name of God and Muhammed. The document was addressed by Janibeg to all his commanders of tumans (*i.e.*, 10,000 men), his millenarians, centurions, and decurions, and all those subject to Mogolbeg; to all the barons and rulers of the city, and to all the gumrukje (*i.e.*, the customs officers), to his envoys, messengers, &c.; and he ordered that a piece of ground be set apart at Tana, separate from that occupied by the Genoese, where the Venetians might do their trafficking. Reference was made to a former ordinance, no doubt the one issued by Uzbeg, to which I have referred, and detailed instructions were given as to the amount of duty which was to be paid for imports, for

* Karamzin, iv. 349. Golden Horde, 309. † Golden Horde, 309.
‡ *Id.*, 308. § *Id.* ‖ Chronicle of Trotski, quoted by Karamzin, iv. 437. Note, 75.
¶ Karamzin, iv. 300, &c.

shipping dues, for the various customs-charges, &c. Provisions were inserted regulating the intercourse of the merchants and Tartars at Tana, whose governor is styled Sichibeg. The document was signed with a red tamgha or seal, and was dated from Gulistan in the year 748, the 22nd Ramasan (*i.e.*, 15th February, 1346), which was the year of the pig in the Mongol cycle, in the presence of Mogolbeg of Thuazi, Yagaltai, Yerdhezin, and Kutlughbugha.

In 1346 the Grand Prince Simeon made another journey to the horde, and returned laden with gifts. We now find him getting into conflict with his powerful neighbour Olgerd of Lithuania, who was still a heathen. The latter sent his brother Koriad to ask the Khan's assistance against the Germans, who were pressing him hard. Simeon having told the Khan that Olgerd was a dangerous person, the Tartar chief, contrary to the comity of nations, surrendered the envoy Koriad to Simeon.

Olgerd was not at this time in a position to beard Michael. His neighbour on the west was the powerful Casimir of Poland, who had in 1339 conquered Gallicia and the neighbouring province of Volhynia,* and as a zealous Roman Catholic, had begun that policy of persecution of the followers of the Greek faith in that province which the Poles have ever practised; the priests were oppressed and the ritual changed. This threw the people into the arms of the Lithuanians, and induced also the Russian metropolitan to urge upon his master the Grand Prince that he should treat Olgerd generously. Simeon accordingly released Koriad and paid his ransom, and even gave his relative Julienne, the daughter of Alexander of Tuer, to the still pagan King of Lithuania, on condition that his children should be brought up as Christians. Having secured the Russian princes, Olgerd with his various satellites, including his brothers Kestuti and Lubart, mustered their forces and drove the Poles out of Volhynia.†

In 1349 Theognost, the metropolitan, made another journey to the horde, doubtless to get a renewal of the privileges granted him by Taidula. He was followed the following year by the Grand Prince Simeon with his two brothers, and later in the year by Constantine of Suzdal.‡

In 1351 the Tartars, impelled by famine, made a raid into the district of Bratislaf, then under a Russian prince, and Louis of Hungary, who was his protector, assisted in driving them away.§ In conjunction with the Polish King Casimir, he, in 1354, crossed the Bug and captured a young Tartar Prince, but the Tartars retained their hold on the Dniester for some time longer. Gallicia became subject to Poland, while the western provinces of Russia (*i.e.*, Little Russia) remained in the hands of the Lithuanians till the sixteenth century.‖

* Karamzin, iv. 421. Note, 58. † *Id.*, 357. ‡ Golden Horde, 309.
§ Karamzin, iv. 337. ‖ *Id.*, 338.

Thus was broken up effectually the power of the Little Russians or original Russians, and Moscow and Great Russia became more than ever the rallying point of the eastern Slaves against the Tartars. This break up had two important consequences. Many of the inhabitants migrated and settled down in a semi-nomade state, and organised in military fashion along the Dnieper and the Don, and formed eventually the two military republics of the Zarporogian and Don Cossacks.* Another event which happened at this time, due also doubtless to the utter feebleness of the Little Russians, was the foundation of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. It would seem that Moldavia and Bessarabia were, before the Tartar invasion, inhabited by a mixed race of Slaves and Turks,† with perhaps a small sprinkling of Vlakhs or Rumans, who were all subject to the princes of Gallicia. On the destruction of that principality, the two provinces became the prey of the Tartars, and its towns and villages were devastated and almost depopulated. When the prowess and victories of the Hungarian King Louis compelled the Tartars to withdraw, the Vlakhs, who lived in the district of Marmaros in Hungary, and who belonged to the Greek faith, and were consequently persecuted by the Roman Catholic Hungarians, migrated under their voivode Bogdan or Dragosh, settled on the river Moldava, and founded the principality of Moldavia, which remained tributary to the Hungarian crown. Its princes were styled voivodes, and were elected by the people themselves.‡ Wallachia was similarly founded by fugitives from Transylvania, who migrated under their chief Niger, and founded Tergovitz and Bukharest. He also founded a line of voivodes dependent on the Hungarian crown.§ We must now revert again to Russia.

Simeon the Grand Prince died in 1353. It would seem, says Karamzin, from his great seal that he was the first to style himself "Grand Prince of all the Russias."‖ On his death there were two claimants for the vacant throne, who made their way to Serai, namely, Ivan Ivanovitch, the brother of Simeon, and Constantine Vasilovitch of Suzdal. The people of Novgorod sent the boyard Simon Sudakof to solicit the position for the latter. Janibeg, however, gave it to Ivan,¶ but the people of Novgorod refused to recognise him until the death of Constantine, which occurred a few months later.

Constantine's son Andrew was confirmed by the Khan in the towns of Nijni-Novgorod, Gorodetz, and Suzdal, which formed his father's appanage.** Dimitri also succeeded Ivan Feodorovitch of Starodub, but he had to wait twelve months for the Khan's authorisation, which alone legitimised his title.††

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* Kelly, op. cit., i. 85. † Pechenegs, &c.

‡ Until the seventeenth century the Russian language was not only used in the services of the church but also in the civil tribunals of Moldavia. (Karamzin, iv. 369.)

§ *Id.*, 369. ‖ *Id.*, 345. ¶ *Id.*, 353. ** *Id.*, 355. †† *Id.*

The town of Murom, which seems to have remained desert since the invasion of Batu, was restored by George or Yuri Yaroslavitch in 1351.* Four years later George was attacked and driven away by his relative Feodor. Both princes repaired to the horde, where Feodor was duly invested, and George was handed over to him. Soon after this the principality of Murom was swallowed up in that of Vladimir.† The same year Vasili was nominated Prince of Briansk by the Tartars, but he died the following year, and that town fell into the hands of the Lithuanians.‡ About the same time Irinchi was sent on some errand by Janibeg to Moscow. M. Schmidt says the name is Tibetan, which makes it probable he was a Buddhist.§ He was attended by merchants from the sea of Azof.‖ The strife between Vasili of Tuer and his nephew Vsevolod of Kholm still continued. The latter having appealed to the Khan, was handed over to his uncle, who treated him as a slave, and imposed a heavy tribute on his people.¶

The metropolitan Theognost died in 1356, leaving behind him a reputation for vigour and avarice. Alexis was appointed in his place by the metropolitan of Constantinople,** *inter alia* he consecrated Ivan as bishop of Serai.†† A year later he was summoned to the horde by Taidula, the widow of Uzbeg, to whom I have already referred, who in Tartar fashion had afterwards married Janibeg. She was apparently a Christian.‡‡ She sent to ask for his prayers as she was very ill. "We have heard," also wrote the Khan to the Grand Prince, "that heaven refuses no favour to your senior priest. His prayers therefore may cause the recovery of my wife." He accordingly went to the horde and sprinkled her with holy water, after which she recovered.§§ The grateful Janibeg sent an envoy named Koshak to requite the Russian princes.‖‖ Alexis remained a year at the horde, and returned only after the death of Janibeg.

On the destruction of the power of the Ilkhans in Persia, Ashraf, a son of the Choban I have previously named, seized upon the chief authority in Azerbaijan. By his rapacity he alienated the affection of the people, and also arrayed against him the various sheikhs. One of these named Abul Hassan Mohayeddin of Berdaa escaped to Serai, where, in a sermon he preached at the Friday service, he described the misery of Azerbaijan in such pathetic terms that he persuaded Janibeg and his people to march against Ashraf. He advanced at the head of 200,000 men, by way of Derbend and Shirvan. Ashraf on his side collected a force of 90,000 at Tebriz, but the elements fought against him, and when Janibeg appeared his forces were demoralised. They sustained a great defeat. Ashraf and his emir and councillor Kaus, were captured. Ashraf was beheaded, and his head was sent to Trebiz to be suspended at the

* Karamzin, iv. 350. † *Id.*, 356, 357. ‡ *Id.*, 356. § Golden Horde, 311. Note, 2.
‖ *Id.* ¶ Karamzin, iv. 357, 358. ** *Id.*, 362. †† Golden Horde, 311.
‡‡ Karamzin, iv. 440. Note, 83. §§ *Id.*, 363. Note, 83. ‖‖ *Id.*, 363.

door of the mosque of Meragha. He had sent a caravan of treasure consisting of one hundred mule and camel loads, to take refuge in the castle of Alinjak. This caravan was waylaid by Janibeg's people, which gave point to the verse,

> See how the donkey Ashraf does his fate unfold,
> Securing death for self, for Janibeg his gold.

After his victory, Janibeg held a tight rein over and forbade his people to pillage the enemy's towns. He only stayed forty days in Tebriz, and having said his prayers at the great mosque of the vizir Alishah Khoja, went on to Aujan, whence he returned to Kipchak, leaving his son Berdibeg at Tebriz with 15,000 horsemen. Falling ill on the way, he sent his general Tughlukbeg to summon Berdibeg, so that he might instal him as his successor. Fearing that his father might recover, Berdibeg murdered him. This was done apparently by the advice of Tughlukbeg.* The body of Janibeg was taken to the Imperial cemetery of the Golden Horde, near Seraichuk on the Yaik, and there buried with those of his ancestors.

His reign of seventeen years was the complement of that of his father's, and the two form the most flourishing epoch of the history of the Golden Horde, and a dismal contrast to the period which follows. He was called the Good Janibeg by the Russian annalists.† His coins range from the year 741 (*i.e.*, 1340-1) to 758 (*i.e.*, 1357), and they were struck at Serai, Gulistan, New Serai, New Gulistan, the New Ordu, Khuarezm, Mokhshi, Barchin, and Tebriz.‡ On some of his money he styles himself the "Supreme Sultan Jelal ud din Mahmud Janibeg Khan." On other specimens we have a legend both in Mongol letters and in Persian, the former representing his name as "Chambek Khan," while the titles "Just Sultan Jelal ud din Mahmud" are given in the latter script.§ Riswan-pashasade and Aali both write the name Janbeg, which is explained by Von Hammer as meaning "der Seelen furst" (*i.e.*, the prince of spirits).

BERDIBEG KHAN.

Berdibeg succeeded to the throne in the year 1357, and, according to Russian authors, he proceeded to put to death twelve of his brothers, a piece of statecraft which is very common in eastern countries, and is in a measure justified by the terrible anarchy so frequent there, arising from the contests between brothers for the succession. One of Berdibeg's first acts was to send Itkar to threaten the Russian princes. Upon this the metropolitan Alexis once more repaired to Serai, and through the intervention of Taidula he obtained favourable terms for them and also for the church. A second Tartar, however, soon appeared in Russia,

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* Golden Horde, 312. † Karamzin, iv. 363.
‡ Fræhn, Description of Fuch's Collection, 10-13. § Fræhn, Resen., &c., 229, &c.

who is called the tzarevitch Mamat Khoja by Karamzin. He went to Moscow to fix, as he claimed, the limits of the Grand Principality and that of Riazan. His real object, however, was plunder, and the Grand Prince replied that so long as he fulfilled the Khan's regulations it was forbidden for the Khan's envoys to interfere in the internal concerns of Russia. This temerity of the Grand Prince was probably due to the fact that Mamat Khoja's invasion was disowned by Berdibeg. Having been summoned back to the horde, he presumed to kill a favourite of Berdibeg's, and we are told he was sent off to Ornatch (*i.e.*, Urjenj) to his uncle. Von Hammer calls him a son of Berdibeg's, but this is, I believe, altogether improbable, and Karamzin speaks of him as if he was no near relative of the Khan's.* We shall hear of him again.

Meanwhile we are told that the Grand Prince Ivan, Vasili of Tuer, and his nephew Vsevolod of Kholm, went to the horde, where they were confirmed in their governments.

A treaty made between Berdibeg and the Venetians is still extant. This is dated in September, 1358, the Venetians being represented by Giovanni Quirino and Francisco Buono. It is addressed, as Janibeg's was, to the various grandees, &c., of the empire. Among the rest, however, we find in this document "the Signori of the Kumani" mentioned.† It confirms the various privileges granted to the Venetians by the former diplomas of Uzbeg and Janibeg already cited, and makes new regulations as to dues, and special provision as to the amount which was to be paid to Tughlukbeg, the Lord of Tana. The document was signed at the ordu on the Aktuba on the 8th of the month Shewwal, in the year 759 of the hejira, being the year of the dog in the Mongol calendar, and is attested by Asanibei (*i.e.*, Hassanbeg), Megalbei (*i.e.*, Mogolbeg), Sarabei (? Serai Kutlugh, previously mentioned), Yagaltai, Tolobei (*i.e.*, Tughlukbeg), and Cotulubeg (*i.e.*, Kutlughbeg). A special clause was added as to the claims of Kutlugh Timur, the lord of Solgat.‡

The success which Janibeg had gained in Azerbaijan bore but short-lived fruit, for the deputy or governor whom Berdibeg nominated there, named Akhitshuk, was killed by the emir Sheikh Uweis, the Ilkhan, who reoccupied Tebriz.§ Berdibeg, like his predecessors Uzbeg and Janibeg, renewed the privileges of the Russian church.‖

The Grand Prince Ivan died in the autumn of 1359, and was speedily followed by Berdibeg, who was killed by Kulpa, with Tughlukbeg, the instigator of his paricidal crime. With him ended for a while the prosperous period of Kipchak history. This is neatly affirmed in an Uzbeg proverb, which says "The hump of the camel was cut off in the person of Berdibeg."¶ On his coins Berdibeg is styled Berdibeg Khan,

* Op. cit., iv. 365, 366. † Golden Horde, 519. ‡ *Id.*, 521, 522.
§ *Id.*, 316. ‖ *Id.* Karamzin, iv. Note, 83. ¶ Abulghazi, ed. Desmaisons, 186.

and also Muhammed Berdibeg Khan. They were struck at Serai, New Serai, Khuarezm, Gulistan, and Azak. (Savilief has also published a coin of his struck at El Aguir, a place whose situation I do not know.) They range in date from 758 (*i.e.*, 1357) to 760 (*i.e.*, 1358-9).

KILDIBEG, KULPA, OR KULNA KHAN.

We now enter a period of great confusion in the history of the Golden Horde. Khuandimir, who gives the fullest list of the Khans of Kipchak, makes Berdibeg be succeeded by Kildibeg. The Russian authors call Berdibeg's successor Kulpa, and the question arises whether these two names are mere variants or are, as they have been treated by Fræhn, Von Hammer, &c., the names of distinct persons. The termination beg is of course only a title, and Janibeg is sometimes styled Jani Khan, while we find a Mamluk leader in Egypt called Berdi Ghazali, so that the question we have to decide is whether Kildi and Kulpa were the same person. Now Kulpa does not seem in form like a Turkish name, nor do I know of its occurrence elsewhere in history. Again, on none of the coins which are assigned to Kulpa is the name written Kulpa, but in all it is written Kulna or Kulnah.* This seems to show that the name is in some way corrupted. Again the general view is that Kulna was killed and succeeded by Nurus Khan, yet it is curious that coins both of Kulna and Nurus occur both in the years 760 and 761, struck, too, apparently in all parts of the Khanate,† so that it would appear that their reigns were in fact concurrent and contemporary, and not actually successive. Now, while we have coins with the name of Kulna struck in 760 and 761, we find coins with the name of Kildibeg struck in 762 and 763, that is the very next years. This evidence of the coins, coupled with the facts mentioned from Khuandimir and the Russian annalists, make me disposed to think that Kulpa, Kulna, and Kildibeg were in fact the same person. I may add that he is also called Askulpa.‡ Kildibeg, according to Karamzin, passed himself off as the son of Janibeg. Coins with the name of Kulna were struck at Gulistan, New Serai, Azak, and Khuarezm in the years 760 and 761 (*i.e.*, 1359-60).§ Those with the name Kildibek were struck at New Serai, Azak, and Mokhshi in the years 762 and 763 (*i.e.*, 1361-2).‖ According to the authority followed by Von Hammer, Kulpa only occupied the throne for six months and five days, when, with his sons Ivan and Michael, he was killed by Nurusbeg.¶

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* Fræhn, Resc., 261, 262. † *Id.*, 261-264, and 651. ‡ Golden Horde, 315.
§ Fræhn, Resc., 261, 262. ‖ *Id.*, 273, 274. ¶ Golden Horde, 316.

NURUSBEG KHAN.

Khuandimir tells us Nurus falsely pretended to be a son of Janibeg's,* that is therefore a brother of Berdibeg's. Karamzin merely says he was a descendant of Juchi Khan.† On his accession the various Russian princes repaired to the horde for investiture. Thus went Vasili Michaelovitch of Tuer, with his nephews the Princes of Riazan and Rostof. Dimitri Ivanovitch of Moscow did not go himself, but sent his sword-bearer to ask for the yarligh or diploma. Nurus, however, insisted that he should go in person. The next year (*i.e.*, in 1360) Andrew, Constantinovitch of Suzdal, and his brother Dimitri went there, and were well received by Nurus. That Khan offered the Grand Principality of Vladimir to Andrew, who refused it. He then gave it to his brother Constantine. This position passed therefore for a while from the Princes of Moscow and the family of Kalita. Dimitri returned home with a representative of the Khan, and was well received at Vladimir, where he was duly consecrated by the metropolitan Alexis, who, however, refused to remove his seat from Moscow. Dimitri's appointment was welcomed by the people of Novgorod, who were jealous of the Princes of Moscow. Meanwhile Dimitri, the prince of that appanage, remained for some time at the horde, and distributed presents to the Khan, his wife, and the grandees there. He was invested with the Principality of White Russia and the towns of Vladimir and Pereislavl.‡

The reign of Nurus was but a short one. We are told that Khidr, who had for a long time wandered beyond the Yaik, having won over some of the Tartar grandees, killed Nurus, his son Timur, and the old Khatun Taidula.§ The chronicle of Nikon adds that he put to death all the people of a certain Mualbuza.‖ This was probably the Mogolbeg who appears prominently as a signatory to the treaties between Janibeg and Berdibeg and the Venetians.¶ On one of his coins Nurus is styled Muhammed Nurus. His money was struck in 760-1 (*i.e.*, 1359-60), at Gulistan, New Serai, and Azak.**

CHERKESBEG KHAN.

Khuandimir, in his list of the Khans of Kipchak, makes Nurus Khan be succeeded by Cherkes Khan, who he says the emirs, for some diplomatic reasons, made out to be a son of Janibeg Khan.†† His name does not occur elsewhere as succeeding at this period, and it is not till

* Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 117. † Op. cit., iv. 370. ‡ Golden Horde, 316.
§ *Id.*, 417. Karamzin, iv. 373. ‖ Karamzin, iv. 88. ¶ Golden Horde, 517-519, and 521.
** Fræhn, Resc., 263, 264. †† Journ. Asiat., vii. 117.

sixteen years later, namely, in the year 776 of the hejira (1374-5), when we find Cherkesbeg Khan coining money at Astrakhan.* It may be that he mounted the throne ephemerally, and then survived for many years, but we know nothing more about him. With his shadowy figure we may well close another chapter of our work, for we now find the family of Batu Khan had reached the term of its rule in the Kipchak. Whether his descendants were absolutely extinct or not it is impossible to say, but none of them, so far as we know, occupied the throne, which passed into the hands of the descendants of other sons of Juchi. Their history I shall trace in the succeeding chapters.

Note 1.—In the account of Uzbeg Khan I overlooked some notices of him contained in the narrative of the Roman Catholic missionaries, published by Colonel Yule in "Cathay and the Way Thither." Thus, in a work entitled "The Book of the Estate of the Great Caan," set forth by the archbishop of Soldaia (supposed to be the Dominican John de Cora), and written about 1330, we are told how Uzbeg was one of the three great lieges of the Great Caan, and that each year, like the rest, he sent as presents to his suzerain five leopards, camels, and jerfalcons, and a great store of precious jewels. He also says that in his war with Abusaid, Uzbeg put in the field an army of 707,000 horsemen!!!† Our next authority is John of Marignolli, who passed through the Kipchak in 1339. He tells us he found Christians at Kaffa of many sects, that on leaving that town he visited Uzbeg Khan, and presented the letters which he had with him from the Pope for the Khan himself, for his eldest son Tinibeg, and for Elias the ungarian (the Helym of the text),‡ who was in favour with the latter. He also presented him with certain pieces of cloth, a great war horse, with some strong liquor, and the Pope's presents; and after the winter was over, having been well fed, well clothed, and loaded with handsome presents, and supplied by Uzbeg with horses and travelling expenses, he proceeded to Almaligh.§

The Roman Catholics made extraordinary missionary efforts in the fourteenth century. About 1307 Khanbaligh was created a metropolitan see, with John of Montecorvino at its head, and directly after seven suffragan bishops were nominated to various sees in China.‖ John is said to have converted the Mongol Khakan. Wadding tells a very improbable story that when the Khakan died he was buried in the convent church; that when the troubles broke out in later times and the friars had to leave China, they removed the Imperial body with them to *Serai*, and that when taken up it was found as fresh as when buried.¶ To prove how strongly established the Latin church was in the Kipchak, I may quote a list of convents in that province, which, although written in the year 1400, refers probably to an

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* Fræhn, Resc., &c., 300. † Cathay and the Way Thither, i. 238. ‡ *Ante*, 171.
§ Cathay and the Way Thither, ii. 337. ‖ *Id.*, i. 170. ¶ *Id.*, 171.

earlier period. There were ten within the custodia of Serai and four in that of Gazaria or the Crimea. Those of Serai were Tana, Agitarchan (*i.e.*, Astrakhan), Serai, Comuch (*i.e.*, Kumuk, the land south of the Terek), Tarchis (*i.e.*, Terki, at the mouth of the river Terek, now represented by Kisliar, higher up, and which was distinct from the modern Tarkhu), Mamui (? Seraichuk), Majar, Uguech (*i.e.*, Ukek), Ak Serai (*i.e.*, white building perhaps, says Colonel Yule, "Al Baidha," which means the same thing, and which Edrisi couples with Samander, and possibly the Abserai of the Catalan map on the coast below Terki), and Organæ (*i.e.*, Urgenj).

In another list given by Wadding in 1314, we have named Beler, probably Bulghari, and S. Joannes, a monastery three miles from Serai. According to Wadding, a young man of this monastery named Stephen, resenting some severe discipline, deserted and publicly professed Islam; he afterwards as publicly recanted, and thereupon the enraged Muhammedans hacked him in pieces in front of the fire that was to have burnt him.*

Note 2.—In a note to the previous chapter, I accepted Colonel Yule's conclusions that the site of the ancient Serai of Batu Khan was probably near the salt works called Selitrennoi Gorodok, and also that there was a "New Serai," considerably further up the river, which was known as the Serai of Janibeg Khan. Its ruins exist on a very large scale at Tzaref. They have been explored with great diligence by M. Grigorief, who has published a considerable work upon them, which is unfortunately written in Russian. A plan of the ruins may be seen in the first volume of Colonel Yule's Marco Polo. This New Serai became, from its importance, the chief capital of the Golden Horde, and was also known as Great Serai. From Janibeg's name being so closely connected with it in tradition, it probably owed a good deal of its importance to him. It first occurs under the name of New Serai on a coin of Toktoghu of the year 710 (*i.e.*, 1310-11), but the site is so important from the neighbouring pasturage being so good, that it marks probably, as Pallas suggested, the usual summer quarters of the Tartar Khans. Pallas described the ruins at Tzaref in some detail, and I shall abstract his account. He says, "Near the Podpalatnoi Yerik (a ditch which empties itself by one branch into the Tzarefka, and by another into the Akhtuba), there are some curious remains of Tartarian antiquity. I remarked there several traces of houses and sepulchral hills, similar to those which I had before observed above the river Kugultu on the higher steppe. Among them are three ruins enclosed by a square bank of rubbish, without a a ditch, and with an outlet towards the south. The monument at Podpalatnoi Yerik is a sepulchral mound of a flat form, raised on a square eminence, and consisting of six contiguous and very low arches covered with earth; its base is about one hundred and fifty paces in circumference, and not above a fathom high, but together with the square on which the vaults are erected it is three fathoms in perpendicular height. This square monument is enclosed by the foundation of a thick wall, which consists of an imperfect sandstone quarried on the opposite bank of the Volga. There appears to have been an entrance in the northern side of this wall, which forms an oblong square of twenty-nine

* Cathay and the Way Thither, 233, 234. Notes.

fathoms long and twenty-seven fathoms broad; its base, measured from north to south, is fifty-seven fathoms in extent, and fifty-six from east to west. The space around the vaulted hillocks is considerably excavated within the enclosure, and the vaults of the monument, which probably have long since been plundered of a considerable booty, deserve a more accurate description on account of the solidity of their construction. The walls that support them are formed of pieces of rough unhewn sandstone, about an ell high. The vaults themselves are almost flat, and consist of about six layers of square oblong bricks placed alternately, so that one by its breadth supports and covers two others. The spaces between them are nearly an inch broad, and filled up with a cement which in some places appears to have been poured in while in a liquid state. It has, however, acquired such a solid consistence that it is easier to break the well-burnt bricks than to separate the mortar. This grey cement appears to be a mixture of unslacked lime, pulverised charcoal, and pounded sandstone, instead of the sand used for building. In that mass I observed many particles of lime as white as snow, which readily crumbled into dust, as well as large and small particles of charcoal, this substance being reduced to a fine powder, probably imparted the grey colour to the cement. Perhaps the admixture of charcoal dust may produce an effect similar to the earth of Pozzuola, which, however, must be decided by experiment. The durability of the cement may also be ascribed to a mixture of sour milk, which we may suppose must have been in great abundance among a wealthy pastoral people. In short, the mortar of their vaults is, notwithstanding the constant moisture from above and the saline nature of the surrounding soil, the best, hardest, and driest I have ever seen, and the ruins of the flat vaults almost resist the force of the pick-axe, insomuch that they can only be reduced by small fragments.

"On the western side of this mausoleum, distant about forty-two fathoms, there is a round heap of rubbish, apparently the ruin of a brick tower, from which a wall of an ell thick extends five fathoms to the east-south-east, and thirty-one fathoms to the south-south-east, forming an obtuse angle at a circular pit, where it terminates. The brick and shards scattered here probably belonged to an ancient aqueduct. I shall not attempt to decide whether this has been an apparatus for raising water, but so much is certain that the circumjacent soil having been made perfectly level, indicates a former state of agriculture, besides, it is manifest that at the lowest side of the parapet there has been a mound or bank formed in regular angles, from eight to ten paces broad, and upwards of a thousand paces long. The earth for this bank has been taken from pits discoverable in several places. This enclosure could have served no other purpose than that of a reservoir of water for gardens."*

"The popular tradition relative to the monument near the Podpalatnoi Yerik is that the palace of the Khan formerly stood there. I imagine, however, that this ruin, as well as the numerous vaulted piles of brickwork, are the ancient sepulchres of the Mongol-Tartar princes and other persons of distinction. The leaden tubes which are said to have been found near these vaults have probably been used instead of the spiracles usually made in Muhammedan tombs. It is certain that in the sepulchres of this country immense

* Pallas's Travels in the Southern Provinces of Russia, i. 194-196.

riches have formerly been discovered, consisting of jewels and vases and ornamental horse furniture of massy gold and silver. The major part of this treasure has been secretly disposed of to the goldsmiths and merchants, while the remainder is still preserved in the cabinet of curiosities belonging to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg.

"About one hundred fathoms north-west from the great mausoleum there is a large heap of rubbish or ruins thrown together, and nearly one hundred fathoms in circumference. It appears to have been part of the materials of a building. About sixteen fathoms farther towards the west-south-west is another square mass of ruins of a moderate size. One hundred fathoms north-west from the latter, and above one hundred fathoms from the large monument, a third oblong and very considerable pile appears, which is probably the ruins of a building; and two hundred fathoms westward there is a circular sepulchral hill, simply vaulted with bricks. This hill is opposite to and about one hundred fathoms distant from a lake, which is a verst long and surrounded with dwarf willows. The lake contains a sweetish water, and is much frequented by a variety of the feathered tribe. According to tradition, it is asserted to be the true sugar lake of Kharashish, the divorced consort of the Khan Dshenovak (*i.e.*, of Janibeg Khan), who is so often the subject of conversation among the Kalmuks. This lady, it is reported, had fixed her habitation near the above lake, and ordered a large quantity of sugar to be thrown into it, to decoy aquatic birds from the circumjacent parts. By this stratagem the Khan (her husband), who was a great lover of hawking, was induced to resort to the vicinity of her residence, and thus she eventually effected a reconciliation. All the heaps of ruins in the valley are distinctly visible from this lake, and there is also a distance prospect of the pile situated on the high steppe beyond the Tzaritza, which I have already mentioned in my former travels, and the large sepulchral hillocks beyond the Kugultu." *

"In some parts of this low country there is said to be a regular road paved with bricks leading over a swampy ditch, and in other places small regular arches of brickwork are discoverable, which probably have served as a groundwork for the felt tents of the chiefs in a country so rich in pasturage. In my opinion the ruins are not the remains of the dwelling-houses, but partly of mosques and partly of vaulted chapels which have been enclosed by walls like the modern cemeteries of the Nogays. A wandering nation, such as the Golden Horde of these countries, could no more be induced to reside in houses than the Khans and princes of the Kalmuks along the banks of the Volga; though the fortress of Yenataevka had been purposely established the dwelling-houses built for their accommodation. The whole border of the high steppe above the valley of Tzarevy Pody is covered with innumerable sepulchral hills, and those called Kurgans, which are scattered down along the banks of the Akhtouba, as far as the Solanka, and upwards beyond Saplavnaya. Some of these hills are very large, and may be seen at a great distance, but nearly the whole of their vaults have been opened. The largest sepulchral monuments are erected on the most prominent parts of the country, as in Siberia."

The ruins of the old Tartar capital and its dependent villages stretch over

* *Id.*, 198, 199.

a wide area of the steppe on the upper Akhtuba, and cover a space of seventy versts, including the bends of the river, and stretch from the village of Nishni Akhtubinsk, opposite Zaritzin, towards the east and south-east, as far as Saplawinskoi and the village of Prishibinskoi.* Near Saplawinskoi there is a large heap of bricks, which the Russians call Metshetnoi Bugar, or the hall of the house of prayer, and the Kalmuks, Temahne Balgasun, or the camel's tower. The Kalmuks report that Janibeg Khan kept his mares there, whose milk was conveyed by tubes from this tower to his residence, "but," says Pallas, "the numerous sepulchral hillocks scattered over the steppe sufficiently indicate the purpose to which this building was formerly consecrated."†

"From Prishibruskoi may be seen the beautiful valley of Tzarevy Pody, or the Royal residence. It is upwards of fifteen versts long and seven broad. By the Kalmuks it is called Jan Wokhani Balgassun (*i.e.*, the town where Khan Wokhan ruled). The Tartars, however, call it Janibeg Khan Serai.‡ Many coins have been found over this area, while the worked stones and *debris* have been used in building the tower of Zarefka," &c.§

I have no hesitation, as I said, in identifying the ruins just described with New Serai, as distinguished from the old Serai of Batu Khan. Now it is curious that when the name of New Serai appears on the coins that of Serai proper becomes very infrequent, and presently ceases altogether. We have it replaced by a new name, "Gulistan" (*i.e.*, the town of roses), a name which occurs in other sites, as on the coast of Abkhazia on the Black Sea, and is a very pretty synonym. I have no doubt that it represents the older Serai, and was given to it doubtless when the name Serai became distinctively attached to the larger town on the Akhtuba, and it naturally occurs for the first time under Janibeg Khan in 1351, who gave New Serai its importance. On a coin of Murid's,‖ struck in 763, the mint place is "Gulistan lis Serai" (*i.e.*, Gulistan which is Serai),¶ which proves that Gulistan is only another name for Serai. I may add that New Serai was apparently sometimes called New Gulistan, which name occurs on some coins of Janibeg, Pulad, and Azis Khan. There was still another synonym by which Serai was known, and this was the Mongol name of Ordu, the meaning of which I have explained in the Introduction. It first occurs under the Khan Abdullah in the year 1365-6,** and was used by most of the succeeding Khans. The name was also applied to New Serai, which was called Ordu el jedid, or New Ordu, on some of the coins of Toktamish and his successors.

I may add, as confirming the view here taken, that the diploma granted by Janibeg to the Venetians, already cited, is dated from Gulistan, while that of his son Berdibeg is similarly dated from the ordu on the Akhtuba.††

I shall reserve the description of Bolghari and Astrakhan for a later chapter, and will now consider the sites of certain towns which occur as mint places of the Golden Horde, and were probably situated on the Kuma and the Terek, namely, Majar, Jullad, and Mokhshi. In regard to Majar we have abundant materials.

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* Muller Ugrische Volkstamm, ii. 570. † Pallas, op. cit., i. 192.
‡ Muller, op. cit., 571. § *Id.* ‖ *Vide* next chapter. ¶ Fræhn Resc., &c., 276.
** *Vide infra.* †† Golden Horde, 519 and 521.

The ruins of the city are, or rather were, in recent times, situated on the river Kuma. The site was visited by Gmelin in 1772, and he tells us the ruins occur in three places. The principal ones are called Middle or Great Majar, and are situated on the left bank of the Kuma, between the lakes of Biwalla or Bibala and Tamuslava. When Gmelin was there he found an elevated quadrangular plain, five versts in diameter, the whole of which was occupied with ruins.

"These ruins," he says, "are evident indications of the former existence of a great and magnificent city, and some remains of buildings are yet in such a state as to prove this to demonstration. Others are more completely destroyed; and of the greater part, the ravages of time have left nothing but rubbish and the foundations, vaults more or less perfect, and similar relics. Such of the ruins as are in the best preservation are situated in general on the extreme border of the quadrangle, and surround the rest of the town. They are of superior dimensions, built of larger and more durable bricks, more profusely embellished, and stand more detached; they likewise exhibit traces of ditches and walls, and seem from all appearances to have been castles of the grandees, erected with a view to strength, splendour, and durability. The bricks resemble those still made by the Tartars of Astrakhan, that is to say, they are broader and thicker than ours. In the external walls, a mortar composed of lime and sand is used only here and there, the cement generally employed being clay alone; but within almost all the rooms are plastered and whitewashed. The foundations are mostly of brick, some few of stone, but all extremely solid. The beams and wood-work are fir.

"The figure of the buildings yet preserved is square, octagonal, and circular. All of them are from four to nine fathoms in height, and the square and octagonal are surmounted by a kind of pyramid, or rather diminish upward in the form of a pyramid. Narrow winding staircases, seldom more than fifteen inches wide, concealed in the walls, conduct to these pyramids or cupolas, which receive light through apertures resembling windows in the sides. The cupolas are arched at the top. In every house there is a lofty and spacious hall with two windows, likewise built of stone, from which a door leads into the principal apartment on the ground-floor. The entry to the hall is on the outside, and low. Thus every building consists of no more than one principal apartment on the ground-floor, the hall, and the cupola or pyramid. The first receives light from a small narrow window at a considerable height on each side, and on one or two sides there is a still smaller aperture very near the floor, likewise for the purpose of light, or perhaps of air. On the outside of the walls of the principal apartment and of the hall, there is a recess a brick in depth, and this recess is always arched at the top, probably for ornament. Within are several similar recesses or niches.

"The style of the circular buildings differ still more from the modern European and Asiatic architecture. These are likewise from four to nine fathoms in height, not large, arched and pointed at top; and they so nearly resemble the round Persian and other watch-towers, that they might be taken for them, if they did not stand among the other buildings on level ground, and had not windows instead of loopholes. These were probably magazines.

"In the middle of the principal apartment is a circular aperture three or

four feet in diameter, closed with a stone which exactly fits it. This aperture leads to a horizontal subterraneous passage, frequently no longer than the room itself, but which in many instances proceeds in a straight line, and runs to the extremity of the court-yard, where is also a closed entrance. It is provided with several air-holes.

"The decorations of the buildings consist of blue, green, red, or white glazed bricks, which are neatly inlaid among the others in the form of triangles, squares, parallelograms, crosses, hearts, and other figures, both in the interior and exterior of the walls of the lower apartment, and of the pyramid or cupola; just in the same manner as in the buildings of Selitrennoi Gorodok.

"The smaller wall incloses the court-yards of the above-described principal buildings in the form of a square, be the buildings themselves of whatever figure they may. Each of these court-yards has one or more graves, probably of the owners and their relations. Where there are several, they are all placed by the side of one another. Every grave has a stone, either standing upright or flat. The latter are about two yards long, and on the upper side there is generally the figure of a coffin common in Germany; but some have also geometrical and other figures, which to me appeared arbitrary; but might be a representation of the signature or arms of the deceased: thus you see upon them triangles, crosses, squares, &c. The surface of one large gravestone was divided by two diagonal lines into three compartments; in the centre was the figure of a coffin, and a figure in each of the two others.

"Besides these detached graves in the court-yards, there are also general burial-places, and one in particular beyond the lake of Biwalla (the river Bywalla) full of gravestones of different kinds.

"The buildings in the centre of the city, surrounded by these durable edifices, are now almost all mere heaps of rubbish forming small hills. They must have been run up with bad materials, and have been partly built of unburnt brick alone. Nevertheless, every house has its court-yard encompassed with a wall and ditch, and its tenants repose in their own ground, as traces of the walls and gravestones plainly evince—proofs of the once flourishing state of this city.

"Not far from Majar, near the lake of Biwalla, I saw a sepulchre, the occasion of which I was quite at a loss to divine. This burial-place cannot have been discovered but by some accident, perhaps by some person sinking in there; for it is totally destitute of any of the marks that would excite a suspicion of the existence of such a receptacle. In a spot overgrown with reeds is a hole two yards deep, four long, and about the same in breadth, with shelving sides, which was covered with clay and turf, as it partly is still. It is almost full of decayed human bones, to all appearance the remains of persons slain in battle.

"The first Majar (or Lower Majar) is situated on the Kuma, eighteen versts from Great Majar, and consists of the ruins of three edifices and court-yards at some distance from one another. One of them exactly resembled the octagonal buildings described above, both in form and architecture, but was of larger dimensions than any of those structures, and the ornaments of glazed brick had sustained less injury. The two others stand each at the distance

of about two hundred fathoms from this edifice, and all three in the form of a triangle.

"On the Kuma, three versts beyond Middle Majar, are the ruins of houses the same kind, which are called by the Russians Upper Majar. Opposite to Middle Majar, on the other (the right) side of the Kuma, are some few relics of former settlements and habitations.

"To this description of the remains of Majar, Gmelin adds that in 1735, while the Tartars were still masters of this country, Tatischtschew, governor of Astrakhan, sent some persons with a strong escort to explore these ruins, and to collect antiquities. By this means, as we are told, he obtained a writing upon very strong blue paper* and several coins, which he (as an antiquary!) took to be Scythian. It is matter of regret that nobody knows what has become of these collections, for in 1735 much greater curiosities must have existed there than in Gmelin's time, or at present; since the avarice of the Russian peasants prompts them to such researches wherever there are ruins and ancient graves, as leave nothing to be gleaned after them.

"Güldenstädt, who was at Majar on the 4th of July, 1773, found there, in an area of four hundred square fathoms, about fifty different buildings of brick. He considers them not as habitations but sepulchral edifices, all of which were provided with subterraneous vaults, which are not cellars but graves where the coffins were deposited. About five hundred fathoms to the west of this burial-place were the ruins of a Muhammedan mosque with its tower or minaret, and five hundred fathoms further to the west the remains of another edifice of the same kind. He is of opinion that between the two might once have stood houses, of which indeed no traces are now left, but which were probably, according to the mode of building common in this country, of light boards and wickerwork. From some inscriptions Güldenstädt ascertained that Majar was inhabited in the eighth century of the hejira; and from the style of the ruins he concludes that the people were Muhammedans, and according to history Nogays.

"Pallas says, that in 1780 thirty-two buildings were yet left, partly in good preservation, partly lying in ruins, and that there had formerly been ten others in the form of towers: but since numerous colonists have settled on the Kuma, and erected villages, all these remains of Majar have disappeared; as they employed the bricks in building their houses, because timber is a great rarity in the adjacent country. Thus seven years later Pallas found but four chapels, as they are called, standing, the sites of the others being marked only by heaps of rubbish."†

He tells that similar bricks to those found in the Tartar ruins, and glazed on one side only, were used when he wrote for chamber ovens, and were made at Cherkask, on the banks of the Don. After describing in detail the ruins as he saw them, he says:—"We often met with similar enclosures near the

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* "The Mongols still use the same kind of paper, which is either blue, brown, or black, for copying the sacred books of Lama religion upon, in gold, silver, or white letters. Of this sort were the Tibetian and Mongol writings found at Semipalatna and Ablai-kit, which excited so much attention at the commencement of the last century. (See Bayer Museum Sinicum, Petrop. 1730, vol. i., Pref., 108, and G. F. Müller Comment. de Script. Tangut. in Siberia repertis, in the Comment. Acad. Petrop., vol. x., 420, et seq."

† Klaproth's Travels in the Caucasus, 226-230.

principal tombs on the banks of the Volga, and I have not the least doubt that all these remains of antiquity formerly belonged to the same horde.' * He gives some excellent plates of two or three of the more imposing structures.

Let us now add Klaproth's account. He says:—

"These ruins, of which I could find nothing but the traces, are situated on the elevated brow of the steppe on the left of the Kuma, and on both sides of the Bibala, and extend northward as far as two small lakes of salt water. They occupy an area of about four versts and a half in length from north to south, and very little less in breadth. The destruction of these remains of antiquity has been occasioned chiefly by the settlement of several colonies, which have established themselves in this neighbourhood, and have pulled them down for the sake of the serviceable bricks. Their total demolition, however, is to be ascribed more particularly to Count Paul Ssergeitsch Potemkin, who ordered the greatest part of the buildings remaining in his time to be taken down, that the materials might be employed in the erection of the governmental town and fortress of Yekaterinograd, projected by himself. The peasants of Pokoinoi and Praskowyno have since carried away such quantities of bricks, that out of all the edifices only two burial chapels are now left, and these are going rapidly to decay.

"As the particulars already quoted from Gmelin and Güldenstädt are more circumstantial than any that I am capable of giving," says Klaproth, "I shall merely subjoin the description of a burial-vault underneath one of the chapels still standing, which I caused to be opened. The sunken floor of this building, which was quite open towards the east, was covered to the depth of more than two feet with bricks, rubbish, and earth; these were cleared away with shovels, when I found a hole, two feet and a half in depth and two in width, covered with a large limestone. This was the entrance to the vault, which was nine feet long and five and a half feet broad, but scarcely high enough to allow a person to stand upright. It was built of bricks laid edgewise; and in the middle, upon an elevation of brickwork, was a coffin made of thick deal boards, with the bones of the deceased, of the ordinary size, but which were much decayed, and authorise the inference that they must be of considerable antiquity. The skull had fallen to pieces, otherwise I should have taken it with me. Besides these objects there was nothing whatever worthy of notice in the vault. The air was pure, and our wax tapers burned extremely bright in it. The coffin lay in the direction from north to south. I would have had the vault under the other chapel opened also; but the Armenians assured me that they had examined it about a year before, and that it exactly resembled this in every particular.

"From the remaining ruins and from the foundations, the site of the town may easily be recognised, and it was evident that the burial-place was towards the Kuma. Every impartial person must admit that most of these remains are indications of a city, as are also the numerous ancient European and Tartar silver and copper coins, the gold and silver rings and earrings, the bronze mirrors, and other utensils which are still frequently found buried in the earth; further, the mosaic pavements of blue, white, and green glazed tiles, stone

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* Pallas, op. cit., i. 331.

seats, and among the rest also a large reservoir for water of hewn stone, which now serves a peasant at Praskowyno for a corn bin.

"The name Majar, given to these ruins, is old Tartar, and signifies a stone building; it is synonymous with Thashtan. By the neighbouring Nogays and Turkomans they are likewise called Kirk Majar, that is, the forty stone buildings. Here, as in Turkish, Kirk does not merely signify forty, but it is the number which denotes a great multitude, like six hundred in Latin. In some Tartar dialects indeed, the word Majar also means a large four-wheeled waggon, but here that signification seems to be totally inapplicable. Some tribes of the Russian Tartars in the lofty mountains of the Caucasus, at the source of the Chegem and Terek, assert that they are descended from the inhabitants of this Kirk Majar.

"The following facts afford incontestable proofs that Majar was a town built and inhabited by Kipchak Tartars.

"1. The form of the buildings and sepulchral chapels is characteristic of Southern Asia; and the latter in particular exactly resembles those which are to be seen near Tiflis in the Tartar burial-place on the rivulet of Zakuissi. The fashion of adorning the walls with tiles, which are glazed on one side with different colours, is also Tartar and Mongol. Thus in Dauria are to be found the ruins of an ancient city, and the same kind of green, blue, and red bricks as here; and in Tiflis the walls of the citadel of Naraklea, erected by the Turks, are in like manner ornamented with glazed tiles of different colours.

"2. The inscriptions in the Arabic language yet extant on gravestones are of Muhammedan Tartar origin. Several that I saw were inscribed in letters resembling the Cufic, and others in Niss'chi characters; the two most perfect of which are the following:—'Here is buried the deceased, who needs the mercy of God in eternity, Sina, son of Muhammed, the son of Chalil . . . in the year of the æra seven-and-forty and seven hundred.'

"The year of the hejira 747 commences April 23, 1346, and ends the 11th April in the year 1347 of the Christian era.

"The other inscription, which is of later date by about thirty years, is as follows:—'The Judge of the Faithful, Kassi Muhammed, son of Taij-uddin (Crown of the Faith), in the year seven-and-seventy and seven hundred.'

"The year 777 of the hejira falls between the 1st of June, 1375, and the 19th of May, 1376. This stone, which is in excellent preservation, I took away with me from Majar for the sake of the date.

"All the other sepulchral inscriptions containing dates, which were partly expressed in words and partly in figures, belonged to the eighth century of the hejira; and of these I found five more; but excepting the lower part, comprehending the date, they were too much defaced to be entirely made out. When Pallas asserts that he found no stones with inscriptions at Majar, he proves that he took no great pains to look for them. They are now, indeed, no longer to be met with among the ruins, but may be seen in the court-yards of the neighbouring peasants, who use them for building. Many of them also are said to have been employed in the walls of Yekaterinograd.

"3. Almost all the silver and copper pieces found at Majar were coined at Serai, the residence of the Jingiskhanids in the Kipchak, or in other cities of their empire."

Klaproth describes in detail a considerable number of the coins found at Majar, ranging from one of Mangu Timur, struck in the year 1274-5 to one of Pulad Khan, who reigned from 1406 to 1408.* Great and Little Majar are mentioned in the Derbend Nameh as early as the second century of the hejira, and then had their respective governors.† According to Abulghazi, Mangu Timur made over Kaffa, Krim, and Majar to Ureng Timur, the son of Tuka Timur.‡ Abulfeda also mentions Kumajar in the country of the Tartars of Bereke,§ Kum Majar, as Klaproth says, is compounded of Kum and Majar (*i.e.*, Majar on the Kuma).‖ Majar occurs as a mint place on a coin dated in 710 or 715 (*i.e.*, 1310 or 1315), and New Majar on a coin of Muhammud Bulak in 774 (*i.e.*, 1372-3).¶ Klaproth says the town was probably destroyed in the turbulent times which followed the reign of Toktamish.

The inhabitants of the district up to this time, as I have shown in the introduction, were probably the ancestors of the Basians and Karachai of the Caucasus, who were gradually pushed southwards, and eventually driven from the two Kabardas into the mountains by the encroachments of the Circassians.

A second mint place in this district, in the days of the Golden Horde, was Jullad, which occurs on a coin of 692 or 696 (*i.e.*, 1293 or 1296). Fræhn says it was situated on the right of the Terek, where its ruins still remain.** I find in Koch's very detailed map of the Caucasian Isthmus there is a place on the Upper Terek, but on the left bank, called Julatsk, which is perhaps the site referred to. I may add that, like Majar, Jullad is also named in the Derbend Nameh as having a special governor of its own.††

In regard to Mokhshi there has been hitherto a singular difficulty in discovering its whereabouts. It occurs on many coins of Uzbeg, on one of Janibeg, and on one of Kildibeg. Fræhn was apparently altogether ignorant of its site, and its name is given with several orthographies, as if its form was uncertain. I would propose to identify it with the ancient capital of the Alans or Ossetes, which, according to Masudi, was called Magas.‡‡ This was probably situated in the Little Kabarda. Klaproth, in describing this district, says "in all probability the most ancient sepulchral monument in the Little Kabarda is situated on the east side of the rivulet Yaman Kul, about three versts from Botashewa Kabak, in the plain at the foot of the second Greben. It is an edifice of hewn stone, and around it are about a hundred hillocks of earth, called Bugri, which probably mark the graves of the princes whose remains are deposited in the monument. The building is an octagon, each of its sides measuring six feet. In that facing the south is an arched door, on each side of which is a wall projecting to the distance of two yards. In the sides fronting the east and west are two corresponding windows, about nine inches from the ground. The height of the walls is about twelve feet. At the bottom of the building is a deep vault, the stone supporters of which have fallen in so that the regular sides of a central aperture leading to the vault are no longer to be seen. This place is so incumbered with stones that no remains of bodies are discoverable. Almost the whole west side of the

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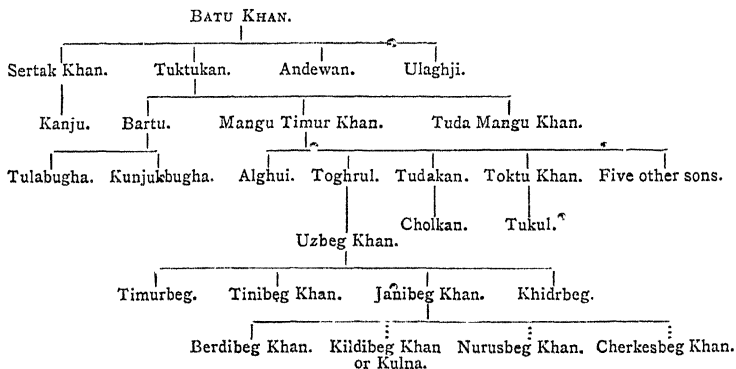
* *Id.*, 236-238. † *Id.*, 239. ‡ *Id.*, 239. § *Id.*, 240.
‖ *Id.*, 240. ¶ Fræhn die Munzen der Chane von Ulus Dschutschi, ** Resc., 201.
†† Klaproth, op. cit., 239. ‡‡ D'Ohsson Voyage d'Abul Cassim, 23.

building is in ruins, and the wall there is two feet thick. On the stone inserted over the door is engraved a Tartar inscription in three lines, of which only these words, Kuban Khan, son of Berdi, in the year 860 (*i.e.*, A.D. 1455), are legible. Berdibeg, the son and successor of Janibeg, reigned only from 1357 to 1359. If the Kuban Khan mentioned in the inscription were a son of this Berdibeg, he must have lived upwards of one hundred years, a circumstance by no means rare among the roving Tartars." *

Note 3.--Since writing the above chapter I have met with a curious note in a work by M. Butkowski, now publishing with the title "Dictionnaire Numismatique." On page 251 he says, "A great curiosity is preserved in the Archducal Museum at Jena, namely, a crown in massive gold which formerly belonged to Janibeg Khan." The origin of which, he says, is perfectly attested. Such an object is quite unique. I have no other information about it. I may add that Janibeg is the last Khan of the Golden Horde mentioned in the Yuen shi, where his name occurs in the form Ja ni bie.†

THE DESCENDANTS OF BATU KHAN.

In the above table I have only inserted those names which occur in the text. A more detailed genealogy, as given by Rashid, &c., is appended to Von Hammer's Golden Horde.

* Klaproth, Travels in the Caucasus, 359, 360.
† Bretschneider Notices on Med. Geogr., &c., 106.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RIVAL FAMILIES.

KHIZR KHAN.

WITH the extinction of the family of Batu Khan we are landed in a practical chaos, from which we only emerge into clear daylight after some time. As I have before mentioned, a great Mongol chief divided his clans among his sons, as a Russian Grand Prince divided his appanages. These portions became the hereditary heritage of his family. Thus, when Batu Khan succeeded to the throne of the Golden Horde, his elder brother Orda succeeded to that of the White Horde, which camped on the Jaxartes and in the east of the Khanate. Tuka Timur's son Ureng was granted the towns of Krim and Kaffa in the Crimea, with the surrounding district, by Mangu Timur. Bereke and his family had the country on the Kuma and the Terek. The Nogay Horde apparently nomadised on the Yaik or Ural and the Yemba, while the descendants of Sheiban ruled over the confederacy which was afterwards widely famous as that of the Uzbegs, in the country now occupied by the Middle Horde of the Kirghiz Kazaks.

When the leading family died out, and there were no longer any descendants of Batu living, it was natural that strife should ensue among the several collateral branches for the Imperial throne of the Khanate, and this is what apparently happened. Unfortunately our authorities at this point are so sparse and their information so slight, that we cannot give the story a clear outline, and our conclusions are necessarily but tentative. In tracing out the early stages of the revolution, I shall adopt the account given by the Haji Abdul Ghassar, whose account has been translated by Langles.*

He tells us that on the death of Berdibeg the Tartars assembled together, and seeing there did not remain at Serai any prince of the Royal blood, offered the throne to the Sultana Taid Ughlu Begum. She had married Uzbeg Khan, and was the mother of Janibeg. (This was the Taidula whom we have named more than once. She was not, however, Janibeg's mother.) She thanked them, but said she could not accept an honour to which she was not entitled, that religion forbade an

* Appendix to Forster. Op. cit., 372, &c,

usurpation, and she recommended them to put on the throne some prince of the house of Jingis. Pleased with her answer, the Tartars thought they could not trust themselves in safer hands than her own, and asked her to choose a sovereign. She chose Khizr Khan, who lived at Akgul, *i.e.*, the White Lake. He did not rule over either wing of the Mongols, and his only claim was that he was descended from Jingis Khan. He left for Serai, where he had an audience with the Sultana. She was much pleased with his figure and graces, and offered to put the crown on his head on condition of sharing his bed. This happened, we are told, in the year 724 of the hejira (*i.e.*, 1324-5).*

This account and what follows has been entirely passed over by Von Hammer. It seems to me to be in the main true. The date, of course, is an impossible one, but otherwise the story seems to be founded on fact. We know from other sources what an important person Taidula was. We are told by the Russian authors that Khizr Khan wandered for some time beyond the Yaik, which agrees with the story that he lived at Akgul. Who then was Khizr Khan? We are told he did not belong to either the right or left wings of the Mongols (*i.e.*, did not belong either to the family of Orda or Batu), that he lived beyond the Yaik, and also at Akgul. This Akgul or White Lake can surely be no other than one of the two lakes of Akgul in the eastern part of the Kirghiz Kazak country, west of the Irtish, and south of Omsk, that is, in the country occupied by the subjects of Sheiban; and it seems to me the description of Khizr Khan suits this conclusion remarkably well. Khizr may be a mere appellative meaning Christian, as it does elsewhere, which would account for his being the chosen husband of the Christian princess Taidula. This is, however, a mere conjecture. We will treat Khizr Khan therefore as a descendant of Sheiban, and proceed with our story.

Karamzin tells us, as I have said, that Khizr Khan put Nurusbeg, his son Timur, and the Khatun Taidula† to death. The last statement is not consistent with the account given by the Turkish author, and is probably a mistake. The revolution by which he secured the throne took place in the year 1360. He invested Constantine with the principality of Rostof, and gave Galitch to Dimitri Ivanovitch, the grandson of the Great Gallician Prince Daniel.‡ In the same year some bands of plunderers from Novgorod made a raid upon Yukotin, a town of Great Bulgaria, in the district of Laichevski, and near the outfall of the Kama. There they killed a number of Tartars and carried off some plunder. The Tartars revenged themselves by an attack on the Christians in Bulgaria. The princes of Yukotin made a complaint to Khizrbeg, who sent three representatives named Urus, Kairmek or Kairbek, and Altunshibeg, to punish the plunderers.§ The Grand Prince, his brother

* Op. cit., 373 and 375. † Op. cit., iv. 373. ‡ *Id.*

§ Chronicle of Nikon, cited by Karamzin, iv. Note, 88.

Andrew of Nigni Novgorod, and Constantine of Rostof, were summoned to meet the Khan's envoys at Kostroma, to answer for the recent brigandages. They sought out the guilty parties and handed them over to the Tartars, to whom they also paid black mail.* Meanwhile Khizr Khan was displaced from the throne.

According to the Turkish account already cited, the choice of the Sultana excited a civil war among the Tartars, and Zekireh Nughai, born of the Royal blood, who commanded the hordes of the left wing, hearing that Khizr Khan had been preferred to him, determined to revenge himself. He did not seek the crown for himself, we are told, but offered it to Kara Nughai, his son. The young prince took counsel during the night with the Tartars of his faction, and it was determined in the morning to enter by stealth the palace of Khizr Khan and to kill him. Khizr Khan, we are told, succeeded in escaping, and Kara Nughai was then proclaimed Khan.†

The Sultana had been forced to separate from a charming lover, whom she long regretted. A new passion made her forget her old love. Notwithstanding the frigidity of age, she had preserved alight the fires of love, and now became enamoured of a young man of the house of Jingis Khan named Bazarji. She offered to obtain the crown for him if he responded to her passion, thus mistaking ambition for love, she forgot her great age, and thought her charms were still powerful.‡ Bazarji proved himself an infamous tyrant, and quite unworthy of a throne, which the caprice of a woman had given him, and he signalised his advent by a thousand excesses. He caused Alibeg, one of the most distinguished Tartars, to be put to death. Hassan, son of this beg, took refuge with Hussein, the ruler of Khuarezm, and implored his help. Hussein accordingly marched against and defeated Bazarji, who was killed with his wife.§ Bazarji is not named in the Russian chronicles, nor have we any coins of his, but he is mentioned by Khuandemir, and it would seem that he and the Turkish author just quoted must have derived their information from a common source. I see no reason for invalidating a story told with such circumstantial detail, and am surprised it has been entirely ignored by Von Hammer. But to continue, on the death of Bazarji, Khizr Khan returned, but he was born to be unfortunate, and was killed by his own son Berut.‖ This is no doubt the Merdud of Khuandemir, B and M being interchangeable letters in Turkish.

I may add, that while the other Russian chroniclers make Khizr Khan be killed by Timur Khoja, that of Troitzki, which is generally to be depended upon, makes him be murdered by his brother Murat.¶ The chronicle of Nikon calls Khizr good.** On his coins he styles

* Karamzin, iv. 373. Note, 88. † Op. cit., 375, 376. ‡ *Id.*, 376, 377.
§ *Id.*, 377. ‖ *Id.* ¶ Karamzin, iv. 446. Note, 88. ** *Id.*

himself the just Sultan Khizr Khan, and also Mahmud Khizr Khan. They are apparently numerous, and were struck at Gulistan, New Serai, Azak, and Khuarezm, in the years 760 to 762 of the hejira (*i.e.*, 1359 to 1360-1).

MERDUD OR BERDUD KHAN.

This is but a shadowy figure, and we are merely told that having killed his father, he was in turn killed two months later.* We have no coins of his, but Von Hammer tells us that amidst the dearth of other information there remains a coin struck during the year 1361 at Azof, with the name Ordu Malik upon it,† and of this name he makes a separate Khan; but surely Malik means king and Ordu is simple the horde, and Ordu Malik is a mere title applicable to any of the sovereigns of the Golden Horde, and not the name of any particular one. This generalisation of the Khan's name is a fair gauge of the state to which matters were at this time reduced in the Khanate.

THE DESCENDANTS OF TUKA TIMUR.

We now get into the very recesses of our historical quagmire, in which we can only thread a very crooked way. We have in the list of Khans given by Khuandemir several names of chiefs, whose close relationship he vouches, whom he makes Khans of the Kipchak, but who have left but few traces elsewhere, either in the shape of coins or in the pages of the Russian chronicles. More than one of them bears the title of Khoja. Now this title or soubriquet was applied to those who belonged to the family of the prophet, and, as is well known, the Khojas had at a later day the chief political influence at Kashgar and its neighbourhood. It is probable that one of the Tartar chiefs married a wife who belonged to a Khoja family, and thus engrafted his stock on the famous tree which bore Muhammed himself. At all events, the use of the soubriquet Khoja is a strong support to the fact attested by Khuandemir, that the princes we are speaking about were closely related.

Now the first one who bore the name in the Kipchak, so far as I know, was the Mamat Khoja already referred to, who was exiled to Urgenj in the reign of Berdibeg Khan. I believe him to be the same person as the Mamai, who occupies such a prominent place in the immediately succeeding narrative. Who then was he? This is a very difficult question, and one, so far as I know, not hitherto discussed. Von Hammer's authority tells us that when he went to Urgenj he

* Langles, op. cit., 371.

† Golden Horde, 317.

went to his uncle there.* Now Khuarezm, of which Urgenj was the capital, was during the reign of Uzbeg ruled by the latter's friend and *protegé* Kutlugh Timur, who was probably the uncle referred to by Von Hammer. This does not advance us very far, but let us turn to another thread of our argument.

Klaproth tells us that the Tartars who roam about the ruins of Majar relate that this place was the residence of Khan Mamai. Hence also he says the Russians in the vicinity give this place the appellation of Mamaiski Gorod.†

Now we are told by Abulghazi that Majar, together with Krim and Kaffa, were assigned by Mangu Timur to Ureng, the son of Tuka Timur,‡ so that Majar was probably dominated over by the latter's descendants, and if so, Mamai was probably one of them. Let us adopt this as a provisional hypothesis. Mamai then stands out, not only as "the kingmaker" but as the champion of the family of Tuka Timur against the pretensions of those of Sheiban and Orda.

Let us then shortly turn to the family of Tuka Timur. Tuka Timur was the youngest son or hearth-child of Juchi, the founder of the Golden Horde. We first hear of him in 1229. In that year all the sons of Juchi except Tuka Timur went to assist at the inauguration of Ogotai Khan, and he was left behind in charge of the Golden Horde. On Batu's return home on this occasion, Tuka Timur gave a grand feast which lasted three days.§

On the inauguration of Mangu Khakan, in 1251, the Golden Horde was represented by Tuka Timur and his brother Bereke.‖ He was apparently the first of the princes of the Kipchak to openly adopt the religion of Islam, and was followed in doing so by Bereke Khan. Tuka Timur, with his two brothers Singkur and Siklum, belonged to the left wing of the Golden Horde, which was presided over by Orda, Batu's elder brother. We don't know when Tuka Timur died. On the accession of Mangu Timur to the throne of the Golden Horde, we are told, he gave Kaffa and Krim to Ureng Timur, son of Tuka Timur.¶ It would seem he also made over Majar to him.** This took place in the year 1265, and it is probable that it was Oreng Timur who first allowed the Genoese to settle down at Kaffa in the Crimea.†† According to Bohucz, Oreng Timur owed his good fortune to the assistance he afforded Mangu Timur in a war against the Yazyges of Lithuania.‡‡ He was probably also called Uz Timur. He had several sons, one of whom was named Saricha.§§ Saricha is called Saricha Kunchak Oghlan by Abulghazi, while Rashid makes Kunchak a son of Saricha.‖‖ The

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* Golden Horde, 314. † Travels in the Caucasus, 239. ‡ *Ante*, 193.
§ Abulghazi, 179, 180. ‖ Golden Horde, 134 and 149. ¶ Abulghazi, 182.
** *Ante*, 193. †† Golden Horde, 254. ‡‡ History of the Taurida, 343.
§§ Golden Horde, Genealogical Table. Abulghazi, 187.
‖‖ Veliaminof Zernof, History of the Khans of Kasimof, Trans., i. 41.

former, whose account is generally based on Rashid, probably had a better manuscript before him than we have now. It may be he is the same person who was sent in 1333 by Uzbeg to summon the Russian princes to his presence.* He is there called Seraichik, and it is equally probable that he was the Serai Kutlugh who commanded an army in the campaign waged by Uzbeg against the Ilkhan in 1318 and 1319, and who is described as a brother of Kutlugh Timur.†

Our information is so slight at this time that we can only fill in a very clouded and uncertain picture. In 1333 an army of Tartars invaded Poland, in command of Kadlubeg (*i.e.*, Kutlughbeg), Demetrius, and Kaizibeg.‡ This Kutlughbeg was doubtless the Kutlugh Timur just named, who held such an important position at Uzbeg's court, and who is mentioned as one of the grandees of the Krim in the treaty which the Venetians the same year entered into with Uzbeg.§ This position makes it very probable he was a descendant of Tuka Timur, and increases the probability that he was a brother of Saricha. For the services he rendered Usbeg he was nominated governor of Khuarezm.‖ Von Hammer makes the governors of Krim and Khuarezm two distinct persons in one place,¶ while in another he apparently identifies them as one.** I am now disposed to think the latter view is right. Mirkhond tells us that Kutlugh Timur died in 1335,†† but this seems to be a mistake, for it is probable he was the same person as the Cotloboga or Kutlughbeg who attested Janibeg's diploma to the Venetians and the Kutlugh Timur, lord of Sorgat, who fills an important position in the similar diploma granted by Berdibeg in 1358. If this be so, it is not unlikely that he still retained his position as governor of Khuarezm. As I have said I believe Mamai, "the Warwick" of Kipchak, was his nephew.

TUGHAI.

Abdul Ghassar, the Turkish author, translated by Langles, speaks of a chief whom he calls Zekireh Nughai as heading the party against Khizr Khan. I would suggest that he was the brother of our Mamai. This, I think, reconciles some of the difficulties which beset the story at the point we have reached. We are told in that narrative that, not wishing to have the throne for himself, he offered it to Kara Nughai, his son, who accordingly secured it. This Kara Nughai was no doubt the Nukai, son of Sibachi, who is made to succeed Bazarchi by Khuandemir. He was again, as I believe and as was suggested by Von Hammer, the same person as the Tughai of the Russian annalists. In fact the name in Khuandemir's list is read Tukai by De la Croix, Grigorief, and

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* Golden Horde, 297. † *Ante*, 156. ‡ *Ante*, 163. § Golden Horde, 297, 298. ‖ *Id.*, 301. ¶ Op. cit., 303. ** *Id.*, 297. †† Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 123.

Von Hammer.* Khuandemir calls him the son of Sibachi, which is therefore a synonym with the Zenkireh Nogai of Abdul Ghassar. The same name is read Shahican by De la Croix.† They are perhaps all corruptions of Saricha. The Russians call him Toghai of Beshdeshe. This was a town desolated by the black death in 1346. It has been identified with the village of Wesedef on the Volga,‡ but it is quite as probable that this name is a corruption of Beshtau in Circassia, where Uzbeg had an ordu, and which was doubtless within the camping ground of Tuka Timur's Horde. The Russians tell us Tughai, about the year 1361, occupied the country of the Mordvins, where the town of Naruchat is now situated.§ Having settled down in this district, answering to the modern government of Penza, he proceeded to burn the town of Riazan. Oleg joined himself to the Princes of Pronsk and Koselsk, and defeated Tughai in a bloody struggle on the Woinova. The latter returned home with only a few followers.|| Von Hammer attributes to him the foundation of the town of Taghai in the government of Simbirsk.¶ We have no coins struck by him, nor do I know anything more of him. We may safely say that he was a mere local ruler, and not truly a Khan of the Golden Horde.

TUGHLUK TIMUR.

Khuandemir makes Tughai be succeeded by Tughluk Timur Khan, who, he says, was the son of the brother of Tughai.** If Tughai was the son of Saricha, as I have suggested, then if we follow Abulghazi, he was the brother of Tokul Khoja Oghlan.†† Abulghazi says Tokul Khoja Oghlan had a younger brother called Tulek Timur. Perhaps there is a mistake either in Khuandemir or Abulghazi, but this very close agreement makes it probable that the Tughluk Timur Khan of Khuandemir was the Tulek Timur of Abulghazi. His brother was probably the Tawlubeg who was sent by Uzbeg as an envoy to Russia in 1339,‡‡ who is mentioned under the name of Taughly Tuli Bai by Abdul Ghassar as the first minister of Berdibeg and the instigator of his parricidal crime,§§ and again in Berdibeg's diploma to the Venetians under the name of Tolobei, as the lord of Tana.|||| He was killed, we are told, with his master in 1358.¶¶

As to Tughluk Timur himself I know nothing, unless he be the same person as the Timur Khoja who some of the Russian chroniclers make the son and murderer of Khizr Khan. I have shown that the son and

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* Golden Horde, 322. Note, 4. De la Croix, History of Genghiz Khan, &c., 389.
† Loc. cit. ‡ Golden Horde, 308. Note, 3. *Ante*, 175.
§ Karamzin, iv. 374. Golden Horde, 322. || Karamzin, v. 11. Golden Horde, 320.
¶ Golden Horde, 320. ** Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 117. †† Abulghazi, 187.
‡‡ Golden Horde, 302. §§ Op. cit., 372. |||| Golden Horde, 521. ¶¶ *Id.*, 314.

murderer referred to was not Timur Khoja but Merdud, and the title of Khoja points to the former belonging to the family which we are now dealing with, namely, the descendants of Tuka Timur. This is supported by a statement in the Russian chronicles that Timur Khoja, after a very short reign, was driven away by his temnik or general Mamai. The latter was hardly likely to be the temnik of the rival family of Khizr Khan. He had time, however, to coin money; specimens are extant struck at New Serai in 762 (*i.e.*, 1360-1).*

MURAD KHOIA.

Khuandemir makes Tughluk Timur be succeeded by his brother Murad, who has been confounded by previous historians with Merdud or Berdud, the son of Khizr Khan, but who that author makes an entirely different person. Murad was a more important ruler than the shadows we have been considering. He held court at Serai, and was at deadly issue with Mamai, who, as I have argued, was his near relative. The times were dangerous also for the Russian Princes. Andrew Constantinovitch of Nishni Novgorod, on his way home from the horde, was attacked by the Tartar Retahos. The other Russian princes who were there at his accession made the best of their way homewards.† The horde was virtually split in two, one section obeying Murad and the other Mamai (who was playing the part once played by Nogai) and his *protegé* Abdullah. A fierce struggle took place between the two sections. In 1361 Mamai made a raid and killed several dependants of Murad, while the following year Murad or Amurath repaid this attack by crossing the Volga and killing a great number of Mamai's people.‡

In Russia we now find Dimitri Ivanovitch of Moscow, probably supported by the metropolitan Alexis, setting up claims to the Grand Principality, which, as I have said, had been granted to his namesake Dimitri Constantinovitch by Nurus Khan. The question was referred to the Khan Murad, who, amidst his domestic troubles (according to Karamzin), found consolation in this proof of confidence and of power. Having summoned the envoys to his presence, he adjudged the Grand Principality to Dimitri Ivanovitch of Moscow.§ His rival of Suzdal refused to recognise Murad's patent of investiture and to evacuate Vladimir and Pereislavl Zalesky; but the Prince of Moscow, supported by his boyards, marched against him, forced him to escape to Suzdal, and was duly crowned and installed at Vladimir. The young prince was but twelve years old,‖ but he worthily justified the confidence of his advisers. Seated on the throne by the favour of the Khan Murad, Dimitri

* Fræhn Resc., 271. † Golden Horde, 318. ‡ Karamzin, iv. 456. Note, 88. § Karamzin, iv. 375. ‖ *Id.*, 376.

wished also to have the patronage of his rival Abdullah, whose envoy appeared at Vladimir with a yarligh or diploma for him. He accordingly went again to Vladimir, and once more went through the ceremony of inauguration there. This act offended Murad. Ivan of Bielosersk being at this time (1363) at Serai, he sent him home, and with him an envoy named Ilak with a yarligh authorising Dimitri of Suzdal to take possession of the throne of Vladimir. The latter did so, but the grandson of Kalita, who knew the weakness of the Tartars at this time, marched against his rival and drove him away. He permitted him to retain Suzdal as his vassal only.* The Princes of Rostof, Starodub, and Galitch were also obliged to submit to the young Grand Prince. Meanwhile the Lithuanians continued to increase in power, Olgerd had lately occupied the towns of Mitislavl, Kief, and Belor in the principality of Smolensko, while he had kept up a perpetual struggle with the Poles and the Livonian Knights. In 1363 he marched into Podolia and attacked three Tartar hordes which nomadised on the Lower Dnieper. He defeated them, drove them to the Krim, and plundered Kherson, whose inhabitants he slew, while he pillaged the churches. From this time Kherson apparently disappears from history, and the Tartars west of the Dnieper became to some extent subject to the Lithuanians.† Coins of Murad Khan occur only in the years 763 and 764 (*i.e.*, 1361 and 1363). They were struck at Gulistan, which on one of his coins, as I have mentioned, is called Gulistan lis Serai. We do not know how he was displaced.

KUTLUGH KHOJA.

Khuandemir makes him be succeeded by Kutlugh Khoja, whom he calls the brother of Tughai, and by implication the uncle of Murad.‡ Fortunately we have a document signed by him still extant. It is referred to by Von Hammer, who tells us Kutlugh Khoja was a nephew of Mamai's,§ which exactly confirms the conclusion arrived at in the previous pages. This document is a yarligh or patent granted to the father confessor and seal bearer of the Russian Prince Dimitri, who had been detained by the Tartars in the steppes of the Poloutzi, and is expressed in very gracious terms.‖ We know nothing more of him.

PULAD TIMUR OR PULAD KHOJA KHAN.

About this time we read that Pulad Timur made a raid upon the northern part of the Khanate of Kipchak, and captured the town of Bolghari, where he set up authority. He is also styled Mir Pulad Khan

* Karamzin, v. 4. † *Id.*, 16. ‡ Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 117. De la Croix, op. cit., 389. § Golden Horde, 325. ‖ *Id.*

and Pulad Khoja Khan on his coins. The use of the soubriquet Khoja makes it probable that he belonged to the same family as the group of chiefs last described, and was not a descendant of Sheiban, as some have argued. On some of his coins he is called the son of Nugan, which name is read doubtfully. It is probably a form of Nugai or Tughai, and I would provisionally suggest that he was the son of the Tughai already named. His coins first occur in the year 764 (*i.e.*, 1362-3), at New Serai, when he styles himself "The Just Sultan Mir Pulad Khan." Two years later we have another of his coins, struck at the same place, in which he is called "The Supreme Sultan Pulad Khoja Khan." Two years later again, we have a coin of his with the name "Pulad Timur, son of Nugan." On the reverse of this coin is the curious posthumous ejaculation, "The sanctified Sultan Janibeg Khan, may his empire endure."* His coins were struck at New Serai, which city is also named New Gulistan on them. Master of the country on the middle Volga, he harassed the Russian frontiers. We are told that Dimitri, Prince of Nijni Novgorod, and his brother Boris attacked him and drove him beyond the Piana. A great number of his people were slain or drowned. This took place, according to Karamzin, in 1367. Pulad sought refuge at Serai, where Azis was then ruling, and by his orders he was put to death.†

AZIS KHAN.

Azis Khan is not mentioned in Khuandemir's list of the chiefs of the Kipchak. Abdul Ghassar tells us that after the death of Merdud, the son of Khizr Khan, troubles ensued, and that Alaji Oghlu, a prince of the blood, settled on the Volga, where many Tartars went over to him.‡ He was doubtless the Azis Khan to whom we now turn. Aziz is styled the Sultan Aziz Sheikh Khan on his coins, which were struck at Gulistan, New Gulistan, and New Serai, in the years 766 to 768 (*i.e.*, 1365-6 to 1367-8).§ He is called Osis in the Russian chronicles. I don't know who he was, but it would seem from his putting Janibeg's name on his coins that he claimed to represent in some way the legitimate line of the chiefs of Kipchak. The name of Janibeg is mentioned with a formula showing he was dead, a custom, says M. Soret, which prevails in the modern Janid coins of Bokhara. I have mentioned how it occurs in a similar manner on a coin of Pulad Timur. This use of the name of the dead Khan has led to a curious invention of a second, and even a third Janibeg by the Russian numismatists, for whose existence there is no other warrant. Azis continued the same policy towards the Russians which was patronised by Murad. Vasili, surnamed Kirdapa, the son of

* Frahn, Description of Fuch's Collection, 18, 19. † Karamzin, v. 11.
‡ Op. cit., i. 378. § Soret Lettre a M. le Capitaine Kossikofski, 23.

Dimitri of Suzdal, being at the horde, was sent home with a diploma constituting his father Grand Prince in the place of the grandson of Kalita, Dimitri Ivanovitch, but the latter shrank from the dangerous patronage of the Khan. Andrew, Prince of Nijni Novgorod, dying about this time, the Prince of Suzdal, who was his brother, endeavoured to secure the succession for himself, but was forestalled by his younger brother Boris. The former now appealed to the Grand Prince, and the latter to the Tartars.* We are told that Beiram Khoja on the part of the Khan Azis, and Hassan on the part of the Khan's wife,† who was probably a person of some consequence, duly installed Boris as Prince of Nijni Novgorod. The Grand Prince, assisted by the clergy, who closed the churches of Nijni, speedily brought the recalcitrant prince to submission, and he resigned his position at Nijni to his brother, while he was allowed to retain Gorodetz. The same year Russia was again ravaged by the plague. This terrible plague is described in graphic terms by the annalists. "The victims were suddenly struck," says the chronicler, "as with a knife, at the breast, at the shoulder-blade, or between the shoulders; a devouring fire consumed the entrails, blood flowed at the mouth, a burning fever was succeeded by a shivering cold, tumours appeared on the neck, the hips, under the arms, or behind the shoulder-blade. The issue was always the same—inevitable death, swift but terrible." Out of each hundred persons but ten remained well. The dead were buried seven or eight together in the same grave, and whole houses were stripped of their inhabitants. In 1364 it ravaged Nijni Novgorod, Kolomna, and Pereislavl; the next year Tuer, Torjek, and Rostof; in 1366, Moscow. It came and went intermittently, and we are told that after three visits but five people were left alive in 1387 at Smolensko, which was filled with corpses.‡ We may be sure, although we have no direct information on the subject, that the same pestilence must have devastated the Kipchak, whence it probably first passed into Russia. At Moscow the plague was followed by a fire which burnt its four quarters, and led to the construction of a stone Kremlin in place of the wooden one which previously existed there.§

Meanwhile we read how the merchants of Novgorod, who, like most mediæval merchants, were attached to buccaneering, formed bodies of irregular troops styled volunteers, who pillaged the neighbouring districts. In 1367, under a young man named Alexander, they followed the course of the Obi as far as the sea, and plundered not only the Ostiaks and Samoyedes but also the dwellers on the Dwina. Another section descended the Volga on one hundred and fifty vessels of various kinds,‖ massacred a great number of Tartars, Armenians,

* Karamzin, v. 7, 8. † Golden Horde, 320. ‡ Karamzin, v. 9, 10. § *Id.*, 10.

‖ Seven kinds of boats are mentioned, namely, Pauski, Uchani, Mishani, Bafchiti, Strugi, Keibati, and Lodi.

Khivans, and Bukharias, at Nijni Novgorod, and carried off their wives, children, and goods. They penetrated to the Kama, ravaged the towns of Bulgaria, and returned home laden with booty. The Grand Prince did not fail to reprimand the Novgorodians for thus acting as brigands and attacking the foreign merchants who brought wealth to Russia.* I don't know when and how Azis was displaced. We have no coins of his, however, after 768 (*i.e.*, 1367-8).

ABDULLAH KHAN.

During the period of confusion which we have been describing, Mamai apparently filled the same *rôle* which Nogai filled at an earlier day. Although Fræhn publishes a coin of his struck at Azak in 763,† it is doubtful if he actually occupied the throne. He preferred the part of a maker and patron of kings.

When he displaced Timur Khoja in 1361, as I have mentioned, he nominated a Khan of his own named Abdullah, with whom and with a large section of the horde he crossed the Volga, and settled down in the hilly country beyond.‡ The chronicle of Troitski calls him Audulia.§ He was probably a nephew of Mamai's, and doubtless belonged to the family of Tuka Timur. While Mamai and his *protegé* retired, as I have said, beyond the Volga, Murad reigned at Serai. In 1361 he fought against Murad, and put to death many princes of the horde. Another battle was fought between them in 1362, in which Mamai's people were surprised and similarly slaughtered.‖ Abdullah first appears on coins, according to M. Soret, in the year 764, during which year and 765 he coined money at Azak and New Serai; after this it has been suggested that he led a purely wandering life, as his mint place is almost always "the Ordu." In 766 and 767 Abdullah was living in the East, as is shown by his striking money then at Yanghicher and Cher el Jedid, both meaning the same place; but he again struck a coin at Azak in 769, which has been published by M. Savilief, showing he had then returned. His last coins are dated in 770 (*i.e.*, 1368-9).

HASSAN.

On the flight of Pulad Timur from Bulgaria, as I have mentioned,‖ it would appear that this district of the Khanate did not fall into the hands of Azis Khan. We are told that in the year 1366 Karach, Haidar, and Tutekash made a raid on the Russian borders, which was repeated in 1368. Two years later, we read that Dimitri, Prince of Suzdal, sent his brother Boris and his son Vasili, accompanied by the Tartar Haji Khoja,

* Karamzin, v. 12. † Catalogue of Fuch's Collection, 20.
‡ Karamzin, iv. 446. Note, 88. § *Id.* ‖ *Ante*, 202.

against Bulgaria, and we are told they deprived Haidar of his authority there and gave it to the son of the bek.* Who then was this bek or beg? Abul Ghassar tells us that one of the crimes of Bazarji was that he killed Alibeg, one of the most distinguished Tartars, and that Hassan, son of Ali, took refuge with Hussein, the ruler of Khuarezm.† I believe the bek above referred to was Alibeg, and that his son, who was appointed ruler of Bulgaria by the Russians, was Hassan. He was probably the Hassan who was sent as an envoy by the wife of Azis Khan to the Russian court in 1364.‡ Nikon tells us, according to M. Savilief, that he captured Serai in 768.§ He is the same person who is called Hassan Kasanji by the Russians.‖ A coin struck by him in 771 (*i.e.*, 1372) was found at Tetiuchy,¶ and he is again named as Khan of Bulghari in 1376. We read that in that year the sons of Dimitri of Suzdal, uniting with the Muscovite troops, advanced upon Kazan, where Hassan and Muhammed Sultan then reigned. The people of Kazan marched to meet them mounted on camels, intending in this way to frighten the Russian horses; but this policy was unavailing, the Russians burnt their villages, their winter quarters, and their boats, and compelled Hassan and Muhammed Sultan to submit and to pay a tribute of 2,000 roubles, part of which was assigned to the princes of Suzdal. They also paid down a sum of 3,000 roubles to be distributed among the troops, and they even consented to allow a Muscovite customs officer or commissary of taxes to reside in their town.** We do not hear of Hassan again.

TULUNBEK.

In 772 and 773 we find coins struck at New Serai by Tulunbek. The curious thing about this personage is that on some of these coins Tulunbek appears as the name of a king and on others as those of a queen.†† It is probable that it was a queen who thus used ambiguous phrases, and it may be that she was the widow of Azis, for the wife of the latter during his life exercised the exceptional right of sending a special ambassador (Hassan) to represent herself, while Azis was represented by an envoy named Beiram Khoja.

ILBAN.

In 775 we find one Ilban striking coins at Seraichuk. M. Savilief reads the name on a coin very like his Alp Khoja. Ilban was the son of Maengu Timur, and belonged to the line of Sheiban. I know nothing more of him. On another coin Kaganbek, son of Ilban and grandson of Maengu Timur, is mentioned.

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* Golden Horde, 321. † Langles, op. cit., 378. ‡ Golden Horde, 320.
§ Soret, op. cit., 24. ‖ Golden Horde, 323. ¶ Soret, op. cit., 24.
** Karamzin, op. cit., v. 51. †† Fræhn, Catalogue of Fuch's Collection, 22.

KAGANBEK.

Kaganbek, the son of Ilban and grandson of Maengu Timur, struck a coin published by M. Savilief. He is probably the same person of whom, under the name of Ghayas ud din . . . aghabek,* we have a coin struck at New Serai in the year 777 (*i.e.*, 1377). I know nothing more of him, nor yet of Cherkesbek, who struck a coin at Astrakhan in 776, unless he was the Cherkes Khan already referred to, as I have suggested.†

MUHAMMED BULAK KHAN.

Let us revert from these somewhat spectral figures to a more substantial person. On the disappearance of Abdullah, we find him replaced by another *protegé* of Mamai's, namely, Muhammed Sultan. His proper name, according to M. Fræhn, was Muhammed Bulak. He is severally styled Muhammed Khan, Bulak Khan, Ghayasuddin w'ed dunya Muhammed Khan, and Ghayasuddin Muhammed Bulak Khan on his coins. M. Soret has published a coin of his struck at New Serai in 773. Otherwise he does not seem to have struck any money at Serai or the other older mint places of the horde, but at Astrakhan (which now occurs for the first time in history), at New Majar, and for the greater part in the Ordu. His coins range from the year 771 to 777.‡ I believe he was the Muhammed Sultan who is mentioned more than once as the son of Hassan, the ruler of Bulgaria, already mentioned. He was only nominally khan, however, and the chief authority no doubt rested, as previously, with Mamai, who appears in the Russian annals as the *de facto* ruler.

In Russia the terrible civil strife, occasioned by the rules of succession and the various jealousies of the princes, continued in spite of the attack of the Tartars from without and the plague from within. The strife especially showed itself at Tuer, where the young Prince Michael and his uncle were rivals for the throne; the former leaned on the support of his powerful brother-in-law Olgerd, the Prince of Lithuania, and eventually prevailed. He was ambitious, and took the title of Grand Prince of Tuer, which was a menace to the Princes of Moscow. This was in 1367.§ His intentions were not sobered by the treacherous conduct of the Grand Prince Dimitri, who, having invited him to Moscow, arrested him, but Karacha, a distinguished representative of the Khan, arriving at Moscow, took his part and compelled Dimitri to give him his liberty. The army of Muscovy having entered his dominions, he appealed to the Lithuanians, whose chief Olgerd was not unwilling to interfere. He marched with his brother Kestute, and his son Vitut

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* Fræhn, Resc., 301. † *Ante*, 183. ‡ Soret, op. cit., 24. § Karamzin, v. 14.

compelled the Prince of Smolensk to join him. He kept his secrets well, and his attack on Russia was as sudden as it was disastrous. For forty years it had been free from war, but it now suffered at the hands of one quite as terrible as the Tartar. Its towns were burnt, its people slaughtered, and its army dispersed. Dimitri and his friends shut themselves up in the Kremlin and burned its environs. There they resisted for three days the Lithuanian attack, while Olgerd pillaged the churches and monasteries. Fearing to besiege the fortress in winter, he at length retired, leaving behind him many tokens of his ferocity.* This attack was followed by another by the Livonian Knights on the small principality of Pskof, to redress the grievances of the German traders who resorted there.

In 1370 Michael, who had been allowed to settle in his appanage of Tuer once more, quarrelled with Dimitri, who had ruthlessly plundered the town of Zubtsef. He again appealed to the Lithuanians. He also went to Mamai to solicit from him the patent of Grand Prince of Vladimir. Mamai, who apparently wished to conciliate Olgerd and the Lithuanians, sent an envoy with him to invest him duly at Vladimir, but Dimitri had the roads guarded and compelled him to seek shelter at Vilna. There his sister urged upon her husband Olgerd to make a fresh attack upon the Grand Prince of Moscow. As soon as the roads were hardened by the frost he set out, and battered in vain for three days at the wooden fortifications of Volok Lamski. Failing to take it, he marched on and appeared before Moscow in the first week of November, 1370. He was again foiled by the defences of the Kremlin, by the assembling of forces at Peremysl, which jeopardised his retreat, by the threatening conduct of the Teutonic Knights, and more especially by the terrible weather, "for this," says Karamzin, "was the severest winter mentioned in the Russian annals. Snow began to fall in the beginning of September, and prevented the reaping of the crops. December and January proving very open the snow disappeared, and the harvest, which had been covered with snow, was only got in in February."† Olgerd accordingly agreed to terms, and gave his daughter Helena in marriage to the Prince of Vladimir. The unfortunate Prince of Tuer once more repaired to Mamai, who offered him an army, but he dreaded introducing the Tartars among his own people, and contented himself with the company of Sari Khoja, the Khan's envoy. The people of Vladimir would not receive him, nor would Dimitri admit his claims. Sari Khoja therefore merely gave him his diploma, and then went on to Moscow, where he was sumptuously feasted and gained over. Dimitri determined to adopt the same policy towards Mamai, and being assured of the good offices of Sari Khoja, he set out for the horde, and was accompanied as far as the Oka by the metropolitan Alexis. He was received bv the Khakan and

* Karamzin, v. 16-20. † Karamzin, v. 25.

Mamai with great honour. They confirmed him in the office of Grand Prince, reduced the amount of the taxes which Moscow was wont to pay, and went so far as to scornfully tell Michael of Tuer that, having refused their offer of an army to seat him on the throne of Vladimir, he might now seek protectors elsewhere. Michael's son Ivan was retained as a hostage at the horde for the sum of 10,000 roubles, which his father owed the Khan. Dimitri redeemed him, and kept him himself as a hostage for Michael's good behaviour until he in turn redeemed him. The latter was not appeased by this act, however, but continued his attacks, nor was the Grand Prince a very conciliatory person. We now find him attacking the turbulent Oleg, Prince of Riazan, and making a terrible slaughter of his arrogant people. He would probably have been crushed, but that Michael of Tuer prevailed once more on his friends the Lithuanians to invade the Muscovite dominions. They approached Pereislavl, whose suburbs they burnt, imposed a heavy fine on Dmitrof, made the Prince of Kashin acknowledge Michael as his master, and also captured Torjek. Meanwhile the crafty citizens of Novgorod, not knowing exactly whether Michael or Dimitri was doomed to dominate over Russia, threw in their influence with the former, whom they elected as their prince in case he should be confirmed by the Khan. When Dimitri received his diploma they transferred their allegiance to him, and marched to recapture Torjek, but were badly defeated, and Michael, in revenge, set fire to the town, which, like the other wooden towns of Russia, burnt very easily. The monasteries, churches, &c., were destroyed, and their treasures and those of the inhabitants plundered. The visit of Michael recalled at Torjek the terrible apparition of Batu.*

Olgerd now prepared for a third invasion of Russia, and, as usual, advanced with great rapidity. He was joined by Michael at Kaluga. But the Muscovites were this time prepared, defeated his advanced guard, and marched on till their army confronted that of the Lithuanians. Only a narrow ravine separated them, and both sides were afraid to begin, the risk supervening on defeat in either case being very great, and overtures were made for a treaty of peace. By it Michael surrendered all the conquests he had made in Muscovy and agreed not to molest its frontiers; Dimitri made a similar promise in regard to Tuer, and Olgerd undertook not to intrigue at the horde against either of them.†

During the year 1374 there was peace between the horde (where the plague had made sad ravages) and Russia, but we read of a Lithuanian army defeating the Tartar chief Tahmuras.‡ Meanwhile some envoys of the Tartars, who arrived with a considerable following at Nijni Novgorod, began to pillage the inhabitants of that town, who turned upon and slaughtered them and their escort to the number of a

* Karamzin, v. 32-53. † *Id.*, 36-38. ‡ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 323.

thousand. Their leader, the murza Seraiko, was at the same time imprisoned, but having escaped, he tried with some of his remaining followers to fire the archbishop's palace. He was thereupon attacked and torn in pieces. Mamai revenged the slaughter by sending an army into the province, which harried the country on the Kisha and the Piana and as the Grand Prince Dimitri was deemed to be privy to the deed Mamai prepared to revenge himself upon him also.

There still remained at Moscow an institution dating from the ante feudal period. This was the office of Tissiachsky, the boyar of the city or of the commune, a kind of civil and military tribune elected by the people.* Dimitri abolished this office, which was too democratic for the feudal notions that were rapidly spreading. The last Tissiachski, Vasili Veliaminof, left a son Ivan, who was ambitious to succeed his father, and repaired with a rich Moscow merchant named Nekomat to Michael of Tuer, and persuaded him that circumstances were favourable for him to make a venture upon the Grand Principality. He sent them on to Mamai, and repaired himself to Olgerd, who agreed to assist him, while Mamai sent Haji Khoja with a diploma. He would not wait for them, however, but invaded Muscovy and attacked Torjek and Uglitch. The Grand Prince Dimitri was not less active; he collected a great army, summoned the dependent princes, and proceeded to lay siege to the city of Tuer, while the province of the same name was devastated, and as the Lithuanians prudently delayed coming to the rescue, Michael was compelled to sue for peace. This was concluded, and its terms were generous. Michael renounced all claims to the principality of Vladimir, and to the allegiance of the people of Novgorod and of Kashin, agreed to release all the Muscovites whom he had taken prisoners, and to restore the treasures he had captured at Torjek. He agreed further to enter into close alliance with Dimitri against the latter's enemies, that the boyards should be free to pass from the service of one prince to that of another on condition of their forfeiting their land in the principality they deserted, that each citizen should own allegiance and pay tribute to the prince of the district where he had his domicile, notwithstanding his being in the service of another, &c. Michael also entered into a separate treaty with Novgorod, in which mutual advantages were secured. Content with having humbled his rival, Dimitri left him his practical independence and his crown. His country had paid dearly for his ambition, for, as Karamzin says, "the recognised mode of warfare in those days was to lay everything waste with fire and sword.† Ivan and Nekomat, the instigators of the war, were executed at Moscow.

Next year there happened the campaign against Bulgaria, to which I have already referred.‡ This was followed by the appearance of a fresh

* Kelly's Russia, i. 90. † Op. cit., v. 48. ‡ *Ante*, 207.

Tartar leader, in the person of Arabshah, the chief of the horde of Sheiban, of whom a coin struck at New Serai in 779 is extant, and who arrived with a large force from the borders of the Blue Sea (*i.e.*, of lake Aral). The Grand Prince of Moscow was informed of this by his father-in-law, Dimitri of Suzdal, to whom he sent a considerable army. This army he incorporated with his own and sent them against the enemy. They allowed themselves to be surprised while refreshing with hydromel and beer and sheltering unarmed in the hot sun. The Tartars were guided by the willing Mordvins. We are told Arabshah was small in stature, but had great energy. He attacked the Russians on five sides, and so impetuously that they were panic-stricken. They fled towards the Piana amidst a great slaughter. Prince Simeon was killed in the flight, and Ivan, the son of Dimitri of Suzdal, was drowned in the river, whose name Piana means the river of drunkards, and this disaster gave rise to the Russian proverb, "one is drunk on the banks of the Piana."* The victorious Tartars marched quickly on, and appeared on the third day after at Nishni Novgorod, which was burnt. Dimitri, the Prince of Suzdal, fled to Suzdal, and most of the inhabitants took to their boats on the Volga. They next captured Riazan, and we are told not a village remained unburnt on the river Sura. Having wreaked their vengeance they retired, but their advent was followed by that of marauding Mordvins, who destroyed what the Tartars had spared. The latter were intercepted on their retreat by Prince Boris Constantinovitch, Prince of Gorodetz, who slaughtered a great number of them, and their bodies, says Karamzin, joined the corpses of the Russians which crowded the Piana. Boris then overran their land, fired their houses, slaughtered their people, and put their wives and children in irons. Many of their chiefs were put to death at Nijni, where the enraged people dragged them along the ice, and had them worried with dogs. This terrible revenge excited the anger of Mamai, for the country of the Mordvins was dependent on him. He sent a fresh army, which again captured Nishni Novgorod, and again fired it and devastated its neighbourhood. It then marched to join a larger force which Mamai had sent against the Grand Prince. This was in July, 1378. The Tartars were commanded by the murza Beguitch. They were met by the Muscovites under Dimitri on the banks of the Volga, in the province of Riazan, and were badly beaten and driven across the river. They lost several thousand men, among them being their commander Beguitch and the murzas Hajibeg, Kowergui, Karabalik, and Kostrok. The Russians afterwards secured the deserted camp and baggage of the enemy. This remarkable victory was the first of any consequence which the Russians had gained over the Tartars since the year 1224.† Mamai was naturally enraged at the

* Karamzin, v. 54. † Karamzin, v. 56. Golden Horde, 325.

defeat, and marched with a fresh force against Riazan, whose Prince Oleg was too weak to resist, and fled beyond the Oka. The Tartars overran the province, burnt Pereislavl, and took possession of Dubak.*

Meanwhile the Muscovites gained an important success against their mortal enemies the Lithuanians. The famous Olgerd died in 1337, after he had been baptised under the name of Alexander, and was succeeded by his favourite son Yagellon, who put his uncle, the aged Kestut, to death, and compelled Vitut, the latter's son, to seek shelter in Prussia. Yagellon's brother Andrew of Pronsk also left the country and repaired to Moscow, where these civil commotions in Lithuania were very welcome. Dimitri determined to take advantage of them, and sent an army which occupied Starodub and Trubchevski, old dependencies of Russia, which had been appropriated by the Lithuanians.

We now find him interfering in a very arbitrary way with the government of the Russian church. As is well known, the Russian clergy consist of two entirely different classes, the white clergy or seculars, who supply the parish priests, and the black clergy or regulars. The bishops and dignitaries are chosen, I believe, entirely from the latter class, who are better educated. The aged metropolitan Alexis was on the verge of the grave, and the patriarch Philothæus nominated Cyprian, a learned Servian, as his successor without consulting the Grand Prince. The latter was aggrieved, and determined to appoint Mityai, the parish priest of Kolomna, who was his confessor and keeper of the seals, and had a wide reputation, but who was a secular. He secured the secret benediction of Alexis for him. On the death of Alexis he was accordingly seated on the metropolitan throne, much to the surprise of the clergy, and he set out for Constantinople to get the patriarch to ordain him bishop. He set out with a lordly attendance, including three archimandrites, six priests, &c., but as he travelled beyond the frontiers of Riazan in the deserts of the Poloutsi, he was arrested by the Tartars and taken before Mamai, whom he succeeded in conciliating, and received a safe conduct from the Khan Talubeg, the nephew of Mamai, says Karamzin, who was then reigning.† Perhaps the Tughluk Timur previously mentioned still survived.‡ Mityai, however, did not reach his destination, but died *en route.* Dimitri had given his *protegê* several signed warrants to be filled up as Mityai wished. Pimen, the archimandrite of Pereislavl, who was apparently one of his followers, had the audacity to fill one of these up asking, on the part of Dimitri, that the patriarch should consecrate himself, Pimen, as metropolitan, and although suspicions were aroused at Constantinople, an antidote was found for them in a liberal distribution of presents, and he was duly consecrated in St. Sophia.

The Grand Prince was naturally enraged when he discovered the trick.

* Golden Horde, 325. Karamzin, v. 58. † Op. cit., v. 66, 67. ‡ *Ante,* 201.

He refused to recognise him, and had him seized and conducted to Chuklom, where he was divested of his white mitre, and Cyprian was duly inaugurated as metropolitan of Russia.*

Controlling all the forces of the horde, Mamai apparently determined to overwhelm the Russians. He summoned his people from all sides, Tartars, Poloutsi, Circassians, Yasses or Ossetes, Burtanians or Caucasian Jews (? the Kaitaks), Armenians, and Genoese,† and at a council of his chiefs he told them he meant to follow the example of Batu. "Let us punish the rebel slaves," he said, "reduce their towns, villages, and churches to ashes, and appropriate their wealth." He made a treaty of alliance with Yagellon, who promised to invade Russia on the further side, while Oleg, Prince of Riazan, who felt sure that Muscovy would be annihilated by such a combination, and that he would be the first victim, entered into negotiations with both, and promised to be on the Oka with his forces to assist them in September. Mamai on his part promised to surrender all Muscovy to him and Yagellon on condition of their paying tribute.

Dimitri, on hearing the terrible news, first fulfilled the calls of religion, and then summoned all the troops of the Grand Principality to Moscow. The Princes of Rostof, Bielosersk, and Yaroslavl, the boyards of Vladimir, Suzdal, Pereislavl, Kostroma, Murom, Dimitrof, Moyaisk, Zwenigorod, Uglitch, and Serpukof joyfully went to him with their troops, and rendezvoused at the Kremlin. When all was ready Dimitri repaired to the famous monastery of the Trinity, where the abbot Sergius blessed him and bade him go and triumph, foretelling that he would succeed after a terrible carnage, and after the laurels had been crimsoned with the blood of many a Christian hero.‡

Leaving the voivode Feodor in command at Moscow, he set out, and was joined at Kolomna by the troops of Polotsk and Briansk. The Russian host was larger than any which had hitherto been brought together, and numbered more than 150,000 men. Mamai was encamped on the Don, awaiting the arrival of Yagellon. He sent a summons to Dimitri to pay the tribute which Russia had paid in the days of Janibeg, Dimitri replied he was willing to pay a moderate tribute, but he could not see his country ruined to satisfy outrageous demands, an answer which was not deemed satisfactory.§

The Russians crossed the Oka on the 26th of August, and entered the province of Riazan. Oleg in perplexity, for he did not expect the Russians so soon, sent couriers to Mamai and Yagellon with the news. On the 6th of September the army approached the Don. Counsels were divided as to whether the river should be crossed or no, but it was determined to pass over in order to prevent the junction of Mamai and Yagellon. On the 8th of September the river was crossed, and the army

* Karamzin, v. 61-69. † *Id.*, 69. ‡ *Id.*, 74. § *Id.*, 76.

was set out in battle array on the banks of the Nepriadwa. It was a glorious sight that was surveyed by Dimitri from a piece of elevated ground, the sun shining on the several ranks. "Great God, give the victory to our sovereign," was the cry that rose from them, while Dimitri on his knees, surveying the image of the Saviour on his black banner, prayed for the Christians and for Russia, and then rode round the ranks on horseback.* The battle took place on the plain of Kulikof, and raged with varying success over a distance of ten versts. The issue was at length decided by a sudden attack of Dimitri of Volhynia and Dimitri's brother Vladimir, who had been planted in ambush, which caused the route of the enemy. Mamai cried out when he saw the result, "The God of the Christians is great," and then headed the crowd of fugitives. They were pursued as far as the Mesha, where many of them perished. A vast booty became (as usual in battles with nomades who carry much of their wealth with them) the prize of the victors.

When the fight was over, Vladimir returned to the battle-field, planted the black standard there, and sounded the big trumpet to summon the various princes to him. Dimitri was not among them, a search was made for him, and he was found fainting under a tree. He had been stunned by a terrible blow, but on seeing his victorious people about him speedily recovered, and rode over the field on horseback. There lay, according to some of the annalists, 100,000 of the enemy, together with many Russians. Among the latter was Alexander Peresvet, a monk of Saint Sergius, who had engaged in single combat with a Pecheneg, one of Mamai's champions. He dragged him from his horse, and each fighting on foot gave the other a mortal stroke. Dimitri promised to reward his faithful followers, and tarried by the more illustrious of the dead to cover them with praises, and a special feast, known as the Saturday of Dimitri, was appointed to commemorate the battle. There was naturally immense enthusiasm when the news reached the various towns of Russia. The people gave the hero of the victory the soubriquet of Donski, by which he is known in history, and also of "The Brave," and although Russia was more than a century before she finally emancipated herself, this was in effect the death-knell of Tartar supremacy. Yagellon was only about thirty or forty versts distant when the battle took place, and when he heard of the result he returned quietly home, where he was joined by the perfidious Oleg of Riazan. Dimitri's return was a continuous triumph. Some months later he pardoned Oleg on condition that he gave up his alliance with the Lithuanians.

The rivers Oka and Zna were fixed as the boundaries of Riazan and Muscovy, the town of Tula, so named from the Tartar princess Taidula, and formerly governed by her agents, was conceded to Dimitri, as well as the district of Mechera in the country of the

* Karamzin, v. 80.

Mordvins, bought by him from its chief Alexander Ukovitch, who had been converted to Christianity.

Mamai retired to the horde determined upon having his revenge, but his career was cut short. We now reach a new turn in the history of the Golden Horde. Toktamish, the *protegé* of the great Timur, marched against him. Retiring from the Don to the Kalka, a battle ensued near Mariupol, at the place where the Russian princes had been so terribly beaten in 1224. Mamai was completely defeated and fled to Kaffa, where he was treacherously put to death by the Genoese.*

THE WHITE HORDE.

ORDA ICHEN.

I have already described how the patrimony of Juchi was divided, and how Batu came to have a much larger share than his elder brother Orda,† but although the most powerful and the dominant chief, Batu was not treated as the head of the family at Karakorum. This honour was allowed to Orda, the eldest son, and continued in his family, which held an independent though smaller territory in the Eastern Kipchak. This family and its subjects is known to Eastern writers as the Ak Orda or White Horde (*i.e.*, the Dominant Horde), while the horde of Batu is known as the Blue or Black Horde (*i.e.*, the Dependent Horde). The Russians have confused matters a good deal by sometimes applying the name Blue Horde to the Eastern division, because it lived in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Aral or the Blue Sea. For a long time the Blue Horde was naturally supreme. The prestige of ancient victories, a beautiful capital, and a commanding situation were advantages, supplemented by the possession of vast dependencies in Russia, Poland, and Khuarezm. The black death, the rising power of the Russians, and internal feuds, as we have seen, broke it to pieces. In the further east, in the harsher cradle of the desert, the White Horde preserved a more vigorous life.

Abulghazi and Ghassari are at issue about the ancestry of Urus Khan, the real founder of the supremacy of the White Horde. Von Hammer‡ has discussed the relative authority of these two authors, and has decided, as I think most reasonably, that Abulghazi is wrong, and that we ought to follow the relation of Abulfeda, Ghassari, &c. In the first place, Abulfeda and Ghassari are older writers than Abulghazi. In the next place, their narrative is very trustworthy where we can test it, and in describing the history of the White and the Blue Hordes agree with that of Rashid. The account of Ghassari, after Rashid ceases to write,

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* Karamzin, v. 91. Golden Horde, 326. † *Ante*, 36. ‡ Golden Horde, 327, 328.

is most consonant with the history of the two hordes as we otherwise know them, while that of Abulghazi is the reverse. Abulghazi makes a clean jump over the fifteen years which separated Berdibeg from Urus Khan, and makes the latter immediately succeed the former. He ignores the famous Mamai altogether. He tells us the country of Krim being very far off he did not know the ancestry of its Khans rightly. He even hints that the sovereigns of Germany were descended from Sheiban. The fact is, that Abulghazi is not of great value as an authority for the history of any of the Mongol Royal houses except the one to which he himself belonged.

I shall therefore follow the authority of Abulfeda, Ghassari, and of Munejimbashi. As I have said, Orda dominated over the Eastern Kipchak. His chief towns, according to Von Hammer, were Sighnak, Taras, and Otrar.* Orda accompanied the Tartar army in its invasion of Europe, but as a subordinate commander, the chief authority being held, as I have shown, by Batu, the skilful general, and not by the head of the horde. With his other brothers Orda went to attend the inauguration of Ogotai.† Carpini, in describing the plains east of lake Balkash, tells us Orda, who was older and superior to Batu, lived there.‡ It is almost certain that, like the Tartars elsewhere, the tribes subject to him moved their quarters in winter and summer, and that these were the summer quarters of the White Horde, which retired to the Jaxartes in the winter.

According to Rashid, Orda left seven sons, namely, Sertaktai, Kuli, Kurmishi, Kunkrat, Jurmakai, Kutukui (Kirikui), and Khulagu.§ I know nothing of any of these princes, and Sertaktai looks suspiciously like a repetition of the name Sertak, the eldest son of Batu. The same author gives Sertaktai a son Kubinji. He is called Kapchi or Kapgé by Abulfeda, and is no doubt the same person as the Kochi Oghul mentioned about the year 1280.‖ Abulfeda makes him the son and not the grandson of Orda, in which he is confirmed by the authority followed by D'Ohsson,¶ who makes him a grandson of Juchi, and it is very probable that the name Sertaktai has been interpolated by mistake into Rashid's table.

KUBINJI OR KOCHI.

Kubinji or Kochi, as the head of the White Horde, was a much more important person than is generally supposed. He is mentioned among the chiefs of the Kipchak in the Yuen shi, and is there called Kuan sa.** He is also mentioned by Marco Polo, who has a somewhat romantic account of him, as follows :—

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* Golden Horde, 329. † Abulghazi, 179. ‡ D'Avezac, 751.
§ Golden Horde, Genealogical Table. ‖ *Ante*, 133. ¶ ii. 454.
** Bretschneider, Notes on Mediæval Geography, &c., 106.

"You must know that in the far north there is a king called Conchi. He is a Tartar, and all his people are Tartars, and they keep up the regular Tartar religion. A very brutish one it is, but they keep it up just the same as Jingis Kaan and the proper Tartars did, so I will tell you something of it. . . . The king is subject to no one, although he is of the Imperial lineage of Jingis Kaan, and a near relative of the Great Kaan. This king has neither city nor castle; he and his people live always either in the wide plains or among great mountains and valleys. They subsist on the milk and flesh of their cattle, and have no corn. The king has a vast number of people, but he carries on no war with anybody, and his people live in great tranquillity. They have enormous numbers of cattle, camels, horses, oxen, sheep, and so forth.

"You find in their country immense bears entirely white, more than twenty palms in length. There are also large black foxes, wild asses, and abundance of sables; those creatures I mean from the skins of which they make those precious robes that cost 1,000 bezants each. There are also vairs in abundance, and vast multitudes of the Pharaoh's rat, on which the people live all the summer time. Indeed they have plenty of all sorts of wild creatures, for the country they inhabit is very wild and trackless.

"And you must know that this king possesses one tract of country which is quite impassable for horses, for it abounds greatly in lakes and springs, and hence there is so much ice, as well as mud and mire, that horses cannot travel over it. This difficult country is thirteen days in extent, and at the end of every day's journey there is a post for the lodgement of the couriers who have to cross this tract. At each of these post-houses they keep some forty dogs of great size, in fact not much smaller than donkeys, and these dogs draw the couriers over the day's journey from post-house to post-house, and I will tell you how. You see the ice and mire are so prevalent, that over this tract which lies for those thirteen days' journey in a great valley between two mountains, no horses can travel, nor can any wheeled carriage either. Wherefore they make sledges, which are carriages without wheels, and made so that they can run over the ice and also over the mire and mud without sinking too deep in it. Of these sledges indeed there are many in our country, for they are just the same as are used in winter for carrying hay and straw when there have been heavy rains and the country is deep in mire. On such a sledge, then, they lay a bear skin, on which the courier sits, and the sledge is drawn by six of those big dogs that I spoke of. The dogs have no driver, but go straight for the next post-house, drawing the sledge famously over ice and mire. The keeper of the post-house, however, also gets on a sledge drawn by dogs, and guides the party by the best and shortest way. And when they arrive at the next station they find a new relay of dogs and sledges ready to take them on, whilst

the old relay turns back; thus they accomplish the whole journey across that region always driven by sledges.

"The people who dwell in the valleys and mountains adjoining that tract of thirteen days' journey are great huntsmen, and catch great numbers of precious little beasts which are sources of great profit to them. Such are the sable, the ermine, the vair, the erculin, the black fox, and many other creatures, from the skins of which the most costly furs are prepared. They use traps to take them, from which they cannot escape. But in that region the cold is so great that all the dwellings of the people are underground, and underground they always live."*

This description clearly applies to Siberia, and it is very probable, as Colonel Yule suggests, that it may have been derived from some member of the embassy sent by Kochi to Gaikhatu, to which I shall refer presently.

Let us now turn to other notices of Kochi. Abulfeda calls him lord of Bamian and Ghazni and the other districts of that province, and has some notices of his descendants in that neighbourhood. This is very curious, for it implies either that he had been ousted from his northern possessions or that he had acquired an additional dominion in the south, which was separated from his ancient patrimony by the Khanate of Jagatai. I believe this latter view to be correct, and that the explanation is to be found in the facts I have before stated,† namely, that when the contingent which was furnished by the princes of Kipchak to Khulagu left the latter and seized upon Bamian and Ghazni, they placed themselves under the domination of Kochi, the ruler of the White Horde. It will be remembered that the troops furnished by the White Horde for this expedition were commanded by Orda's son Kuli, who it was suspected was poisoned at the instance of his cousin Khulagu.‡ I believe Kochi Oghul to be the prince called Buchi Oghul on one occasion by D'Ohsson,§ and confused by Von Hammer with Tekshin, the son of Khulagu.‖ Ghazni and Bamian doubtless formed a part of the original Khanate of Jagatai, and we are told that when Borak, the grandson of Jagatai, crossed the Oxus to attack Khorassan, he sent word to Buchi Oghul to evacuate the district between Badghis and the Indus (*i.e.*, the district ruled by Kochi), which had belonged to his ancestors, which he refused to do.¶ He said that he had been given it by his agha and lord Abaka, and that he must first consult him. Abaka the Ilkhan, on being consulted, insisted that the district belonged to the Khanate of Khulagu and not to that of Jagatai.** This was in the year 1270. Borak's campaign against Khorassan will occupy us in the next volume. Here I may say that it does not seem to have affected the domination of the White Horde over Ghazni and the neighbourhood. I may add that

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* Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 410-412. † *Ante*, 114. ‡ *Id.*
§ iii. 436. ‖ Ilkhans, i. 264. ¶ D'Ohsson, iii. 436. ** Ilkhans, i. 264.

it is not improbable that the Karaunas of Marco Polo, to whom Colonel Yule has devoted a long note, characterised by his usual learning and ingenuity,* were the subjects of Kochi Oghul. When, in 1284, Arghun was hard pressed by the Ilkhan Ahmed, we are told he was recommended by the emir Nurus to take shelter with Kubinji (*i.e.*, Kochi) beyond the Oxus.† This was clearly our Kochi, and not the insignificant twelfth son of Sheiban, with whom Von Hammer identifies him. In 1293 we are told how Kubinji sent an embassy to the Ilkhan Gaikhatu with assurances of goodwill.‡ Abulfeda tells us that Kochi died in the year 701 (*i.e.*, 1301-2).§

BAYAN.

According to Abulfeda, Kochi left six sons, namely, Bayan, Koblokum, Tok Timur, Buka Timur, Mongatai, and Sasai, who after their father's death struggled with one another for supremacy, but Bayan at length prevailed, and obtained the kingdom of Ghazni.‖ Other authorities make Kochi have only four sons, namely, Bayan, Bajgsartai, Chaganbuka, and Magatai.¶ The struggle he refers to was apparently between Bayan and Kobluk or Kiulek, who is called his cousin and rival by Rashid,** and not his brother, as by Abulfeda. It would seem that Bayan succeeded to the country north of the Jaxartes, properly subject to the White Horde, while Kobluk probably retained Bamian and Ghazni. Bayan I take to be the Bohu named immediately after Kuan sa in the list of the chiefs of Kipchak in the Yuen shi.††

D'Ohsson tells us Bayan, whom he calls Nayan, was chief of the ulus of Orda, and that he carried on a long struggle with the two allies Dua and Kaidu, who supported Kobluk, during which fifteen battles were fought. Weakened by this war, Bayan proposed to the Ilkhan of Persia and the Khakan Timur to attack their common enemies on three sides at once. This plan promised well, but was not carried out because Timur, on his mother's persuasion, would not venture so far into the desert, and Bayan's envoys were sent back with a civil answer. Abulfeda tells us that in the year 709 (*i.e.*, 1309-10) Bayan deprived Kobluk of his kingdom of Ghazni. Presently, however, Kobluk collected some adherents, and in turn ousted Bayan, but he soon after died. His son Kash Timur continued the work he had begun but was not able to complete. We are told further, that a section of Bayan's people obeyed neither Kobluk nor his son, but were governed by Mangatai, who was Bayan's brother.‡‡

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* Op. cit., i. 102-109. † Ilkhans, i. 354. ‡ *Id.*, 403. § Op. cit., v. 179. ‖ *Id.*, 180, 181. ¶ Von Hammer's Table. ** D'Ohsson, ii. 515. †† Bretschneider, Notes, &c., 106. ‡‡ Abulfeda, v. 225.

SASIBUKA.

Bayan left four sons, Shadi, Sasibuka, Tekne, and Saljikutai, and was succeeded, as Rashid tells us, by Sasibuka.* Munedjimbashi makes him a son of Tuli (? Kuli), the son of Orda.† Abulfeda, in tabulating the various rulers of Asia in the year 811 (*i.e.*, 1311), tells us that Ghazni and Bamian were governed by Mangatai, the son of Kochi, while the country beyond the Oxus in Turkestan (*i.e.*, the country of the White Horde proper) was ruled by Saru Capgi,‡ which is probably a corruption of Sasibuka.

EBISAN.

Sasibuka was succeeded, according to Ghassari, by his son Ebisan, who is called Eideren by Haidar.§ He died in 1320.‖

MUBAREK KHOJA.

Ebisan was succeeded by his brother Mubarek Khoja. He died in 1344, and was buried at Sighnak.¶ A very interesting coin of Mubarek, being the earliest coin of the White Horde extant, was found in the famous hoard at Ekaterinoslaf. It is inscribed, The Just Sultan Mubarek (Kho) ja, whose reign may God prolong. Struck at Sighnak in the year 729 (or perhaps 739), *i.e*, 1329 or 1339.**

CHIMTAI.

Mubarek was succeeded by his nephew Chimtai, the son of Ebisan, who reigned for seventeen years (*i.e.*, till 1360 or 1361). According to Munedjimbashi, he was succeeded by his son Himtai, who after a reign of two years was followed by his brother Urus.†† But Himtai does not, I believe, occur elsewhere, and I am disposed to think his name an interpolation, and that Chimtai was immediately followed by his son Urus. This was in the year 762 (*i.e.*, 1360).

URUS KHAN.

Urus was an ambitious person, and being opposed in his schemes by Tuli Khoja, he attacked and killed him.‡‡ Von Hammer makes Tuli

* Golden Horde, 329. † Ilkhans, i. 414.
‡ Op. cit., v. 351. § Ilkhans, i. 413. ‖ Golden Horde, 329. ¶ Ghassari, Golden Horde, 329.
** Soret Lettre et M. le Capitane, &c., Kossikofski, Brussels, 1860, 25.
†† Golden Horde, 329. Note, 7. ‡‡ Golden Horde, 329, 330.

Khoja the cousin of Urus. I believe him to have belonged to another stock altogether, namely, to the rival family of Tuka Timur.* On the death of Tuli Khoja, his son Toktamish fled for shelter to Timur, the famous Timur, who is so widely celebrated as Timur i leng (or the lame). It was while Timur was engaged in his fifth campaign against the Jets or people of Mongolistan that Toktamish sought refuge at his court. Timur ordered his temnik or general Timur Uzbeg to receive him with all honour and ceremony. He himself made his way back to Samarkand, where Timur Uzbeg conducted Toktamish. The great conqueror received his guest in Imperial fashion, gave him a magnificent feast and made him many rich presents; gold and precious stones, arms and rich dresses, furniture and horses, camels and tents, drums and banners, horses and slaves, and ended by styling him his son.† He also invested him with the government of Sabran, Otrar, Sighnak, Sairam, Serai, and other towns of the Kipchak.‡ Von Hammer replaces Serai by Seraichuk, and argues that Toktamish was invested with the towns of the Eastern Kipchak between the Yaik and the Sihun only.§ When he had established himself, Urus Khan sent an army under his son Kutlugh Buka against him. In the battle which followed Kutlugh Buka was wounded, and died the next day of his wounds. Toktamish was however defeated, and he was obliged to again take refuge with Timur, who received him with even greater honours than before, and supplied him with a fresh army. He was again met by the troops of Urus Khan, commanded by the latter's eldest son Toktakia, who, with Ali Beg and other princes of his house, was determined to revenge the death of his brother Kutlugh Buka. Toktamish was again defeated, and having retired to the Sihun, plunged in to save his life. He was pursued by Kazanji Behadur, who fired an arrow at him and wounded him in the hand. When he had traversed the Sihun he entered a wood bareback, wounded, and alone, and threw himself on the ground among the brushwood to rest. He was there rescued by Idiku Berlas, who had been sent to him by Timur to be his councillor in governing his kingdom, and who passed by chance. Having supplied him with some refreshment, he conducted him to Timur, who was then at Bukhara, and who again supplied him with a fresh outfit in a lordly style. At this time Idiku, of the tribe of the Manguts (and according to Abulghazi, a son of Timur Kutlugh Khan),‖ who had been a supporter of Toktamish, arrived at Bokhara with the news that Urus Khan was marching at the head of his troops to punish that chief; and soon after Kepek Mangut and Tulujian arrived at Timur's court as envoys with the message, "Toktamish has killed my son, and has since sought refuge with you. I demand the surrender of my enemy, and in case you refuse, I declare war. We must

* *Vide infra.* † De la Croix's Sherifuddin, i. 276, 277. ‡ *Id.*, 278.
§ Golden Horde, 331. ‖ Op. cit., 171.

choose a battle field." Timur replied, "Toktamish has put himself under my protection. I will defend him against you. Return to Urus Khan, and tell him that I not only accept his challenge, but also that I am ready, and my soldiers are like lions, who do not live in forests but have their abode in the battle field."*

Leaving the emir Yaku in charge of Samarkand, Timur set out towards the end of the year of the crocodile (*i.e.*, 1376),† and encamped on the plains of Otrar. Urus Khan had rendezvoused his men at Sighnak, which was twenty-four leagues off.‡ A terrible storm of rain, followed by intense cold, prevented any action for three months. At length Timur ordered Katai Behadur and Muhammed Sultan Shah, with five hundred men, to make a night attack upon the enemy. Timur Malik Aghlan, a son of Urus Khan, met them at the head of three thousand men. The battle was fought in the night. Katai Behadur and Yarek Timur were both killed, while on the other side Prince Timur Malik was wounded in the foot and Elchi Buka in the hand, but Sherifuddin claims that the victory remained with Timur's men, who were received with triumph at their camp.§ Timur now sent Muhammed Sultan Shah to explore. The emir Mubasher was sent out on the same errand. They each returned with a captive, from whom they learnt that two brave warriors named Satkin, the elder and the younger, had been sent out by Urus Khan, with two hundred men, on a similar errand to their own. They were encountered by accident by Uktimur and Allahdad, who had been to Otrar to provision the troops there. Aktimur and his men feigned a retreat, and when the enemy were broken in their pursuit, he turned on them and utterly scattered them. His nephew Kebekji, the yurtji (*i.e.*, the quartermaster),‖ killed the younger Satkin, and Indushah seized the elder one and took him to Timur.

Meanwhile Urus Khan, apparently despairing of success, returned homewards. He left Karakesel in command of the troops, the latter shortly after deemed it prudent to retire too, and thereupon Timur returned once more to Kesh.

When the season became favourable, Timur set out once more towards the Kipchak, and gave the command of the advance guard to Toktamish, who acted as guide to the troops, and marched so rapidly that in fifteen days he had reached Geiran Kamish (*i.e.*, the reeds of the deer). The inhabitants were taken by surprise, the town was pillaged, and a large number of horses, camels, and sheep were carried off. But Urus Khan was already dead.¶ As I have said, he only reigned in the Eastern Kipchak, and, according to M. Soret, his only undoubted coins were struck at Sighnak in 774 (*i.e.*, 1372-3) and 777 (*i.e.*, 1375-6). Fræhn mentions a coin of his struck at Schihun, which he

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* Sherifuddin, i. 281, 282. † Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 332. Note, 1.
‡ Sherifuddin, i. 282. § *Id.*, 284. ‖ Golden Horde, 332. ¶ Sherifuddin, i. 286, 287.

identifies with a ruined town on the Terek, but its reading is very doubtful.*

TUKTAKIA.

Urus Khan was succeeded by his eldest son Tuktakia, who soon after died.†

TIMUR MALIK.

Tuktakia was succeeded by his brother Timur Malik. Toktamish was meanwhile warmly supported by his former patron Timur, who again presented him with a Royal equipage, and also presented him with the horse Kunk Oghlan, whose speed was famous, and which would equally enable him to overtake a flying enemy or to escape pursuit.‡ In the struggle which ensued Toktamish was again defeated, and had to escape once more to Timur. The latter again supported him, and sent him to Sighnak, escorted by the temnik Timur Uzbeg, his son Balti Koja, Ozuntimur (? Uzbeg Timur), Ghayassuddin, Terkhan, and Benki Kuchin.§ Abderresak calls his companions Ghayassuddin, Terkhan, Toman Timur, Yahia Khoja, Uzbeg Timur, and Nikbei.‖ They accordingly installed him at Sighnak, and, as was customary, strewed gold and jewels over him.¶

When Toktamish escaped to Timur he was accompanied by Uzbeg Timur.** Urus Khan had therefore confiscated the latter's goods, and he was accordingly recompensed by Timur. Having accompanied his master Toktamish against Timur Malik, he was made prisoner; being set at liberty again, and reduced to great distress, he appealed to Timur Malik to give him his former seignory, offering him his services. The haughty Khan refused him, and said he should be more pleased to be without his services. He accordingly fled, and escaped to Samarkand, where he had the honour, says Sherifuddin, of kissing the carpet of Timur's throne. He reported there how Timur Malik spent his days and nights in debauchery. That he slept until ten o'clock in the morning, which was dinner time, that no one dared to awaken him to attend to his duties, that his people were weary of him, and wished for the return of Toktamish. Timur accordingly sent to the latter, who was at Sighnak, and told him to march against Timur Malik, who had spent the winter at Karatal (*i.e.*, no doubt the Karatagh hills). He accordingly

* Resc., &c., 303. † Sherifuddin, i. 287.
‡ *Id.*, 287. § *Id.*, 288. ‖ Golden Horde, 333. ¶ Sherifuddin, i. 288.
** Sherifuddin says Orkitmur, but Von Hammer says this is a corruption. (Golden Horde, 333. Note, 3.)

marched against him and defeated him, and sent Urus Khoja to Timur with the news. Timur was greatly delighted, spent several days in feasting, and granted an amnesty to the prisoners, while he presented Urus Khoja with a robe and girdle of gold brocade, and some jewels, and provided him with money and horses for his return journey. All this took place apparently in 1277, and Toktamish returned to winter at Sighnak. Hitherto the princes of the White Horde had confined their struggles to their own district, the Eastern Kipchak, but we now read that in the spring following, Toktamish levied a considerable army and marched against the kingdom of Serai and the country of Memak* (*i.e.*, the Western Kipchak, and the country governed by Mamai). This campaign was probably only a renewal of the struggle with Timur Malik, who, we are told, had repaired to Prince Muhammed Oghlan, perhaps the titular Khan of Serai, and asked for his alliance against Toktamish. On his refusing and trying to dissuade him from the war he killed him, and again marched against his former enemy Toktamish. He found him near Karatagh. Timur Malik was himself defeated and killed.† We are told that Balinjak, the faithful companion of Timur Malik, was taken before the conqueror, who would have spared him, but going down on his knees, he said: "I have spent the best part of my life in the service of Timur Malik. I cannot bear to see another on his throne. May his eyes be torn out who wishes to see you on Timur Malik's seat. If you would be gracious to me, cut off my head and put it under that of Timur Malik, and let his corpse recline on mine, so that his delicate body may not be begrimed with dust." Toktamish, we are told, granted the request of the faithful Balinjak, and sent him to join his master.‡ It would surely be hard to match the chivalry of some of these Eastern heroes in our western cradles of preux chevaliers.

TOKTAMISH KHAN.

As I have said, I am disposed to make Toktamish Khan descend from Tuka Timur, and not from Orda, as Ghassari and Munedshimbashi do. Toktamish Khan and his descendants were constantly at feud with the descendants of Urus Khan, which seems to point to their being champions of rival dynasties. Again Abulghazi is supported in making Toktamish descend from Tuka Timur by the old Russian genealogical tables of the Mongol Khans.§ This conclusion is only tentative, as s many others unfortunately are in this inquiry, but I believe it accords with the balance of evidence.

* Sherifuddin, i. 294. † Golden Horde, 333, 334. ‡ *Id.*, 334.
§ Veliaminof Zernof, op. cit., i. 40, 41.

All the authorities are at one in making Toktamish the son of Tuli Khoja, who is styled Tui Khoja Oghlan by Abulghazi,* and Togoza Ulan in the Synodal Register.† According to Abulghazi Tuli Khoja was the son of Tokul Khoja Oghlan, the son of Saricha Kunchak Oghlan, the son of Uz Timur, the son of Tuka Timur.‡ Let us now on with our story.

Toktamish, by the defeat of Mamai, secured the Western as well as the Eastern Kipchak, the latter of which alone had been subject to Urus Khan. The Russian princes hastened to send their sword-bearers with their homage, and we are told that Kutlughbugha and Mokshi, the two armour-bearers of the Grand Prince Dimitri, with other sword-bearers, returned to the various principalities bearing gifts and diplomas, sealed with golden seals.§ But Toktamish was not to be satisfied with these courtesies. He wanted tribute also, and to restore the dominant authority of the Khans, upon which such great inroads had lately been made. He accordingly sent the tzarevitch Ak Khoja with an escort of seven hundred soldiers to summon the Russian princes to go in person to the horde. The chief envoy himself stayed at Nijni Novgorod, and sent some of his people on to Moscow with his message. The Russians were too much elated with their recent great victory on the Don to listen patiently to this summons, and an excuse was sent by the Grand Prince Dimitri.‖ A year passed by without further intelligence from the horde, during which interval Toktamish was mustering and preparing his army, then news suddenly arrived that the Tartars had seized the Russian boats in Bulgaria in order to transport their army across the Volga, and that the treacherous Oleg of Riazan was prepared to act as a guide to the invaders, and to show them the best way of crossing the Oka. The courage of many began to quake. Dimitri of Nijni Novgorod, godfather of the Grand Prince, sent his two sons to the Tartars with presents, but Toktamish had already left, and they overtook him at Sernach. The Grand Prince himself left his capital in the hands of the boyards, and retired to Kostroma to collect a larger force.

Toktamish, having captured Serpukof on the Oka, marched onwards to Moscow. The citizens were summoned by the ringing of the church bells to a general meeting, and the ancient Russian custom was appealed to, by which the vote of the majority decided the course to be taken. A large number of the people lost heart and retired from the city, following the example of the metropolitan Cyprian, who went to Tuer, and whose conduct is grimly excused by Karamzin on the ground that he was not a Russian. General confusion spread over the town. Meanwhile there arrived a brave young Lithuanian, a grand-

* Op. cit., 187. Golden Horde, 330. † Veliaminof *Zernof*, i. 41. ‡ *Id.*
§ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 334. ‖ Karamzin, v. 92.

son of Olgerd, called Ostei, who had been sent by Dimitri. His conduct reassured confidence. The peasants from the surrounding villages came with their families and treasures for shelter in the mother city. Even the monks demanded arms, and numerous regiments of brave but untrained militia garrisoned the ramparts. At length the smoke of burning villages in the distance heralded the approach of the Tartars, who reached the outskirts of the town on the 23rd of August, 1382. Some of the invaders knew Russian, and asked where the Grand Prince was, and on being told he was not at Moscow, they closely examined the Kremlin. The siege now began. The showers of arrows which were poured in killed whole ranks of the inhabitants, but the attacking parties were met with showers of boiling water and crushed by heavy stones. For three days the attack was pressed with great bravery by the Tartars, who had no battering-rams or other artillery with them. Finding himself baffled, Toktamish had recourse to stratagem. Some of his principal chiefs were sent to tell the inhabitants that the Khan loved them as his faithful subjects, and that he bore no ill-will to them, but only to his personal enemy the Grand Prince, and that he would withdraw without delay if they would send him presents and allow him to enter the city to see its curiosities. These messengers were accompanied by Vasili and Simeon, the two sons of Dimitri of Nijni Novgorod, who were either acting under compulsion or believed the Khan to be sincere, and pledged their words as Russians and Christians that the Tartars would keep their word. Ostei thereupon took counsel with the priests, the boyards, and the people, who all agreed that the word of the two princes would not be broken. The gates were accordingly thrown open. Ostei was the first to go out, bearing rich presents, and was followed by priests bearing a cross, the boyards, and the people. He was taken to the Khan's tent, where he was killed, and upon a given signal thousands of Tartars drew their swords and began their work of slaughter. They entered the city, where the soldiers without leaders were a mere rabble, and rushed about the streets crying like women. Old men and children, women and priests, were equally made victims of the indiscriminating sword of the Tartars. The church doors were burst open, and the various treasures brought there for safety from the country round were plundered. A vast booty in images and precious vases, the gathered treasures from the Grand Prince's exchequer, and of the boyards and rich merchants, fruits of long saving were pillaged; and while the historian notes these losses, he lingers more regretfully over the story of the manuscripts and ancient books which were also destroyed. Having gorged themselves with booty, they set fire to the houses, and driving before them a crowd of young Russians, they went to feast in the neighbouring fields. The army of Toktamish then spread over the Grand Principality. Vladimir, Zwenigorod, Yurief, Mojaisk, and

Dimitrof met with the same fate as Moscow. Pereislavl was burnt, but its inhabitants took to their boats and thus escaped. Kolomna was also captured, and then Toktamish prepared to return home. Crossing the Oka, he traversed the Principality of Riazan, which was terribly ravaged and plundered, notwithstanding the treachery of Prince Oleg, who was himself constrained to fly.* He also sent Sheikh Ahmed as an envoy to the Prince of Suzdal or Nijni Novgorod, and at the same time sent back Simeon, one of his sons, the other, Vasili, he took with him to Serai.† The terrible destruction of so many flourishing cities, which had taken so much care to nurse to their then condition, and the general prostration of the country was a heavy blow to Russian progress, and it would be easy, but hardly just, to draw the moral that it would have been better to follow the pliable attitude of Ivan I. or of Simeon, whose sycophancy to the Khans enabled their country to thrive so much, instead of attempting to beard him when neither the discipline of the people nor perhaps their resources were equal to a conflict. The disaster was not so crushing as it would seem from the wail raised by the beaten princes, who cried out, "Our fathers, who never triumphed over the Tartars, were not so unfortunate as we are." ‡ The fact is, that the victory on the Don had broken the spell of Tartar invincibility, and there was now a trysting-place in Moscow and its Grand Princes which did not exist in the disintegrated Russia of an earlier day, and we find the burning of Moscow followed directly by the extension of the Grand Principality. Dimitri having returned to his capital, ordered the dead to be buried. We are told a rouble was paid for every eighty corpses disposed of, and three hundred roubles were so spent; thus making the number of victims, independent of those who were burnt and drowned, 24,000. He then marched to punish Oleg of Riazan, to whose treachery he attributed his misfortunes. Oleg fled, but his city of Riazan was razed to the ground. The craven Cyprian was reproved in strong language by Dimitri, who recalled Pimen from his exile and made him metropolitan of Russia. He nominated Sawa as bishop of Serai.§ Cyprian retired to Kief. It seems he had been intriguing with Michael, Prince of Tuer, who was ambitious of displacing Dimitri from his position as Grand Prince.

Michael, we are told, had sent his sword-bearer Gurlen to the Khan with presents, and was rewarded with the diploma of Grand Prince. The next year (*i.e.*, in 1382) he went in person with his son Alexander. There he had to leave his son as a hostage for the payment of 8,000 roubles, but he did not gain his end. Toktamish, like his immediate predecessors, favoured the policy of strengthening Moscow, probably deeming it easier in this way to recover his dues. He had sent one of

* Karamzin, v. 92-102. † Golden Horde, 335. ‡ Karamzin, v. 102. § Golden Horde, 336.

his murzas named Karachai with a conciliatory message to Dimitri. The latter thereupon sent his son Vasili to the horde. He took no presents, for Moscow being destroyed he was too poor, but was well received. He was detained as a hostage, and a fresh levy of taxes was levied upon the Muscovites. Each hamlet of two or three houses was in future to pay half a rouble of silver, and each town a quantity of gold.* We read that at this time Boris Constantinovitch of Gorodetz, the brother of the Prince of Suzdal, was entertained at the horde.† The Grand Prince Dimitri now showed his statesmanship by making advances to and concluding a peace with Oleg, the treacherous Prince of Riazan, and by overlooking the recent intrigues of his rival the Prince of Tuer. He then turned his attention to the affairs of Novgorod. The democratic citizens of that old trading mart had lately, to appease the Lithuanians, ceded to them the towns of Ladoga and Russa, and the banks of the Narva, without his consent. Its inhabitants, like the ancient Noresmen and the merchants of Elizabeth's day, had also been engaged in buccaneering as well as trade. Under the name of "brave people" they marauded along the banks of the Volga, the Kama, and the Viatka. In 1371 they had captured Yaroslavl and Kostroma, and in 1375 they again captured the latter town, put its inhabitants in irons, burnt its houses, and threw into the river what they could not carry away. Thence they went on to Nijni Novgorod, where they made many Russians prisoners, and actually sold them as slaves to the Eastern merchants who frequented Bolghari; but they made even a bolder venture, and under the command of a leader called Procopius and of an ataman from Smolensk, they ravaged the borders of the Volga as far as Astrakhan, where, however, they were destroyed by the Tartar Prince Salchei.‡ In 1378 another band of these plunderers was destroyed near Kazan by the Viatkans. The people of Novgorod further went so far as to sequestrate the revenues due from them to the Grand Prince, and to refuse to recognise the supremacy of the metropolitan of Moscow.

Dimitri determined to punish them. He marched a large army northwards, which cowed the delinquents, and peace was concluded on the terms of their acknowledging his suzerainty and paying the annual tribute, as well as a fine of 8,000 roubles for their recent excesses, retaining meanwhile their old rights of self-government.§

Lithuania was now growing into a very important kingdom, and was becoming a menace to the Russians. It was governed by Ladislaus, well known as Yagellon. He had married Hedwig, the heiress of the Polish crown, a marriage which was accompanied by his baptism. It reads almost like a farce to be told that he ordered his subjects to be baptised at the same time, and that there being a large number of them they

* Karamzin, v. 106. † Golden Horde, 336. ‡ Karamzin, v. 107-109. § *Id.*, 112, 114.

were baptised in batches, the priest sprinkling them with water and naming one batch Peter, another John, &c. The sacred groves and idols at Vilna were destroyed, and the neophytes had white garments distributed to them in lieu of their former skin dresses. Most people are scarcely aware that in the end of the fourteenth century paganism was still the State religion so near Central Europe as Vilna. The conversion was the work of Polish priests, who were Roman Catholics, and Yagellon, who had previously tolerated the Greek church, began to persecute its followers, and forbade the marriage of Russians and Catholics. Many of the Lithuanian nobles remained faithful, however, to the Eastern church, and from these events we must date that religious feud which has made the history of White Russia and Lithuania so famous in later days. Soon after the Lithuanians laid siege to Polotsk, which they captured, and sent its prince, Andrew, a prisoner to Poland. Sviatoslaf, Prince of Smolensk, having invaded Mohilef, to make a diversion in favour of Andrew, committed the most terrible atrocities there. The Lithuanians marched to the rescue, and having met him near Mitislaf, they defeated and killed him, and made many distinguished prisoners. Retaining a son of Sviatoslaf as a hostage, they placed Yuri, the other one, on the throne of Smolensk. The latter acknowledged himself as their vassal. These wars broke down the ramparts which defended Muscovy on the west, but Dimitri, who had also the Tartars to reckon with, was powerless to avenge them.

Dimitri, Prince of Nijni Novgorod and Suzdal, died in 1383, after surrounding the former town with a stone wall. The Khan now divided his appanage, and gave Nijni to his brother Boris, while Suzdal was granted to his two sons Simeon and Vasili, on condition that the latter stayed at the horde as a hostage. He was some time after allowed to go home, when the two brothers drove their uncle out of Nijni. Boris went to the Tartar court, while his nephews appealed to the Grand Prince. Vasili, the latter's son, who had been a hostage at the horde for three years, now escaped to Moldavia, and by the favour of the Lithuanians was permitted to join his father at Moscow.* These events were sufficient to create a tension between the courts of Serai and Moscow. They were followed by a quarrel between the Grand Prince Dimitri and his brother Vladimir, who, like Damon and Pythias, had hitherto been most faithful to each other. The treaty by which they made friends again is a famous one in Russian history, and effected one of the most important revolutions in its administration. Hitherto the law of succession in Russia had been that brother should succeed brother, a very pernicious rule. Kelly has the following pertinent remarks on the change then made :—

"This natural order of succession Dimitri Donski established, by

* *Id.*, 118, 119.

a treaty in which his kinsman consented to renounce the mode of succession from brother to brother. It was the most remarkable among them, Vladimir the Brave, who was the first to sign this act. In several other conventions he acknowledged himself the vassal and lieutenant, not merely of Dimitri but also of Vasili his son, and even of the son of Vasili when he was only about five years old. . . . It is easy to conceive," says the historian, "the infallible effect of this succession, and with what promptitude it must necessarily have extended and consolidated the power of the Grand Prince. In fact the ideas of the father being transmitted to the son by education, their policy was more consistently followed up, and their ambition had a more direct object, for no one labours for a brother or a nephew as for his own children. The nobles could not fail to attach themselves devotedly to a prince whose son and heir, growing up amongst them, would know only them and would recompense their services in the person of their children; for the consequence of the succession of power in the same branch was the succession of favours and dignities in the same families." The boyards had already seen this. "This was the reason of their restoring the direct line in the person of the grandson of Ivan Kalita. It was they who made him Grand Prince at the age of twelve years, and who subjected the other princes to him. . . . The contemporary annalists declare that these ancient boyards of the Grand Principality detested the descent from brother to brother; for in that system each prince of the lateral branch arrived from his appanage with other boyards, whom he always preferred, and whom he could not satisfy and establish but at the expense of the old. On the other hand, the most important and transmissible places, the most valuable favours, an hereditary and more certain protection and greater hopes attracted a military nobility around the Grand Princes. In a very short time their elevation to the level of the humbled petty princes flattered their vanity, and completed their junction with the powerful authority. This circumstance explains the last words of Dimitri Donski to his boyards, when he recommended his son to their protection, 'Under my reign,' said he, 'you were not boyards, but really Russian princes.' In fact we see that the armies were as often commanded by boyards as by princes, and that from this epoch it was no longer a prince of the blood, but a boyard of the Grand Prince, who was his lieutenant at Novgorod."*

The treaty with his brother was speedily followed by the death of the Grand Prince. Dimitri's imposing presence (he was very tall and stout, with black hair and beard and brilliant eyes), his engaging manners, and his magnificent victory on the Don, made him the idol of his people. The first vanquisher of the Tartars, his reign was not marked by any great extension of the empire, but it was a famous epoch in other

* Kelly's Russia, i. 88, 89.

respects. It was then that Stephen, one of the missionary apostles of the Eastern church, converted the Permians who lived between the Dwina and the Ural mountains. The bonds, both religious and commercial, which tied Russia and Constantinople were drawn closer. Karamzin has translated a curious narrative of the journey of the metropolitan Pimen to Constantinople. In it we are told how the travellers went along the Don past Sarkel, the famous capital of the Khazars (then in ruins). It was there, says the traveller, we first saw on both banks of the Don the Tartars of the horde of Sarikhosa, as well as an immense multitude of sheep, lambs, oxen, camels, and horses. They were not ill-treated by the Tartars, who merely asked where they were going to and gave them milk. They afterwards passed the camps of Vulat and Akbuguin (*i.e.*, Pulad and Akbugha), arrived at Azof, and thence went on their journey.* It is during the reign of Dimitri we first meet with coined money among the Russians. "Before this time the chronicles make frequent mention first of grivnas and afterwards of roubles, but by these words are understood a certain weight of silver. Foreign commerce was therefore carried on after the manner of the East, by barter or by exchange against gold or silver taken by weight. For petty transactions the current money was bits of marten skins called mortki, and still smaller scraps of fur, consisting of squirrels' heads, or even the ears only (marked with the official stamp), called polushki, worth some fraction of a farthing. Moscow and Tuer were the first towns that employed a Tartar coin called denga, named from the word tamgha, Mongol for a seal or stamp. At first the legend was only in the Tartar language, then Tartar on one side and Russian on the other, and finally Russian only."† These dengas were of silver; besides them another Tartar coin in copper, called a pula, was also in circulation. The silver coins bore a horseman on one side. Accounts were kept in altins (derived from the Turkish for six), consisting of six dengas, and in dengas.‡ The last year of Dimitri was also marked by the introduction of firearms (which were to effect such a mighty change in the conditions of Eastern warfare) into Russia.

Dimitri was succeeded in 1389 by his son Vasili, who was duly installed at Vladimir by Sheikh Ahmed, the Khan's deputy, and soon after Boris Constanovitch, who had been dispossessed of his appanage by his nephews, and had gone to Serai for redress, as I have mentioned, returned home again with the Khan's diploma.§

We have now reached a period when the rulers of the Golden Horde found a foeman more than his equal in power in the person of the Great Timur; but before we treat of their struggle we must take a short survey of some transactions elsewhere.

In the year 1380 Ramasan, who represented Toktamish at Solgat in

* Karamzin, v. 140. † Kelly, i. 94, 95. ‡ Karamzin, v. 142. § *Id.*, 146.

the Crimea, concluded a treaty with the Venetians. Andrea Venerio represented the republic on this occasion. It was arranged that the Venetian merchants should pay a duty of three per cent. on their goods, except on goods not for sale and those for the consumption of the Venetians themselves; that disputes should be decided by the complaniei; that where an attempt was made to cheat the customs the goods should be forfeited. Three years before this a treaty had been made between Elias, the beg of Solgat, Gianone del Bosco, the consul, and Barnabo Riccio and Teramo Pichenotti, the two syndics of Kaffa, on behalf of the republic of Genoa and its colony, by which protection was extended to all the subjects of the Khan resident at Soldaya while eighteen neighbouring villages, with the district between Cembalo and Soldaya, which had been colonised by the Genoese, and of which they had been forcibly deprived, were restored to them.

Seven years later, namely, on the 12th of August, 1387, a fresh treaty was entered into. Yunisbeg Kutlughbugha, beg of Solgat, representing the Khan, and Gentile di Grimaldi and Gianone del Bosco, the syndics and procurators of the republic, Giovanni degli Innocenti, who was styled consul of Kaffa, of the Genoese, and of all Ghazaria (*i.e.*, the Crimea), and Nicolo di Marin and Gianone di Vivaldis as syndics on behalf of the citizens. The former treaties were confirmed, and Kutlughbugha promised, on behalf of himself and the Khan, that the money coined should be as good as in the days of his predecessor Elias. This notice is very curious, and seems to point to the money having been coined for the use of the Genoese traders. There are coins extant of Toktamish, struck at New and Old Krim.*

After his great campaign in Russia, Toktamish busied himself chiefly with the affairs of the eastern part of his Khanate. He seems to have been of a ruthless disposition. We are told he caused his wife Towlui or Tawlui to be executed. He also quarrelled with his protector and patron Timur. The cause of this quarrel would seem to have been the appropriation by Timur of Khuarezm, which formed a portion of the Golden Horde. During the troubled times, when Urus Khan was chief of the Eastern Kipchak and Mamai of the Western, a chief named Hussein Sofi, son of Yanghadai of the Kunkurat tribe, seized upon the districts of Kat and Khiva. Timur sent an embassy to him at Khuarezm claiming that these districts belonged to the Khanate of Jagatai, and demanded their surrender. Hussein said he had conquered the district with the sword, and that it must be taken from him in the same way. Timur would have marched against him, but the mollah Jelal ud din of Kesh, who filled the post of mufti, persuaded him to let him go and try to bring Hussein to reason. Hussein not only refused his counsel but cast him into prison.† Timur accord-

* Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 337, 338. † De la Croix's Sherifuddin, i. 226-229.

ingly marched against him. Leaving Bokhara he went by way of Sepaye (?) on the Oxus, where some advanced pickets were captured and beheaded. The army then went on to Kat, which made a determined resistance, but was at length captured. The greater part of its garrison was put to death, as well as a large number of its inhabitants, and the women and children were carried off as captives. The enemy's army was now defeated and the country devastated. Hussein Sofi took refuge in Khuarezm, and having been misled by a false rumour that a large section of Timur's army would pass over to his side, he had the temerity to march out and offer battle on the banks of the river Kaun, two leagues from Khuarezm. The troops of Timur were victorious, and forced the enemy to take shelter in the town, where Hussein Sofi shortly after died of despair.* Peace was now made. Timur granted Khuarezm to Yusuf Sofi, the son of Hussein Sofi, on condition that the latter's cousin, a famous beauty called Sevin Bei, and surnamed Kanzade (*i.e.*, daughter of the king), was married to his son Jehanghir;† but soon after some fugitives from Timur's camp, who had a grudge against him, incited Yusuf Sofi to break the treaty he had made, and we find him attacking and ravaging the town of Kat and dispersing its inhabitants. In the spring of 1372 Timur set out to take his revenge. Yusuf Sofi submitted with the greatest deference and received a pardon. The marriage which had been agreed upon now took place. It is described in great detail by Sherifuddin, but forms no part of our present subject.

Two years later we again find Timur marching an army upon Khuarezm, which he entered by way of Kat. He had reached Khas when he was suddenly recalled by an outbreak of some of his officers, who had marched upon Samarkand. It was shortly after this that Toktamish was nominated as Khan of Kipchak by Timur, as I have mentioned, although for some time his authority was only nominal. While Timur was wintering at Otrar watching Urus Khan, Yusuf Sofi took advantage of his absence, and made a raid upon the district of Bokhara. Timur sent an envoy to remonstrate with him, who was cast into prison by the ruthless chief of Khuarezm. A courteous letter was now sent to complain of this breach of the law of nations, and we are told that, as an especial honour, it was written in fresh musk upon silk. Yusuf Sofi replied by sending the messenger to join the envoy in prison, while he made a raid upon the camels of some Turkomans then near Bokhara. Timur was not the person to submit quietly to such treatment. Accordingly, in the spring of the year 1378, he marched by way of Eskizkuz, (?) and at length sat down before the capital. Yusuf Sofi sent him a challenge, saying it was better they two should fight it out than that so many Mussulmans should perish. Timur gladly accepted it, donned his Imperial casque and the

* *Id.*, 229-238. † *Id.*, 239, 240.

armour he kept for duels, and, against the entreaties of his friends, went out to meet his rival. He went near the city and called to him to come out, and told him it was better to die than to live after breaking one's word; but the prudent Yusuf did not reply. Meanwhile we are told that some of the first melons of the year were taken to Timur from Termed. He gracefully sent some in a golden salver to his rival, who replied in a characteristic fashion, by throwing them into the ditch and giving the salver to the porter. The garrison made a brave sortie, and there was terrible bloodshed on both sides. The siege now progressed, and the walls were much battered with the primitive artillery then in use. The attack lasted for three months and sixteen days, and the matter went so badly with the Khuarezmians that Yusuf Sofi died of grief and chagrin. Matters were now pressed, and after a stubborn resistance the breaches were stormed, many of the people killed, and a large treasure of pearls and precious stones captured. All the sherifs, doctors, and men of letters were sent to Kesh, with a vast crowd of women and children.* The capture of Khuarezm took place in 1379. Thus was this ancient province, which had long formed a part of the Khanate of Kipchak, added to the dominions of Timur.

When Toktamish had defeated his various rivals and had firmly seated himself on the throne, he doubtless also wished to recover possession of Khuarezm from Timur, who, although his patron, he must have felt was in fact a person who did not belong to the Imperial Mongol stock descended from Jingis Khan. It is probable that Timur, who was not given to surrendering what he had won, refused, and that this was the cause of quarrel between the two chiefs.† The first open strife between them commenced on the side of Persia, where Toktamish probably also kept up the claims of his ancestors to the provinces of Arran and Azerbaijan.

During the winter of 1385 Toktamish advanced upon Tebriz by way of Derbend, at the head of 90,000 men. Under him were twelve Oghlans (the princes of the Royal blood were so named), the chief of whom was Bek Pulad. Three others were called respectively Aisa Beg, Yagli Beg, and Gazanshi. Having passed Shirvan, they entered Azerbaijan and laid siege to Tebriz. Its governor was an incapable person, and the inhabitants, by the advice of the emir Veli, and Mahmud Kalkali, fortified the town and repulsed the enemy for eight days, but eventually the superior numbers of Toktamish prevailed, and he captured it, and Veli and Mahmud Kalkali fled to the country of Kalkal. The troops of Kipchak ravaged the town most severely, and the vast riches and works of art which had been accumulated there for many years were plundered in the course of the ten days' sack. After which Toktamish and his people retired once more before the winter was over by the same

* De la Croix, i. 295-306. † Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 339.

route by which they had invaded the country. Timur was much grieved at this disaster to a town so attached to Islam, but he had the conquest of Iran on his hands at the time, and postponed his revenge for a while.* Von Hammer reports how Toktamish on this occasion carried off the famous poet Kemal of Khojend, who lived four years at Serai, and wrote verses about its beauties.† In the spring of 1387, when he had finished his enterprise in Persia, and had been spending the winter on the banks of the river Urus, Timur heard that Toktamish was meditating another invasion by way of Derbend. This was contrary to the advice of Ali Bey the Kunkurat, of Oronk Timur, and Akbuka the Barin, who bade him remember what he owed to Timur. "Who knows," said they, "if in some change of fortune you may not have to go again to him for help;" but their counsel was overborne by that of Gazanshi, a parricide, and of Ali Bey, at whose instance he determined to break with Timur and to invade Azerbaijan.‡

Timur set out from Berdaa, and when he arrived on the Kur, finding a body of unknown people on the other side, he sent the Sheikh Ali Behadur, Ikutimur, Osman Abbas, and others to reconnoitre, and if these were the troops of Toktamish he ordered them not to molest them on account of the treaty he had with that prince. They went to inquire, and having discovered that the strangers were the troops of Toktamish, they were retiring when they were fiercely attacked, and being overborne in a bad position for defence, were defeated and lost forty chiefs. Meanwhile Timur had sent the murza Miran Shah, Haji Seifuddin, and others to support them. Having crossed the Kur, the latter were spectators of the disaster, attacked the victorious army, and routed them. They were pursued to Derbend and lost many prisoners, among whom was Khuridi, brother of Mubasher. The prisoners were sent to Timur. He inquired about Toktamish, whom he reproached with ingratitude and bade them warn him to remain on good terms with him. The prisoners were then given clothes and money and sent home. Sherifuddin, apropos of this generosity, quotes a verse of Saadi's, "How can he stint his favours to his friends when he is so generous to his enemies."§ Timur after this fought against the Turkoman Kara Muhammed, and also marched against Fars, which he annexed. Hardly had he done so, when a courier, who had arrived in seven days from Mavera un nehr, brought word that Toktamish had sent an army to invade that province. He had probably found it impracticable to attack Timur by way of Derbend. This army was commanded by the Bek Yarok Oghlan, Aisa Beg, Satgan Behadur, &c., who having advanced from Sighnak, attacked Sabran and laid siege to it. Timur Khoja Akbugha, who commanded there for Timur, bravely defended it, and the enemy was obliged to raise the siege, and pro-

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* Sherifuddin, i. 402-404. † Golden Horde, 339. ‡ *Id.*, 423-425.
§ Op. cit., 427-429.

ceeded to lay waste other districts. The murza Omar Sheikh, who was at Andikan, collected some troops, and was joined by the emirs Suliman Shah and Abbas, who took with them a portion of the troops of Samarkand. They crossed the Sihun and attacked the enemy on the plain of Yuklik, five leagues to the east of Otrar. Omar Sheikh, "the bravest man of the century," penetrated into the thick of the forces of Kipchak. His people thought he was killed, lost heart, and fled, and the emir Abbas was wounded with an arrow. The Sheikh had, however, escaped, and reached Andikan, where he collected the broken *debris* of his people.

News now arrived that Ankatura, a chief of Mongolistan, had also broken faith with Timur, and was with an army in the neighbourhood of Sairam and Tashkent. He was opposed by Omar Sheikh, and retired after a fruitless campaign. The troops of Kipchak meanwhile proceeded to plunder the rich valley of Soghd, and one section of them appeared before Bokhara, and burnt the beautiful palace of Zendgir Serai, for which Timur exacted ample vengeance at a later day.* When he heard of these doings he set out for Samarkand, and at the approach of his troops the enemy scattered. One section retired towards Khuarezm, the other went northwards towards the deserts of Kipchak.† Sherifuddin says naively, that the troops being accustomed to victory, he deemed it strange that they should have been beaten in the battle at Yuklik, and he had the commanders tried. Those who had been unskilful were punished, while others who had displayed courage were rewarded. Among the former was Berat Khoja Kukiltash, who had his beard cut off, his face was painted white and vermillion, his head was dressed like a woman's, and he was then made to run barefoot through the town.‡ Timur does not seem to have taken means to revenge this defeat immediately, but undertook another campaign in Khuarezm.

After the death of Yusuf Sofi that district had fallen into the hands of Suliman Sofi, probably Yusuf's brother, and of Ilikmish Oghlan, a Prince of Kipchak, who had married Suliman's sister. They were doubtless dependents of Toktamish. Timur now marched against them, and his advance guard was commanded by Timur Kutlugh Oghlan and Kunji Oghlan, two princes of the White Horde, who had taken refuge with him. Having passed the rivers Bagdadek (?) and Shedris (?) they learnt that Suliman Sofi and Ilikmish had fled to Toktamish, a division under Timur's eldest son Miranshah was sent in pursuit. They went by way of Kongkend (? Khanki) and Kiz (? Kazavat), overtook the fugitives, and captured a large booty. Timur now went to the capital (*i.e.*, Old Urgenj), whose inhabitants he transported to Samarkand, while he razed the city to the ground and sowed its site with barley, in punishment for its rulers having declared war against him.§ Three years later, and after his return from the campaign in Kipchak, which we shall presently

* *Id.*, 463-469. † *Id.*, 472. ‡ *Id.*, 473-475. § Sherifuddin, ii. 1-4.

describe, he sent Musiki, the son of Yunki Kutshin, to restore the ruined city. He was very successful in this, repeopled and rebuilt it, and also surrounded the towns of Kat and Khiva with walls.* We now read of another aggression made by Toktamish, who, we are told, collected the forces of Russia, Circassia, Bulgaria, Kipchak, the Crimea, Kaffa, Alania, and Azak, as well as those of Bashkirland and Muscovy, a force so numerous that the poets compared it to the drops in a hurricane or the leaves in a thick grove. He set out towards the end of the year 790.† When Timur heard of his march he also set out with the troops of Samarkand and Kesh, and encamped at Sagruj, a village six leagues from Samarkand. He also sent the Tavachis into various parts of the empire to collect his people. The winter was an exceedingly cold one and the ground covered with snow. The news presently arrived that the advanced guard of the army of Kipchak, commanded by Ilikmish Oghlan (the chief of Khuarezm, who had taken refuge with Toktamish), had crossed the Sihun, and that it was encamped near Azak Zernuk.‡ Timur determined to attack the enemy, and when his chiefs, on their bended knees, begged him to wait till his other men had come up he would not listen, but set out over the snow (which reached the breasts of his horses), with only the troops of the district. He marched day and night, and was joined en route by the murza Omar Sheikh with the troops of Andikan. Detaching a division to cut off the retreat of the troops of Kipchak, he on the following day crossed the hill of Telanbar, and found himself before the enemy. The great war cry of Suron was raised, and a bloody battle ensued. The enemy fled, many of them were drowned in the Sihun, the remainder were for the greater part surrounded and killed. Airdi Berdi, secretary of State to Toktamish, was well received by Timur, who gave him presents and otherwise honoured him. Timur now returned home again, and encamped at Akar, near Samarkand. This was in February, 791.

When spring fairly arrived there also came to him the various contingents he had summoned for the war. The murza Miranshah, at the head of the troops of Khorassan, while others came from Balkh, Khunduz, Bakalan, Badakhshan, Katlan, Hissar, Shaduman, and many other towns. He ordered a bridge of boats to be built on the Sihun opposite Khojend, and others in other places, and set out early in the year 791. The advance guard of his army was commanded by Timur Kutlugh Oghlan, Sevinjik Behadur, and Osman Behadur. They sent people ahead to reconnoitre, who discovered the enemy's advanced posts off their guard and surprised them. This was on the river Arch (? the Arys). The army of Toktamish had attacked Sabran, but it had resisted so

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* *Id.*, ii. 5. † *Id.*, ii. 23.

‡ This was one of the halting places of Jingis Khan on his march to Samarkand, and is mentioned in the journey of Haithon. It was situated on the left bank of the Jaxartes, not far from Otrar.

bravely that he had been forced to raise the siege, and to retire towards Yassi or Turkestan, in whose meadows he was encamped with the main army, collected with so much pains, as I have mentioned. No sooner did they hear of the approach of Timur's people than they decamped, "like grasshoppers in a plain," and the pursuers saw only the dust raised by their horses' feet. A few troopers were sent on ahead to follow their traces, and came up with their rear guard in a place called Sarek Uzan (? the Sari Su river). This they dispersed, and captured Kitba Terkhan, a chief of a hundred men, with his people. They returned safely to Ak Suma (*i.e.*, the modern Ak Sumbe, north of the Alexandrofski mountains), where Timur himself was encamped.

The latter now advanced with the main army by way of Uzenk Shakel (?), and arrived at Bilen (?), thence by way of Sarek Uzan (? the Sari Su), and Kurjun (?). He pitched his camp at Alkushun (?). There, at a council held with his principal chiefs, it was determined before proceeding against Kipchak, to secure the rear of the attacking force by first destroying the power of the Khan of Mongolistan (*i.e.*, the Khan of the house of Jagatai), who held his court at Almaligh.* This Timur succeeded in doing very effectually, and then once more returned to Samarkand.

At length, in the year 792 (*i.e.*, in A.D. 1390), he set out on his famous expedition, in which he completely overthrew the power of Toktamish, and to which he was incited not only by repeated treachery but also by the solicitations of one of the latter's principal chiefs, named Idiku Uzbeg, who is called chief of the Nogais,† and about whom we shall have more to say elsewhere.

A campaign in the deserts of Kipchak is a very serious matter, how serious may be judged by the accounts of the recent expedition of the Russians against Khiva, when they crossed the same country, and Timur made adequate preparations. He sent out Tevachis or couriers‡ to summon the troops, and also the contingents of those tribes who were tributary, "both Turks and Tajiks," and to collect provisions for a year. Each man was ordered to furnish himself with a bow, with thirty arrows, a quiver, and a buckler. The army were mounted, and a spare horse was supplied to every two men, while a tent was furnished for every ten, and with this were two spades, a pickaxe, a sickle, a saw, an axe, an awl, a hundred needles, half a men (*i.e.*, 8½lbs.) of cord, an ox's hide, and a strong pan. They were also furnished with horses from the studs, coats of mail and cuirasses, and money was distributed among them.§ Orders were issued that after leaving Tashkend each soldier should limit himself to one men (*i.e.*, 17lbs. troy) of flour per month, forbidding the cooking of bread, biscuits, and macaroni in the camp, and ordering that they should limit themselves to hasty pudding or flour porridge.||

* *Id.*, ii. 31. † Charmoy Memoirs, St. Petersburgh Academy, ii. 502.
‡ Charmoy, op. cit., 131. Note, 2. § *Id.*, 100, 422, 444. || *Id.*, 423.

He left Samarkand when the sun was in the sign of Capricorn, and having built a bridge over the Sihun, he took up his winter quarters in the district of Tashkend, between Barsin (*i.e.*, Barchin) and Chihas (?).* Before setting out he visited the tomb of the Sheikh Maslahet, at Khojend, where he distributed 10,000 kupégi dinars in alms.†

Having returned to Tashkend he fell dangerously ill, and was so for forty days. When he recovered, his son, the murza Miran Shah, arrived with the contingent of Khorasan, and Timur proceeded to distribute largess (okulga)‡ among the troops. He appointed three Princes of Kipchak, who had sought refuge with him, namely Timur Kutlugh Oghlan, son of Timur Malik Khan, Guneje Oghlan, and Idiku Uzbeg, to act as guides to the army. Having made arrangements for the government of the empire during his absence, he set out on the 19th of January, 1391, accompanied by his favourite wife Chulpan Malik Agha, daughter of Haji Beg Irkanut, Prince of Mongolistan. The army was detained for some days at Kara Saman.§ There, there arrived envoys from Toktamish, who were honoured with a special audience by Timur, and who presented him with a sonkar or royal falcon‖ and nine horses.¶ They prostrated themselves, and touched the ground with their foreheads in the recognised manner, and delivered the message of their master. The latter has addressed Tímur in humble terms, and asked that his revolt, which he attributed to evil counsels, &c., might be forgiven.

Timur, putting the falcon on his fist, replied that "The whole world was witness of how he had protected Toktamish, what sacrifices he had made to place him on his throne. How he had, notwithstanding, used the opportunity when he (Timur) was absent in Irak and Fars to revolt. How he had, nevertheless, been ready to forgive him if he had shown any contrition ; but instead of this he had again invaded his borders with a number of vile infidels, who pillaged and devastated far and wide, and when he returned to the rescue of his people he had basely retreated, and now wished once more to beguile him with his false promises, but that he had been treacherous too often for him (Timur) to be again

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* *Id*, 363.

† Charmoy has a note on this money, whose name recalls the Russian copecks. Kupegi dinars mean dinars with the dog, and were, he thinks, the same as the gold Dutch coins called in Egypt abu kelb (the father with the dog), and by corruption abokelle. They were so called on account of the lion on them, the noble animal being styled dog either out of contempt for the Christians or on account of the base metal of which they were made. These lion thalers were of less value than those of Venice and Spain. (*Id.*, 135. Note, 8.)

‡ De la Croix, ii. 73.

§ This name means black straw in Turkish, and is written Karaiman and Férâhmân in other manuscripts. De la Croix places Kara Saman, on what authority Charmoy cannot say, in 45.6 north latitude and 99 east longitude. It was probably situated to the north of Tashkend and the south-east of Yassy or Turkestan, and not far from the Bodame, a tributary of the Sihun. (*Id.*, 136. Note, 13.)

‖ These abound in the mountains of Ufa, and the falcons of that province are still very famous. (Charmoy, op. cit., 137. Note, 14.)

¶ Probably from Kazan, whose breed is also famous.

misled, and he meant to carry out his purpose of punishing him. Nevertheless, if he was sincere and wished to give a proof of his real intentions, let him send his first minister Alibeg to treat, and he (Timur) would act in the way that wisdom and the interests of his empire required."* Timur gave the envoys a grand feast and presented them with embroidered kaftans. They were assigned special quarters, but orders were given to watch them closely.

A grand council of war or kuriltai was held on the 21st of February, 1391.† A day under an auspicious star was chosen for the start, and the envoys of Toktamish were sent home. The army marched by way of Yassy (the modern Turkestan), Karachuk (a river which falls into the Sihun about five versts from Turkestan), and Sabran, then turning more to the north, it went for six weeks over barren steppes,‡ where it lost many horses for want of fodder, and at length reached Saruk Uzen or Saruk Erin, as other manuscripts have it, that is the yellow water which, as M. Charmoy has argued, is undoubtedly the well-known river Sari Su.§ They reached this river on the 6th of April, 1391, and the horses were unhaltered for a few days, and thanks were offered to heaven for the happy progress of affairs. The river was flooded, and the halt was necessary until it could be forded. The evening when the crossing was effected two dependents of Idiku escaped to Toktamish, and evaded all efforts for their capture. On the 26th of April the army reached the mountain Kuchuk Tagh (*i.e.*, the Little Mountain), one of the most famous of the steppe. Two days later they reached the Ulugh Tag (*i.e.*, the great mountain). It is called ulugh or great because the inhabitants deem it the greatest mountain of their country. In this chain rise the various affluents of the Sari Su, known as the Jeilanlu Kinghir, Jislu Kinghir, Kara Kinghir, and Saru Kinghir. The Ulugh Tag and Kunchuk Tag mountains were anciently known as the Ortagh (high mountain), and Kar Tagh (*i.e.*, dirty mountain), and were the summer residence of the Khans of the Oghuz Turks.‖ Timur climbed the Ulugh Tagh, and from this magnificent vantage looked over the beautiful prairies that stretch far away towards the horizon and caused a stone obelisk to be planted on the summit, with the date and an account of his presence there; a monument which was supplemented in later days by a similar one in his own honour, set up by the Uzbeg chief Abdullah Behadur Khan.¶ Setting out again, and hunting en route, the army arrived on the following day at the river Ilanchuk (*i.e.*, the snakelike).** Eight days after crossing it they

* *Id.*, 102, 103. De la Croix, ii. 76-78. † Charmoy, *id.*, 138. Note, 15.
‡ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 346. § Op. cit., 139, 140. Note, 17.
‖ *Id.*, 140-143. Note, 19. ¶ *Id.* *Vide infra.*

** This river is mentioned by Levchine, who reports from the accounts of the Kirghiz Kazaks that it springs in the Ulugh Tagh and falls into the lake Yakan ak gul (*i.e.*, the White lake that burns), one hundred versts south-east of lake Ak Sakal Barbi. (*Id.*, 143.)

reached Atakaraghui or Ana karaghui.* The army had been four months on the march from Tashkend, and provisions began to run short. As much as a hundred kupeghi dinars was paid for a sheep, while the price of corn was similarly augmented, and the troops had recourse to the eggs of wild birds, probably of wild geese, which abound there, and all kinds of animals and herbs for food,† while the only rations issued consisted in a kind of soup, made of flour and flavoured with an herb called muthr (*i.e.*, the tuft of the millet),‡ and the officers were constrained to live like their men. On the 6th of May, 1391, Timur ordered a grand hunt to be organised on the old Mongol method of enclosing a large space with a ring of men. This was very successful, and a vast number of steppe antelopes (the cervus pyrargus of Pallas), deer, and elks were killed. The latter were new to Timur's people, and are called kandaghai by the Mongols, while the inhabitants of the steppes call them bulans.§ So numerous were the game that only the fat ones were used (the lean ones being allowed to escape), and they furnished the army with meat for several days.‖

After the hunt Timur held a grand review of his men. Charmoy conjectures that this review was held in the great plain stretching between the mountains Kezbel and Kotur and the Kara Adir range, about five degrees east of Orskaia Krepost, where the Tobol springs.¶ He inspected the troops drawn up in battle array, and variously armed with lances, swords, daggers, maces, and lassoes, with bucklers covered with crocodile hides, and with tiger skins on their horses. Such a gathering must have been a grand and unique spectacle in the lonely Siberian steppes. Timur himself, we are told, had a crown ornamented with rubies on his head, and bore a mace terminating in the head of an ox. As he passed by, the various commanders knelt and did homage, and one of them presented him with a splendid charger. He examined the troops carefully, and finding, we are told, that they were equipped as well as if on parade on the flowery meadows of Akiar, dear Kesh, where he held his reviews,** he distributed rewards. The army marched past to the sound of timbals, shouting the war cry Surun (*i.e.*, charge).

Timur now sent on an advance guard, of which, at his request, he gave the command to his grandson the murza Muhammed Sultan Behadur, and the latter set out on the 12th day of May, a day which had been declared propitious by the Great Mollah Abdullah Lisan (? Kisan).†† Two days after setting out the young prince found traces of the enemy,

* Probably, as M. Charmoy has argued, a corruption of Karaturghai, a river which springs in the lead mountains, spurs of the Ulugh Tagh, and which, after running for a certain course, changes its name to Ulugh Turghai (*i.e.*, the Great Turghai). It traverses the marshes of Bishe Kupa and the sands of Koshelok and falls into the lake Ak Sakal Barbi. The epithet ulugh great explains the parallel epithets of ata (*i.e.*, father), and ana (*i.e.*, mother), used by Sherifuddin, Mirkhond, &c. (*Id.*, 144.)

† *Id.*, 446. ‡ *Id.*, 145 and 371. Note, 23. § *Id.*, 106 and 146. Note, 27.
‖ *Id.*, 106. ¶ *Id.*, 148. Note, 28. ** *Id.*, 149. Note, 30. †† *Id.*, 108 and 448.

and came upon a recently abandoned camp, in which the fires were scarcely out.* Following up the traces he hastened on, and at length reached the well known river Tobol, upon which the city of Tobolsk is built, and which derives its name from a small tree called Tobul by the Kazaks and Tavolga by the Russians. This river was the old frontier between the government of Orenburgh and the Kazaks. The route followed by Timur and his people was doubtless, as M. Charmoy says, the same which is still used between the Ulugh Tag mountains and the Tobol.† Having crossed the river videttes were sent out, and reported that they had found abandoned fires in seventy different places, but had not seen the enemy.

Timur having heard of this, advanced by forced marches, and soon reached the Tobol, and rejoined his advance guard. He then sent on an experienced Turkoman named Sheikh David, who had been brought up on the steppes, to reconnoitre. After a forced march of two days and nights he came upon some huts, where he lay in ambush, and waited until he saw a horseman come out. Having overtaken and seized him, he returned to Timur, who rewarded him with a gilt shoulder strap on which to sling his quiver, and a caftan.

The captive informed him that he had left the country of Toktamish a month before, and had seen nothing of his men till a few days ago, when he had noticed ten men in armour, who were then concealed in an adjoining wood. Timur sent to surprise these warriors. They resisted, and some were killed, while the others were captured. Having heard definite news from them about his enemy, Timur once more advanced by forced marches, and after traversing several rivers and lakes, arrived on the 29th of May on the banks of the Yaik.‡ There the army halted. One of the guides informed Timur that there were three fords over the river, namely, Aighir Yaly, Bura-Guechit, and Chapma Guechit or Khime Guechit.§ Timur preferred not to cross by these fords, as the enemy might be ambushed behind. He therefore crossed it higher up, where the water was deep, and six days later reached the river Semur, where he halted.‖ There he heard that the army of Toktamish, which had been posted in the neighbourhood, had recently retired. He accordingly issued orders that the advance should be made very circumspectly, and that no fires were to be lighted at night. On

* *Id.*, 382. † *Id.*, 151.

‡ This was probably near Kizilskaia. We still find on the route from the Tobol to this station several lakes, such as the Aghatch Gul (lake of the wood), Balik Gul (the fish lake), Sari Gul (yellow lake), Ala Gul (blue lake), and several rivers, such as the Tagh Karaghai (mountain pines), Kara Ali Aiat, Tuguzak, and Sarimsaklu (the garlic river). (Charmoy, op. cit., 151. Note, 34.)

§ These Charmoy identifies with great probability with the positions of the modern forts of Orskaia, Tanalitzkaia, and Kizilskaia.

‖ This was probably the Sakmara, which springs in the mountain Ak tuba (white hill), in the district of Verkhni Uralsk, and running parallel for some distance with the Yaik, at length falls into it. (*Id.*, 152. Note, 35.)

the 4th of June, 1391, he arrived at the river Ik.* Meanwhile Toktamish had been encamped at a place variously called Kerk Gul (*i.e.*, the forty lakes) or Koruk Gul (the dry lake), where he awaited the contingents of the dependent hordes of Bulghar and Azak (*i.e.*, of the later Kazan and Krim Tartars). He had planted ambuscades at the usual ferries over the Yaik.†

Timur ordered his men to exercise renewed vigilance, to keep close watch over the camps, and also to make a circuit of the immediate neighbourhood every night, so as to prevent a surprise. Having passed a night on the banks of the Ik, the troops again set out, marching with difficulty over the marshy ground, and soon the advanced posts reported having seen three of the enemy's regiments. Timur accordingly ordered his men to range themselves in order of battle, and made a fresh distribution of bucklers, cuirasses, and money.‡ From a prisoner, who was afterwards put to death, he learnt that Toktamish was adopting a Fabian policy, as he understood that provisions were wanting in Timur's camp. Sending forward Mubesheshir Behadur to reconnoitre, the latter came up with a detachment, of whom he made forty prisoners. From them he learnt that they had set out to join Toktamish at the rendezvous of Kerk Gul, but had not met with him. These prisoners were also cruelly put to death. Soon after a more important capture was made in the son of Mamai, who was wounded, and who, falling on his knees, also reported that he had set out from Serai to join Toktamish, but had not found him at the rendezvous.§ Shortly after this the army of Toktamish was discovered by an advance guard which Timur sent out to explore, under Jelal ud din, the son of the emir Hamed, and other chiefs. When Timur heard this news he ordered Aiku Timur, a chief of the Berlas tribe, to advance with a body of troops and reconnoitre. Having gone some distance and crossed two rivers, probably the Dema, a tributary of the Belaia, and the Great Kinel, a feeder of the Samara, or perhaps the Sok,‖ he came up with Jelal ud din and the other videttes. Seeing some of the enemy's troops encamped on a hill he went up to them, and when they descended occupied their position, whence he discovered a considerable force, in coats of mail, drawn up. Deeming his people too weak to cope with them, he ordered them to retreat, and himself took charge of the rear guard of seven or eight men. The enemy, seeing his isolated position, marched upon him. His horse was wounded by an arrow, and he was struck by a second one. He now sped along, but his horse fell exhausted. Receiving a remount, another arrow struck his second horse. He was now surrounded and killed, and his head was cut off. Some of his companions suffered the same fate.

* There are four rivers of this name in the government of Orenburgh, but M. Charmoy considers that the one meant is a tributary of the Sakmara. (*Id.*, 153. Note, 37.)

† *Id.*, 111. ‡ *Id.* § *Id.*, i. 12. ‖ *Id.*, 159. Note, 44.

The pursuit of the enemy was stopped by a body of troops which Timur ordered to the rescue, and which poured in a well-directed flight of arrows. He rewarded all those who had distinguished themselves in the skirmish, conferring upon the sons of the emir Aiku the distinguished title of Terkhan, and issued instructions to the Yesauls or orderlies to permit them at all times to enter the Imperial palace or tent without question, and not to inflict punishment upon them or their descendants until they had offended nine times, privileges which, it will be remembered, Jingis associated with the title of Terkhan. The great seal and the seal for sealing despatches were intrusted to Shah Malik, son of Kaljighai, who was invested with the office filled by Aiku Timur. The latter's death caused great depression in the army.

Timur's army had advanced to the 54th degree of latitude, and to the district where there was no true night in summer. The Mussulmans accordingly received dispensations from the Imams in regard to their saying the midnight prayer. As Toktamish continued his Fabian tactics, with the intention of wearing out his army, the great conqueror called a council of his principal chiefs, where it was determined that the murza Omar Sheikh should advance by forced marches with 20,000 men and force an engagement. He was accompanied by the emir Sevinjik, Sultan Sanjar, Haji Seif ud din, the emir Otsman, son of Abbas, Hasan Jandar, and other distinguished officers. They soon came up with the rear guard of the enemy, and in the grim phrase of the chronicler, "The sun hid himself in thick clouds, so as not to light up the horrors of the fight."* It was very cold, and snow fell for five or six days. At length, on Monday the 18th of June, the weather cleared.† Timur set his men in order at Kandurcha, in the country of the Bulghars.‡ He divided them into seven divisions, from a reverence he felt for the number seven, which is the number of verses in the first Sura of the Koran, and gave them to his principal officers and dependents. Although much harassed by their long march, while the enemy was more or less fresh, there was great enthusiasm in the ranks, and a general desire to test the issue. Timur, it seems, had seduced the standard-bearer of Toktamish, and ordered him to pull down his standard when the two armies were engaged. A more serious defection from his duty was that of an emir of the tribe Aktaf or Aktagh (*i.e.*, of the White Mountain),§ who commanded the left wing of the army of Toktamish. Having a deadly quarrel with another emir who had murdered one of his relatives, he chose the moment when the two armies were before each other to demand the surrender of his enemy. Toktamish promised to surrender him after the struggle was over. Dis-

* *Id.*, 116. † *Id.* Note, 56.

‡ This was probably the place still called Kandurchinskaia on the borders of the governments of Orenburgh and Simbirsk, on the left bank and near the sources of the Kandurcha, which falls into the Sok near Krasnoiarska.

§ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 353.

contented with this answer he withdrew, and with him a number of others, and the whole of the tribe of Aktagh. Von Hammer says these Tartars of Aktagh had settled in the Dobrudja when Timur overran Asia Minor.* They now retired beyond the Danube, and planted themselves near Adrianople.†

When his men were set out in battle array, it was found that both on the right and the left wing they overlapped those of Timur. His principal generals are thus enumerated:—Tash-Timur, Beg Yaruk, Ilkimish, Beg Pulad, Ali Oghlan, and Jinta Oghlan. These were all descendants of Juchi. Besides these there were Ali, Suliman Sofi, and Nurus, of the tribe Kunkurat; Aktaf, Akbuta (Akbuye of Von Hammer), and Uruschuk, of the tribe Kiat; Ika beg (Isa beg of Von Hammer), the elder brother of Ideku, Hasan beg, Serayi, Kuke bugha,‡ and Yaghli bi, of the tribe Baharin; Kunkur bi or Kunkurti, and others from the steppes of Kipchak.

On the side of Timur the first corps was commanded by Sultan Mahmud Khan, assisted by Suliman Shah. The second corps, which was the main body, was commanded in person by Timur, assisted by Prince Muhammed Sultan, son of Jihangir. The murza Miran Shah Gurkhan was placed at the head of the third corps, and was assisted by Prince Muhammed Sultan Shah. The fourth corps was commanded by the emir Haji Seif ud din, the fifth by the murza Omar Sheikh. The names of the commanders of the other two corps are not mentioned, but we are told that among the eminent chiefs on Timur's side there were also Berdibeg, son of Sarbuka, Khudad i Huseny, and many others.§ Before the battle Timur prayed to God, and dismounting prostrated himself twice, while the troops deployed to the famous cry of Allah akbar (God is very great), and the shout of Surun (*i.e.*, charge) mingled on each side with the clang of drums and iron timbals.

Meanwhile the chief of the Sherifs Seid Bereke, a descendant of Ali, who had prophesied that Timur would prove victorious, uncovered his head and raised his hands aloft in prayer, while the Imam Khauja Zia ud din Yusuf and Sheikh Ismæl, both descended from the Sheikh ul Islam Ahmed Jam, recited in concert a verse from the Koran, "Oh, believers, remember the blessings of the Lord. It is he who stops the arms of your enemies when they venture to turn their weapons towards you. Fear God. It is in him whom believers ought to trust." Then throwing a handful of gravel towards the enemy, the Imam cried out, "May their faces be darkened," and then towards Timur, he said, "Go where thou wilt, God protects thee."‖

The emir Seif ud din was the first to attack the enemy, whose left wing he broke. The people of Toktamish, who, as I have said, over-

* *Id.*, 353. † Charmoy, 118. ‡ Von Hammer, 351. Note, 4. § Charmoy, op. cit., 117. ‖ *Id.*, 119.

lapped on either flank, tried to surround him, but were prevented by the emir Jihan Shah Behadur, who forced them back again. Kilinjik Behadur and the emir Mirian Shah Gurkhan also charged the left wing, which was partly destroyed and partly forced to retire. Afterwards the various commanders brought their men into conflict with the troops opposite them, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Toktamish, finding that he could not stop the centre and right of Timur's army, concentrated himself on the left. Nothing, we are told, could withstand the impetuosity of his attack there, and Timur's left flank was broken, its divisions were detached from the main army, and Toktamish actually pierced through the opposing ranks and took up his ground behind them. Notwithstanding the critical state of affairs, Timur, in order to inspire his men with confidence, ordered his grandson Abubekr, with the advance guard of 10,000 horsemen, to dismount and to proceed to pitch their tents, light their fires, and prepare their victuals. This piece of bravado disconcerted Toktamish, who was further distressed when he found his standard-bearer lowering his standard, as he had agreed. He thereupon retired in all haste, and fled, according to some, to the mountains of Georgia, and according to others, to the court of Withold or Vitut, Duke of Lithuania.* The battle had lasted three days, and was a terrible disaster for the forces of Kipchak, a space of forty ferasenks was strewn with corpses. The number of which, we are told, amounted to 100,000. The baggage and an immense booty became the prize of the victors.†

The conqueror encamped on the field of battle, and returned thanks to God for his victory. His various great officers then paid their respects to him on their knees, and bestrewed him with gold and precious stones. Timur returned their felicitations, set aside large sums for charity, and then ordered seven men out of every ten to set off in pursuit of the enemy. They followed them to the Volga, where those who were not drowned were slaughtered. A few only escaped, but their wives, children, slaves, and worldly goods, as well as the harem of Toktamish, became the prey of the victors. The troops of Timur spread over the Kipchak as far as Azak, and the towns of Serai, Seraichuk, and Haji Terkhan or Astrakhan were ravaged and devastated. This battle and its consequences were a fatal blow to the Golden Horde, from which it never recovered. Its population was so terribly decimated and its towns so ravaged and destroyed, that its glory may fairly be said to have passed away. We who are accustomed to a temperate climate and a rich soil cannot realise the terrible task of building up a stable and prosperous civilisation where climate and soil are both harsh, where the desert and its robber tribes are close at hand, where the inhabitants are only half reclaimed nomades themselves, and where civilisation is not a

* *Id.*, 121. † *Id.*, 122.

home-grown plant, but an exotic which grows only under constant care and with prosperous surroundings. Such was the civilisation on the Volga which the terrible vengeance of Timur trod under. We cannot say that he was not provoked, but it makes us shudder to think how under such conditions the ruin and misery of large nations may be entirely at the mercy of intemperate and wayward rulers, whose one false step may sweep away what centuries have accumulated.

The campaign of Timur was facilitated, as so many Eastern campaigns previously have been, by the divisions and treachery of the commanders of the other side. Three great chiefs of Kipchak served in his army; these were Timur Kutlugh Oghlan, who afterwards became Khan, Guneje Oghlan, who also belonged to the Royal stock, and Idiku, the Nogay chief. They were treated with great consideration by Timur, who loaded them with gifts, jewelled girdles, precious robes, and splendid chargers with gilded saddles. After the defeat of Toktamish they requested permission on bended knees to join their respective hordes, under pretence that they wished to conduct them to pay honour to Timur himself. This permission was given, and Timur also gave them special yarlighs or "letters patent" exempting them from taxation and surveillance. They accordingly departed, and Timur followed his victorious advance guard to the Volga, and pitched his camp in the beautiful meadows of Urtupa, in which perhaps we have a corruption of Atruba, one of the lower branches of the Volga, not far from the Kandurcha, in the district of Stavropol.* There the warriors encamped and rested from their fatigues, and feasted generously. Of the three princes of Kipchak, who had left with fair promises on their lips, only Guneje Oghlan returned with his people according to promise, and was treated very graciously. The other two had "fish of their own to fry," and we shall hear of them again. Meanwhile the net was thrown over the devoted land, and a vast booty in horses, camels, cattle, sheep, and young slaves was drawn into it. The Krim and the district of Bulghar apparently escaped most easily. So great was the number of captives that we are told 5,000 maidens and pages distinguished by their figures and their bright complexions were reserved for the personal service of Timur himself, while the whole army was satiated with wealth.†

Timur spent twenty-six days at Urtupa, where he sat on his Royal throne and presided at the splendid banquets. Wine, kumiz, hydromel, date wine, and arak were handed round in golden cups, amidst music and singing, while the lovely banks of the river, shaded by trees and the pure serene air made a splendid background to the picture. The conquest of Kipchak was also celebrated by special compositions called Fath nameh i Kipchak (bulletins of the conquest of Kipchak).‡

Timur now set off on his retnrn home. His march being that of a

* Charmoy, op. cit., 167. † *Id.*, 124. ‡ *Id.*, 169.

conqueror loaded with spoils, and we are told that among these were a great number of kibitkas or portable felt tents, which were carried on waggons. On arriving at the river Yaik, Guneje Oghlan and his people withdrew without notice, and went back to their own country. Shortly after passing the river, Timur, having confided the command of the troops to Haji Seif ud din and other emirs, returned home by forced marches. He arrived at Sabran in October, 1391, and thence went on by way of Otrar to Samarkand, where he was received with great rejoicings.*

Thus by one fatal battle (which was curiously enough fought on the 18th of June, the day of Waterloo) Toktamish, like Napoleon, lost an empire and made his country the camping ground of foreign hosts. We must now examine how the *debris* of the Golden Horde were gathered together, and how the story of its decline proceeded.

It would seem that in the confusion that immediately followed the defeat of Toktamish, one of the chiefs set up an independent authority. This was Beg Pulad, of whom we have coins struck during the years 793-796 (*i.e.*, 1390-1 to 1393-4), struck at Krim, Azak, the New Ordu, and Beled (*i.e.*, the town or city). Beg Pulad is mentioned as one of his opponents in the yarligh addressed to Yagellon, mentioned below. He is also, probably, the Beg Pulad mentioned in the account of the metropolitan Pimen's journey to Constantinople in 1283, when he had an ulus on the Don.† M. Soret makes him a son of Toktamish. I don't know on what authority, and it is hardly likely, if he was the same as the person just mentioned, nor do I know who he was, but he probably belonged to the rival family descended from Urus Khan. I may add that there occur certain coins during the years 789 (*i.e.*, 1387) with the name of Toktamish on one side and on the other Berdibeg or Muhammed Berdibeg Khan.‡ M. Fræhn identifies him with Kerimberdi, the son of Toktamish, but if so he would hardly be striking coins during his reign. It is more probable that he was the Berdi, also mentioned in the yarligh already referred to. Berdibeg, son of Sarbuka, is named as one of Timur's generals against Kipchak. If Sarbuka be the same as Sarikhoja, it may be that the Berdibeg of the coins was the son of Sarikhoja, who also had an ulus on the Don when Pimen passed that way.

Let us now turn for a while to Russia. Vasili, as I have mentioned, was now Grand Prince. He had married Sophia, the daughter of the Lithuanian Prince Vitut, who afterwards became so famous. He was the son of Kestut, who had been killed by Yagellon, and had himself been an exile in Prussia,§ where Vasili met his bride on his circuitous journey from Serai to Moscow. This marriage took place on the 9th of January, 1391. It was probably in the spring of the same year that Toktamish sent Bektut with an army along the Volga and the Kama

* *Id.*, 125, 126. † *Vide ante*, 132. ‡ Fræhn, Resc., 355, 356. § Karamzin, v. 59.

into the province of Viatka, which was inhabited by emigrants from Novgorod and by indigenous tribes of Ugrian race. This raid was probably made in punishment of the buccaneering excursion of "The Brave People," to which I have before referred. The country was much ravaged. We are told that a section of the inhabitants determined to revenge themselves. They united with the Novgorodians and the people of Ustiug, and embarking in some large boats, descended the Viatka, and passing along the Volga, ravaged Yukotin, Kazan, and the Bulgarian towns dependent on the Tartars, pillaging without mercy the merchants whom they encountered. On the 15th of July, we find the Grand Prince repairing in person to the horde, where he was received by Toktamish with great honour, as a friend and ally rather than a tributary. It was clear that he wished to secure his friendship in his terrible struggle with Timur. He not only gave him the principality of Nijni Novgorod, with which he had endowed Boris Constantinovitch, but also the districts of Gorodetz, Mechera, Torussa, and Murom; the two last had been appanages of the Princes of Chernigof, and had not belonged to the descendants of Monomakhos. Vasili, no doubt, in return furnished Toktamish with material assistance in men or money for his great war. He arrived at Moscow, accompanied by the Khan's deputy Alan (? Oghlan), who went to instal him. Nijni was surrendered by the boyards, who, when Boris appealed to them, cried out, "We no longer belong to you."* Here we have a palpable example of the boyards helping on the centralising tendency of Moscow. "The motive," says Kelly, "is to be found only in their interest, as the Grand Prince of Moscow intrusted them with the government of the appanages, and thus substituted the nobles in the place of princes."† Vasili soon after went there in person, and appointed Dimitri Vsevolof as its governor. Thus terminated the independent history of the principality of Suzdal. On the death of Boris, his nephews tried to reconquer their appanage, and appealed to the Khan. Simeon, with the aid of the Tartar Eitiak, captured Nijni by stratagem, but was too weak to retain it. His wife escaped to the country of the Mordvins, who were dependents of the horde, and lived in a village near a Christian church founded by a converted Tartar named Khazibaba, while Simeon himself wandered about for eight years with the Tartars, and having served under four of their Khans, returned to Russia, and not long after died.

Soon after Vasili's return from the horde, we read that three of the Khan's chamberlains, named Batu or Bashti Khoja, Khizr Khoja, and Muhammed Khoja, were baptised at Moscow, and that the Tartars ravaged Riazan, as they had done two years before. In the archives of Moscow there is preserved a yarligh or missive of Toktamish to Yagellon, written in the Uighur character and the Mongol language, and

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* Karamzin, v. 154. † Op. cit., i. 89.

dated the 20th of May, 1393. In it Toktamish mentions seven of his opponents, namely, Idiku (*i.e.*, the Nogay chief), Beg Pulad (who lived on the Don), Khojamuddin,* Begish (?), Turduchak (?), Berdi, and David, and in the Lithuanian copy we are told that Toktamish had informed Yagellon by his envoys Hasan and Kutlughbugha of his accession to the throne.†

We must now turn once more to the intercourse between Toktamish and Timur.

It was three years after his previous campaign in the Kipchak that, having traversed Persia and Georgia and found himself on the banks of the Kur, Timur determined once more to march into the steppes of the Volga to punish Toktamish, who had not only recovered his former position there, but also threatened his frontiers. Having distributed largess among his soldiers, and sent one portion of his harem for safety to Sultania and another to Samarkand, he set out on the 28th of February, 1395,‡ the left wing of the army, as was customary among the Tartars, leading the van. Before setting out he forwarded a letter to Toktamish, in which he demanded of him, "whom the demon of pride had turned from the right path, what was his motive in issuing from his borders. He asked him if he had forgotten what had occurred in the previous war, where his country and goods were crushed to powder; he reminded him how those who had treated him amicably had been similarly treated in return, while he had pursued with his vengeance those who had behaved in a contrary fashion. He reminded him also of his own victorious career, which made him indifferent whether he was at peace or war with Toktamish; that he was ready to welcome either his friendship or enmity with open arms, and he bade him, in conclusion, send him speedy word of his intentions."

This letter was taken by Shemsuddin Almalighi, a person who is described as a consummate diplomatist, and well versed in the maxims of Turan and of the Tartars. Having had an interview with Toktamish, he had almost persuaded him to submit, when a contrary policy was urged by his courtiers and generals, to whom, according to Sherifuddin, war was profitable. Following their advice, Toktamish returned a haughty answer by Timur's envoy, to whom he presented a robe of State. The latter rejoined his master on the river Samara, at the foot of the Caucasus, five leagues from the Caspian.

Timur now passed his troops in review on the banks of the Samara. The left wing of his army rested on the mountains, while the right wing reached to the sea. The various emirs and chiefs did homage to their master on their knees. The big drums and the war trumpet Kerenai were sounded. The soldiers thereupon seized their swords and turned

* Von Hammer thinks him the same as the Guneje Oghlan already named.

† Golden Horde, 355. Note, 9.

‡ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 358.

in the direction of Kipchak, and having cried out Surun (*i.e.*, forwards), they set out headed by their officers. After passing the defile of Derbend, news arrived that the Kaitaks, who were subjects of Toktamish, were prepared to oppose them. Timur, deeming that a good commencement of a campaign is a gauge of a good ending, ordered them to be exterminated. A terrible slaughter accordingly took place, and their villages were destroyed.

An envoy from Toktamish now drew near, but when he saw the number of Timur's forces he withdrew hurriedly to report to his master. At Terki, Timur learnt that the enemy's outposts, commanded by Gazanshi, were posted on the Kayussu (*i.e.*, the Osen). Marching all night, a body of troops was sent over the river, which overwhelmed the advanced guard with great slaughter. Timur then continued his march to the Sewinje,* where he halted for the rest of his people to come up.

Toktamish meanwhile was encamped on the Terek. His position was strong, and was protected by a number of waggons ranged in the form of a rampart or barricade, but on Timur's approach he abandoned it and retired. Timur now crossed the Terek, while his rival encamped on the Kura.† He marched along the Terek towards Jullad in the Little Kabardah,‡ called Kulat by De la Croix, but hearing that Toktamish was following him beyond the river, he turned to meet him. The armies faced each other on the 14th of April. Timur's was intrenched, and he gave orders that no fires should be lighted, and that silence should be kept. During the night of the 21st, Ibashi Oghlan deserted him and went over to the enemy. On the 22nd he ranged his forces in seven divisions, which he inspected. The main body of his army was commanded by his son, the murza Muhammed Sultan, while he himself was at the head of twenty-seven companies of picked men, who formed the reserve. The conflict commenced amidst a shower of arrows and cries of Dar u gar (*i.e.*, give and kill, hold and take).§ A messenger came to Timur to tell him that Guneje Oghlan, Barkiarok Oghlan, Aktau, Utarku, and Daud Sufi, the son-in-law of Toktamish, were advancing upon his right wing. He thereupon charged them at the head of his twenty-seven companies, and drove them back, but his men pursued too far, and were in turn pushed back and their ranks broken. The enemy seeing this, pressed in pursuit, and Timur himself, whose quiver was exhausted and his lance and his sword broken, would have been surrounded if Sheikh Nuruddin, with fifty other heroes, had not dismounted and covered him, and kept up a flight of arrows. Three others of his chiefs succeeded in seizing three of the enemy's carts, and fixing them together formed a kind of bulwark before their master. His troops now began to gather round; the trumpets sounded the rally, while the dismounted soldiers,

* *i.e.*, the Keissu, also called the Sulak and the Shellinje (see Koch's map). † ? the Kuru Terek.
‡ Fræhn, quoted in Golden Horde, 359. Note, 1. § Sherifuddin, ii. 346. Golden Horde, 539.

kneeling on one knee, kept up a flight of arrows. Meanwhile the enemy's ranks grew thicker, but they tried in vain to break the cordon about Timur. Khodadad Hussein, with the advanced guard of the left wing, broke in between Kuneje Oghlan, who commanded the right wing of Toktamish's army, and the contingent under Aktau (doubtless the same chief who had been treacherous in the former battle), and attacked the latter, who was pressing Timur hard in rear, while the murza Muhammed Sultan brought up strong reinforcements, planted them on his father's left, and speedily routed the enemy's right wing, compelling Aktau to fly.

While this was taking place on Timur's left, his right wing was faring badly. The enemy, commanded by Aisa Beg and Bashi Khoja, broke and surrounded it. Thereupon its commander ordered his men to dismount and crouch down under their shields, forming a defence analagous to our squares. They were hard pressed by the opposing cavalry, who charged them scimitar and lance in hand. Seeing their dangerous position, Jihansha Behadur went to the rescue with his cavalry, and the assailants were charged on either flank by Timur's lancers and mace men. This attack reversed the previous condition of affairs. The two chiefs united their forces, and drove back the enemy's left. The main body on either side then joined issue, that of Kipchak commanded by Yagblibi Behrin, a relative of Toktamish, while on the other side the command was in the hands of the young murza Rustem, son of Omar Sheikh. Yagblibi challenged Osman Behadur to single combat, and they accordingly rushed at one another, their followers imitating their example. The combat was very fierce and bloody, but at length the troops of Kipchak gave way, a proceeding which was heralded by the flight of Toktamish with his Oghlans and Noyans. The people of Timur rushed in pursuit, and with terrible vengeance slaughtered a vast number of the fugitives, and we are told they afterwards hanged most of those they captured alive. Timur knelt down, uncovered himself, and thanked heaven for his victory, while his principal chiefs congratulated and scattered gold and jewels over him. He in turn rewarded his faithful followers, especially the Sheikh Nuruddin, who had rescued him. He promoted him and presented him with a noble courser, a robe of gold brocade, a jewelled girdle, and a hundred thousand kupeghi dinars. He then distributed treasure among his other soldiers, and made a general promotion of his officers.*

The details of this battle show what a matter of uncertainty an Eastern fight was, with its sudden rushes and its intermittent fortunes. While the jeopardy of Timur, who was the keystone of a vast organisation, shows also how the existence of the mediæval empires of the East were perpetually menaced. We cannot also doubt that defeat in such cases

* Sherifuddin, 346-354.

was much more fatal and disastrous than it is with our better disciplined and more orderly armies. Having left his baggage and the booty he had captured near the battle field in charge of the murza Miran Shah, who had been wounded in the struggle, Timur went on in pursuit of Toktamish. He halted for a while on the Volga, at the ford called Turatu, and summoning Koirijak Oghlan, a son of Urus Khan and brother of the Khans Tuktakia and Timur Malik, who was one of his household. He invested him with a robe of golden tissue and a rich girdle, gave him an escort of Uzbeg cavalry, and nominated him Khan of Kipchak.

Timur's troops now pursued the enemy along the Volga as far as Ukek, capturing and killing many of them on the way. Toktamish himself sought shelter in the woods of Bolghari. Having advanced to the point where they had crossed the Volga in their former campaign, the victors returned again with a vast booty, gold and silver and furs, rubies and pearls, beautiful boys and girls. Murza Miran Shah, with the baggage, &c., rejoined Timur at Yulukluk Asukluk. The latter sent back some of his principal chiefs with part of the army to Persia, to look after the administration there, while he himself determined to go on to the Dnieper.

Osman commanded his advance guard. On the Dnieper, at a place called Mankirman, he came up with Barkiarok Oghlan, who lived there with some other chiefs. He destroyed nearly all of them. Barkiarok with difficulty escaped. Tashtimur Oghlan and Aktau fled, says Sherifuddin, to the country of Hermedai (? between the Dnieper and the Danube),* where the people were hostile to them, so they went to Asia Minor, where they settled in the plain of Isra Yaka, whence they were transported to the neighbourhood of Adrianople by Muhammed I. The place where they settled is still called Tatarbasari or the Tartar market.† Timur now returned to the Don, whither Barkiarok had fled, and where he was overtaken. His harem was captured, but he himself escaped to the Karasu (probably the river of this name in the Krim). Timur treated his captured family with generosity, gave them horses and other presents, and then sent them back to him. Meanwhile the murza Miran Shah, with other troops, were busy elsewhere. We are told they exterminated Beg Khoja and other chieftains of Kipchak, and also the subjects of Onkul.‡ They captured Eletz, where reigned Feodor, a descendant of the Princes of Karachef and a tributary of Oleg of Riazan.

Vasili, the young Grand Prince of Moscow, leaving his uncle Vladimir in charge of his capital, had escaped with his forces to Kolomna, behind the Oka. Thence he wrote to the metropolitan bidding him take the ancient image of the Virgin, which Andrew Bogolubski had removed from

* De la Croix, ii. 351. † Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 361. ‡ De la Croix, ii. 363.

Vuichégorod, to Vladimir, and with which he had triumphed over the Bulgarians, to Moscow. The image was conveyed in State between two rows of worshippers, who cried out as it passed, "Mother of God, save Russia!" She was welcomed at Moscow, and was met outside by a procession of ecclesiastics and grandees, and was conveyed to the church of the Assumption.* It was to this image the Russians ascribed their deliverance, for Timur, after marching for some distance along the Don, suddenly halted and turned his steps elsewhere. Sherifuddin is mistaken in reporting that Timur actually captured Moscow. His retreat wus probably influenced by the approaching autumn and the menacing attitude of the Russian army, which had so lately triumphed over Mamai. The invaders retired with a vast booty, gold ingots and silver bars, pieces of Antioch linen and of the embroidered cloth of Russia, mule loads of furs, beavers, sables, and ermines, black and red foxes, &c., as well as a vast number of colts which had not been shod.†

To the murza Muhammed fell the task of wasting the district ruled over by Kabonji Karaul and the tribes of Kurbuka, Pirlan, Yurkun, and Kelaji, who were nomades, and whose tents and families were plundered. I cannot identify these tribes, but they were probably Nogais. We are told that Timur now wended his way southwards, and went to Balchinkin, which De la Croix identifies with the Mæotic marshes.‡ At Azak he was joined by the troops of murza Miran Shah. When he reached Azak he was met by a deputation from the town, which was then the entrepôt where the merchants of the East and West exchanged their wares. Egyptians, Venetians, Genoese, Catalans, and Basques thronged there. In vain they tried to soften the great conqueror's heart with presents. He ordered the Muhammedans to be separated from the other inhabitants, whom he then put to the sword, and afterwards gave the town up to the flames.§ He now marched through the Kuban, where he lost many of his horses, the Circassians having burnt the herbage. He punished them by ravaging their territory, and then crossed over into the land of the Ossetes, who were Christians, and therefore an object of religious hatred to him. They were then governed by Bura Khan. Their country was overrun, as were also the fastnesses of the Central Caucasus, and, according to Sherifuddin, he destroyed many Georgian fortresses. After this he held a grand fête. His tent of audience was hung with silk; its poles were golden, or probably covered with golden plates, the nails being silver; his throne was of gold, enriched with precious stones; the floor was sprinkled with rose water. The meats were served on golden dishes, and after they were eaten, as is customary in the East, where people do not drink at meals but after them, Georgian wines were passed round amidst the playing of violins and the singing of songs. A week was thus consumed in feasting, and the camp was at

* Karamzin, v. 176, 177. † De la Croix, ii. 364. ‡ *Id.*, ii. 365. § Sherifuddin, ii. 365.

length raised on a day declared by the astrologers to be auspicious. Timur then captured the mountain fortresses of Kula (? Jullad) and Taus.* They were situated on almost impregnable sites, the latter being described as like a nest on a rock, and the ablest archer could not shoot over its ramparts. It had not hitherto been taken, and Timur summoned the tuman or division of the Merkits, who were skilled in mountain warfare and accustomed to hunt the gazelle and the mountain goat, but they failed to find an approach. Beginning to despair, he had a number of ladders fastened together, and a forlorn hope of reckless characters were ordered to mount. Many of them were killed by the stones hurled at them by the besieged, but fresh swarms, eager for martyrdom in the service of Timur, followed them, the garrison was at length intimidated, and the fortress captured and burnt, while the people of the race of Irkaun,† who had sought refuge there, were put to the sword. Timur then went on to Balakan (?), famous for its honey, where his soldiers had their fill; thence to a town governed by Pulad, where Utarku, one of the great chiefs of the Kipchak had sought refuge. Timur summoned Pulad to surrender the fugitive, but, relying on the strength of his fortress, he refused. He accordingly determined to capture the place at whatever cost. There was a thick forest between him and his goal, so thick that the wind could scarcely penetrate it. Through this he ordered a route to be cut, which was three leagues in length. The garrison defended themselves bravely, but the place was taken, its inhabitants were converted into slaves, and its dwellings burnt. Three companies of the enemy, having sought refuge in the mountains, were captured and thrown into the fire. This campaign, which reminds one of that of the Russians against Schamyl and his mountaineers, was probably fought against the tribes of Daghestan.

Meanwhile the murza Miran Shah, who commanded the right of Timur's army, reported that he had chased Utarku (who had escaped by way of the Elburz mountains) across the Caucasus into the country of Abkhasia. There he was followed and captured, and when taken before Timur he was ordered to be put in chains.‡ He now went to the country of Sem sem (?), governed by Muhammed, the son of Gaiur Khan, who was submissive, and was appointed an officer of Timur's court. Some of his people having hidden in the mountains were pursued. Timur ordered that they should have their hands tied and be thrown down from the mountains. The war in the mountains was treated by Timur as a holy war, like his campain in India, and we are told he purged the land of the infidels who inhabited it, burnt their

* There is a mountain called Taus Tau on the Koissu, on the borders of Lesghistan and Daghestan.

† A place called Irgauni is marked on Koch's map as situated on the Koissu, a little south of Taus Tau.

‡ Sherifuddin, ii. 374, 375.

dwellings, and destroyed their churches and statues; and to show the difficulties he overcame, we are told his men had in some places to slide down from one position to another, there being no paths. He now went to mount Auher (?), which he gave up to pillage, and thence to Beshkent (? the town at Beshtau), whose inhabitants had been very submissive, and were duly rewarded with privileges and exempted from the menace of his soldiers. He then passed on to the country of the Kazaks of Yutur (?). He put them all to death and harried their country, whence his soldiers also obtained a large quantity of honey; thence he went to the land of Bogaz Kum (?), where he wished to pass the winter, and where the people of Kazikumuk sent him their submission,* and were well received by him. There only remained in these districts the islands (? in the Caspian), whose inhabitants were called Balekchian (*i.e.*, the fishermen), who had not submitted. Troops were sent to reduce them, who marched over the ice.†

On another side Omar Taban, who commanded at Astrakhan for Timur, having noticed some symptoms of treachery in Mahmudi, who was kelanter or governor of that town, sent information to his master, who determined to destroy it. He marched his army during the winter, which was very severe, leaving the murzas Muhammed Sultan, Miran shah, and the emir Haji Seifuddin with the baggage.

The Volga washed the walls of Astrakhan, and, according to Sherif-uddin, the inhabitants were accustomed to pile up masses of ice round it in the winter, over which they poured water, and thus formed an ice rampart round the town, through which they cut a gate. On the approach of Timur, Mahmudi was cowed and went out submissively to meet him, but he was put under arrest and sent towards Serai. Timur then entered, and having ordered the inhabitants, cattle, and property there to be taken out, he destroyed the place. Mahmudi, according to orders, was forced underneath the ice of the Volga by his conductors. From Astrakhan Timur passed to Serai, the residence of the Kipchak Khans. There also the inhabitants were driven out like sheep, and the town destroyed, in revenge for the destruction of the capital of Ghazan, the Jagatai Khan, namely, Zendjar Serai, which the people of Kipchak had destroyed in the absence of Timur on an expedition in Persia. The army had been much reduced by the severity of the winter and the hardness of the campaign. Most of the horses had perished. A pound of millet sold for seventy kupeghi dinars, a cow's head for one hundred, and a sheep's head for two hundred and fifty. Timur accordingly ordered that the spoils captured at Astrakhan and Serai should be divided among the troops, a task which was performed by the Tawachis, and thus each man was remounted.

Having crushed the empire of the Kipchak, Timur set out on his

* Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 362. Note, 4. † De la Croix, Sherifuddin, ii. 375-378.

return home. Leaving his winter quarters of Bugaz Kum, he marched by way of Derbend and Azerbaijan, reducing the Kazikumuks, Kaitaks, and Kubechi on his route.

Timur had laid the Khanate of the Golden Horde prostrate, and it never recovered again properly. Many of the inhabitants were driven away, and Von Hammer enumerates six colonies formed of emigrants who left at this time. The most important of them perhaps were the Kara Kalpaks or Black caps, who previously lived on the Volga, near Bolghari, and who now migrated to the borders of the Aral Sea, where their descendants still remain; the Aktau Tartars, who settled in the Dobruja, others in the district of Memnen, near Smyrna, others at Tatarbazari, near Adrianople, others in Moldavia, which was thence known as Karaboghdan; and lastly the Likani in Lithuania. These last were apparently descended from a body of several thousand Tartars who, with their wives and children, were captured and carried off in 1397 by Vitut, the famous Lithuanian chief. There they abandoned Islam, and having mixed with the people and lost their characteristics, retained only the name of Tartars.* They were settled between Vilna and Troki.

On the retreat of Timur, Toktamish seems to have emerged from his retreat in Bolghari, collected some forces, and re-entered Serai, apprising his neighbours of his arrival there. This was about 1398, but he was soon after attacked by Timur Kutlugh, by whom he was defeated and driven away from Serai. He then, with his wife and two sons, his treasures, and a numerous following, repaired to Kief. For four and twenty years he had reigned in the Kipchak, and was certainly one of the most potent of its chiefs, and one too in whose reign, and by whose policy most important events of far wider interest than that which attaches to the steppe lands of Southern Russia were brought about. He was the last really great figure in the history of the Golden Horde.

The coins of Toktamish are the most numerous in the series of the Khans of the Golden Horde. On these coins he styles himself Toktamish Khan, Nasir ud din Toktamish Khan, Jelal ud din Mahmud Toktamish Khan, and Ghayas ud din w'ed dunya Toktamish Khan.† Fræhn mentions a coin of his struck in the Ordu in the year 777, but this is a solitary specimen, and it is not till 782 when the series of his money may really be said to begin, and when by the defeat of Mamai he secured the whole Khanate. In that year he struck coins at Khuarezm, Krim, New Krim, Azak, Serai, New Serai, Seraichuk, and Astrakhan. In later years we also find as mint places Ordu, the New Ordu, Derbend, Shamakhi, Shaberan, Baku, Mahmudabad, and Kas, Kath or Keth in Khuarezm.‡ His coins occur as late as the year 799 (*i.e.*, 1396-7).§

* Golden Horde, 364. Karamzin, v. 196. † Fræhn, Res., 304-354.

‡ Mahmudabad was situated in the province of Karabagh on the Caspian, between the Kur and the Chepehchal. (Fræhn, Fuch's Coll., 39.)

§ Fræhn Res., 326.

I ought to have mentioned that in 797 there occurs a coin bearing on one side the name of Toktamish, and on the other that of Tash Timur. It was struck at Krim. Fræhn suggests he was a son of Ulugh Muhammed, but the date makes this impossible.* I believe he was a brother of Ulugh Muhammed, and shall refer to him later.

TIMUR KUTLUGH KHAN.

We have said little of Koirijak, the nominee of Timur as Khan of Kipchak, because little is to be said. In the West he was a mere puppet, and his throne depended on the support of Timur's troops. When they withdrew he seems to have disappeared also, for we hear no more of him, and the Western half of the Khanate became the object of struggle between Toktamish and Timur Kutlugh, the son of Timur Malik and grandson of Urus Khan, and the *protegé* of Idiku, the Nogay chief, both of them, as I have mentioned, had lived for some time at Timur's court. Koirijak, however, doubtless retained his hold on the Eastern Khanate, and continued to rule over the White Horde.

When Toktamish retired to Bolghari Timur Kutlugh seems to have occupied the southern parts of the Khanate, and we find him the year after Timur's retreat on the Dnieper, granting a diploma with the privileges of a terkhan to a person at Sudak in the Krim.†

Kief was then governed by the Lithuanian Prince Vitut, who, by a treaty with Yagellon the Polish King, had been ceded the provinces of Volhynia and Brest, and who, as I have said, was the Grand Prince's father-in-law. He had been converted by the Germans of Prussia, and was a violent and ambitious person. He ordered the deaths of three of his relatives, the sons of Olgerd. These were Vigunt, Prince of Kief, who was poisoned; Narimant, whom he ordered to be transfixed with arrows after he was suspended from a tree; while the third, Kongailo, was decapitated. Their brother Koribut, who reigned at Novgorod Severski, was imprisoned. He drove away Vladimir, another brother, from Kief, which he for a short time gave to Skirigailo, the brother of the King of Poland, but he was poisoned by the archimandrite of the convent of Petchersky, who was probably a creature of Vitut, and who put Prince John Olkhanski there as his deputy. He soon after seized upon Podolia, a dependence of the crown of Poland. He also subdued the Princes of Drutsk, and seized upon Orsha and Vitebsk. He was thus master not only of Lithuania bnt also of Little Russia. He next assailed the principality of Smolensk, then governed by his brother-in-law Yuri Sviatoslavitch. He appeared suddenly before its capital, cajoled the garrison by fair promises to come out to him, pretending all the while he

* Soret, op. cit., 31.

† Golden Horde, 364.

was on the march against Timur. The credulous people came out to see the hero, but they were soon undeceived. The chiefs were seized, the suburbs burnt, and the city captured and plundered. Having stayed some months to consolidate his power, he left Yamont, a Lithuanian, there as governor, and then made some raids upon Riazan.

Thus was a dangerous power thrusting its arms nearer and nearer to Muscovy. Vasili knew his danger, but he dissembled his suspicions,* and went in person to Smolensk to meet his father-in-law, and afterwards received a visit from him at Kalomna.† The two then adopted a common policy against Novgorod. Vitut wished to detach the merchant republic from its alliance with the Germans of Livonia, the old enemies of the Lithuanians, and the Grand Prince to insist upon their acknowledging the supremacy of the patriarch Cyprian. The people of Novgorod had only recently concluded a peace with the Germans after a long strife, and the trade with them was too valuable to be lightly sacrificed. They accordingly replied, "Grand Prince, we are and wish to be at peace with you, Vitut, and the Germans." They treated the envoys civilly, but would not give way. Vasili thereupon declared war against Novgorod, and while on the march his troops received the submission of the people of the Dwina, the great entrepôt for Siberian furs and the silver of the Northern Urals; the country also whence the falcons used by the Russian princes came. This was perhaps the most valuable dependency of Novgorod. Vasili appointed Feodor of Rostof as its governor. This was in 1397. But the victory was shortlived, the Novgorodians took up arms and prosecuted their campaign vigorously, and Vasili was forced to see his acquisitions pass away again, for he learnt that the treacherous Vitut was having secret communications with Novgorod and offering to become its protector, and he deemed it prudent to treat the stiff-necked republic with tenderness.

Vitut no doubt had ambitious views in the direction of Novgorod, but these were postponed for a while by the arrival, as I have mentioned, of Toktamish at Kief. He was only too happy to become the patron of so important a person, and hoped through him to further his ambitious schemes. He accordingly sent Yamont, the governor of Smolensk, on an embassy to the Russian Grand Prince, to ask him to join him in his enterprise, but the Russians were quite equal to the occasion. To them a war between the Lithuanians and the Tartars, their two greatest enemies, would be a welcome spectacle, and, as Karamzin says, their sympathies were by no means with the former in such a struggle, for while the Tartars beyond exacting a heavy tribute left them to govern themselves, the Lithuanians were ambitious of annexing the Grand Principality. The Grand Prince was not, however, strong enough to defy his father-in-law, so he sent his wife, with a number of boyards, to

* Karamzin, v. 186. † *Id.*, 189.

Smolensk with a courteous message. She was cordially received and her father presented her with a number of pictures of the Saviour, recently arrived from Greece.* While he kept himself free from any entangling alliances with the Lithuanians, Vasili determined upon a campaign on his own account against the Tartars, to revenge their recent attack on Nijni Novgorod. He sent an army commanded by his brother into Bulgaria, which captured its capital Bolghari, Yukotin, Kazan, and Kremenchug, and returned home laden with booty. After this war Vasili styled himself "Conqueror of the Bulgarians."

Meanwhile Vitut was prosecuting his plans, one of which was no doubt the subjection of the Grand Principality, of which he hoped to get a grant from his *protegé* Toktamish.† He assembled his forces at Kief, which consisted not only of Lithuanians but of large contingents from Poland and from his dependent Russian provinces. The Tartars of Toktamish formed a detached corps, as did also five hundred Germans richly equipped, sent by the grand master of the Prussian knights. The whole were commanded by fifty Russian and Lithuanian princes, under the guidance of Vitut. He heeded not the warnings of Hedwig, the Polish queen, who claimed the gifts of prophecy, when she foretold that misfortune would overtake him.‡

Timur Kutlugh sent an envoy to Vitut with the message, "Surrender Toktamish, my enemy: Toktamish, once a great prince, but now only a vile deserter. Such is the fickleness of fortune." "I will go and find Timur," was the reckless answer, and he accordingly set out, taking the same road which Monomakhos had formerly taken in his campaign against the Poloutsi. Timur Kutlugh was posted on the banks of the Vorskla, beyond the Khorol and the Sula. "Why do you march against me! I never made a hostile attack on your land," was the message he now sent him. Vitut replied, "God has appointed me master of the world. You may choose, either be my son and tributary, or be my slave." According to the Russian annalists, Timur was willing to acknowledge Vitut as his elder brother and to pay an annual tribute, but the exacting Prince of Lithuania also insisted that his arms should appear on the Tartar coins. Timur asked for a respite of three days, during which he sent presents, and it seems what he wanted was some delay. This was marked by the arrival at the Tartar camp of Idiku, the Nogay chief, which, as Von Hammer says, was like the arrival of Camillus at the Roman camp, putting an end to further parley with Brennus. He recommended death rather than submission to such terms, and then sent to ask for an interview with Vitut. The two chiefs met on the banks of the Vorskla. "Brave Prince," said Idiku, "our King has rightly recognised you as his father, since you are his elder; but as you are younger than I, pray recognise me, and put my portrait on the coins of Lithuania." The

* Karamzin, v. 197. † *Id.*, 198, 199. ‡ *Id.*, 199.

irony enraged Vitut, who ordered the fight to begin. Spitko of Cracow, the wisest of his voivodes, on seeing the numbers of the Tartars, counselled his master to make peace with them on honourable terms. This counsel was rejected by the Lithuanian chiefs. The illustrious Stchoukofski being their spokesman, said: "If love for your young and beautiful wife, if the irresistible charms of ease and luxury can make you shrink from death, do not interfere when heroes wish to sacrifice their lives for glory." "Madman," he replied, "I shall die in the fight while you will seek safety in retreat."* Vitut expected great things from his fire-arms, which were then a new invention in Europe, but the Tartars, who fought in loose order, outflanked his solid battalions, and artillery was then too rude to be well or quickly served. The Lithuanian lines were broken by an attack from the rear, made by Timur Kutlugh. Toktamish was among the first to fly, and he was followed by Vitut and the vain-glorious Stchoukofski, while Spitko, the palatine of Cracow, died, as he had said, in the fight, and with him seventy-four noble Lithuanians. The carnage was terrible. Two-thirds of the Lithuanian army perished, among the slain being Gleb of Smolensk, and Michael and Dimitri of Gallicia, descended from the famous Gallician Prince Daniel. The fugitives were pursued as far as the Dnieper. Kief had to pay a heavy fine, and the monastery of Petcherski was similarly mulcted, while the Tartars ravaged the territory of Vitut as far as Lutsk.†

This decisive battle was fought on the 5th of August, 1399, nor was its issue probably at all unwelcome at Moscow, where the Lithuanian power was becoming a dangerous menace. Toktamish lived on for seven years longer, and was then according to the Russian chroniclers, put to death by order of Shadibeg, in the district of Tumen in Siberia, where he had fled. Palitzin would read Simbirsk for Siberia.‡ According to Arabshah and others he fell by the hands of Idiku.

Sherifuddin tells us how, while Timur was engaged in his war against the Siah Posh Kaffirs of Kaferistan, envoys went to him from Timur Kutlugh and Idiku, who were well received by him. It is curious that he should in one place call them envoys of the Uzbegs.§

Timur Kutlugh does not seem to have survived his victory many months, and died in the autumn of 1399.‖ The news of his death, we are told, was pleasing to Timurleuk, as was the news of the confusion which reigned in Kipchak, since Timur Kutlugh had treated the great conqueror ungratefully.¶ Coins of Timur Kutlugh, struck at New Ordu and Krim, are known from the year 799 to 802 (1396-7 to 1399-1400).

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*Karamzin, v. 202. † *Id.*, 204. ‡ Golden Horde, 370. Note, 3. § De la Croix, iii. 30 and 34. ‖ Golden Horde, 366. Note, 4. ¶ De la Croix, iii. 212.

SHADIBEG KHAN.

On the death of Timur Kutlugh, he was succeeded by his brother Shadibeg as *de jure* Khan, while Idiku was probably the real controller of his policy. He only ruled over the Western Khanate however. The Eastern was subject to Koirijak. Abdul Ghassar says expressly that he ruled concurrently with his uncle Koirijak.* The history of the Golden Horde at this time is closely connected with Russia. Michael, Prince of Tuer, who was in some respects a rival to the Grand Prince of Moscow, died in 1399, and divided his dominions among his sons and grandsons. Michael had been a close friend of the Lithuanian chief Vitut, with whom he was united by the marriage of his son with Vitut's sister. On the defeat of the latter by the Tartars, Michael's son prudently sent envoys to the Khan Timur Kutlugh, bearing rich presents for himself, his wives, and begs, to ask for a confirmation of his authority. This embassy arrived about the time when Timur Kutlugh died. Michael's sword-bearer (Kilichi), called Elcha, returned with the Tartars Bechin and Satkin, bearing the yarligh or diploma for him; but he being dead, fresh envoys, in the persons of Constantine and Theodore Gushen, and the Tartar Safrak, were again sent, and returned with a similar diploma for his son.†

Ivan having received the Khan's diploma, began to persecute his brothers and nephew. He also formed a close alliance with his brother-in-law Vitut of Lithuania, whose fortunes had received such a shock in his fight with the Tartars that Yuri, the Prince of Smolensk, collected an army and captured his ancient capital. He was received joyfully by the inhabitants, but proceeded to take cruel revenge on the Lithuanians and their adherents, which led the citizens to remark, "The stranger Vitut reigned peaceably within our walls, while a Russian prince only enters them to bathe in our blood."‡ Yuri successfully resisted the attacks of Vitut's armies, but the town was afterwards surrendered by treachery when he was absent at the court of Moscow.§ An attempt on the part of the Prince of Riazan to recover possession of Briansk, which formerly was dependent on Chernigof, and had been appropriated by the Lithuanians, was also defeated by Vitut, who made Rostislaf, the son of Oleg of Riazan, prisoner. The latter prince soon after died, and was succeeded by his son Feodor, who received a diploma from Shadibeg and married a daughter of the Grand Prince. Meanwhile the Tartars were becoming more and more indifferent to the doings of the Russians. In the year 1400, we are told the Princes of Riazan, Pronsk, Murom, and Koselsk defeated an army of them on the borders of Chernayar, near Khobr on the Don, and captured a chief named Muhammed Sultan. The following year the Grand Prince Vasili sent an army into the country of the Mordvins to find the widow of Prince Simon Dimitrovitch,

* Langles, op. cit., 385. † Von Hammer, 368. ‡ Karamzin, v. 211. § *Id.*, 213-217.

who, as I have said, had taken refuge at Chebirchia.* The following year (*i.e.*, in 1402) the Tartars ravaged the borders of Riazan.† In 1403 Aintak, their envoy, went to Moscow, and the same year there died Sawa, bishop of Serai, while, as we read in the narrative of the Spanish traveller Clavigo, there also went envoys to Timur to announce to him the accession of a nephew (nieto) of Toktamish to the throne.‡ In 1404 the Tartars made another invasion of Riazan, but were defeated and lost many prisoners.§ Their country was the asylum where many desperate characters sought refuge. Thus we read that in 1402 Vasili, who had many grievances against the people of Novgorod, sent an army under two brothers, named Aifal and Gerassim, formerly priests and renegades, also from Novgorod, to ravage the country of the Dwina.‖ This they accomplished, but having been defeated near Kholmogory, the mother of the later Archangel, they were obliged to fly. We are told that Aifal turned buccaneer. He had two hundred and eight boats on the Volga, and one hundred on the Kama. With these he made an excursion towards Serai. The flotilla on the Kama was captured by the Tartars, that on the Volga escaped. He himself was made prisoner, and was eventually killed at Viatka by Rassokhin, who, like himself, was a deserter from Novgorod.¶

A more distinguished fugitive escaped to Novgorod in 1406. This was Yuri of Smolensk, who, after he had lost his city and in vain appealed to the Grand Prince for aid, turned to the people of Novgorod, who willingly listened to him, hoping no doubt to utilise him against their exacting suzerain. They granted him an appanage consisting of the towns of Roussa, Ladoga, &c. Growing weary he returned to Moscow, and was appointed governor of Torjek by Vasili, but his violent temper undid him. Conceiving a passion for Julienne, the wife of Simeon, Prince of Viazma, he tried to seduce her, and failing, stabbed her husband at a feast, and was proceeding to take liberties with her when she wounded him in the hand with a knife. Enraged at this, he drew his sword, cut her to pieces, and threw her remains into the river. Flying from the consequences of his crime, he escaped to the horde, and after wandering for a while in the steppes, ended his days in a monastery at Riazan. He was the last Prince of Smolensk descended from Rostislaf Mitislavitch, grandson of Monomakhos.**

We now find the long gathering storm which had been collecting between Moscow and Lithuania coming to a crisis. Pskof, the sister republic to Novgorod, had formerly been tributary to it, but had been enfranchised, and now elected its own magistrates and princes, and had its own laws. The Grand Prince, however, had a deputy there, and it acknowledged his suzerainty as Novgorod did. Its position was a

* *Vide ante*, 250. Golden Horde, 369. † Golden Horde, 369. ‡ *Id.* Note, 7.
§ *Id.* ‖ Aifal is called Nikitish by Von Hammer. (Golden Horde, 373.)
¶ Karamzin, v. 217, 218. Golden Horde, 373. ** Karamzin, v. 219-221.

critical one, however, for it had the Livonian knights on the one side and the Lithuanians on another, while the people of Novgorod were very jealous of its wealth and commerce, and far from having cordial feelings towards it, were in the habit of attacking its borders. It had also recently been devastated* by the plague. Vitut determined to take advantage of its position. He accordingly attacked one of its dependencies, namely, the town of Koloje, where he made 11,000 prisoners, while the grand master of Livonia ravaged the environs of Izborsk, Ostrof, and Kotelno. The brave citizens of Pskof succeeded in defeating both antagonists, but feeling that the contest was unequal, they appealed to the Grand Prince. He determined to support his *protegé*, and sent his brother Constantine, who demanded explanation from the Lithuanians, while he collected an army together. He also made a close alliance with the Prince of Tuer.

For some years Vasili had refrained from sending tribute to the horde, and had evaded the messages of Shadibeg's envoys to go in person to his court. Such an envoy went in 1405, in the person of Shadibeg's treasurer; instead of tribute, however, he only received some small presents.* Before entering upon his hazardous venture against Lithuania, Vasili deemed it prudent to send to the Khan to ask him for assistance, inasmuch as Lithuania was their common enemy. He, however, refrained from mentioning either tribute or dependence. Shadibeg sent some troops, but no decisive action took place. Both sides seemed afraid of the risk, and after several border raids a peace was ratified. The river Ugra was fixed as the boundary of the Muscovites and Lithuanians, the towns of Kozelsk, Peremysl, and Lubutsk were ceded to the Grand Prince, and Vitut promised not to molest Pskof.†

We now reach the end of Shadibeg's reign. We are told that Ivan, Prince of Tuer, having repaired to the horde in the year 1407, to complain about the usurpation of Yuri, brother of the last Prince of Kholm, Shadibeg was no longer Khan, having been driven away by Pulad. He seems to have fled to Daghestan and Shirvan.‡ According to Schiltberger he fled when he heard of the approach of Idiku, by whom he was slain.§ Shadibeg seems to have been generally acknowledged as Khan of the Western part of the Kipchak, and his coins are found minted at Bulghari, Serai, New Serai, Azak, Astrakhan, and New Astrakhan, between the years 802 (1399-1400) and 809 (1406-7).‖

PULAD KHAN.

Shadibeg was succeeded by Pulad, who is made the nephew of Shadibeg and son of Timur Kutlugh by Ibn Arabshah, a conclusion in which he is followed by Von Hammer,¶ Munejimbashi, Khuan-

* Karamzin, v. 229. † *Id.*, 223-227. ‡ Fræhn's Criticism, Golden Horde, 585.
§ Op. cit., ed. Neumann, 90. ‖ Fræhn Res., 362-366. ¶ Golden Horde, 370.

demir,* whose account is adopted by De Guignes, and M. Soret, make him the son of Shadibeg. I am not sure that either conclusion is right, and am disposed to believe he was Shadibeg's brother. He was perhaps the Beg Pulad already named.† I may add that that chieftain was probably the same Pulad against whom Timur marched in 1395.‡ He was certainly a *protegé* of Idiku's.§

In the summer of 1409 Ivan, Prince of Pronsk, returned laden with honours and gifts from the horde. With the help of the Tartars, he drove Theodore from the throne of Riazan, and annexed that principality to his own. In the autumn of the same year Pulad made an invasion of Lithuania. Next year he sent an embassy to Moscow. As Von Hammer suggests, this was probably to order the Grand Prince to join him against the Lithuanians. It would seem that Vasili refused to obey. He had persistently for many years ignored his dependence on the Tartars, and had abstained from sending tribute to their Khan or one of his relatives as an ambassador. He now dared to offer an asylum to the sons of Toktamish. Pulad, whose policy was really dictated by his great subject Idiku, accordingly assembled an army and sent it towards Moscow. This, it was pretended, was meant to fight the Lithuanians, and to punish them for the evils they had brought upon Russia, and Vasili was ordered to go in person to meet it, or to send his brother, his son, or one of his grandees as his representative.‖ The Grand Prince was misled by the Tartar professions, and at Moscow people were living in fancied security when the news came that the Tartars were marching rapidly on the town. Vasili followed the example of his father, and retired with his wife and family to Kostroma, leaving the defence of his capital to his uncle Vladimir the Brave, his brothers, and a number of boyards. The Grand Prince had great faith in the fortifications of Moscow, in his artillery, and in the winter, which promised to be one of great severity, while he determined himself to raise an army in Northern Russia to raise the siege; but his retreat disspirited the inhabitants, who murmured at being thus deserted. Vladimir ordered the outskirts to be burnt, while their wretched inhabitants were refused an asylum within the walls, for fear that provisions should run short. The Tartar army appeared before the city on the 1st of December, 1410. Among the chiefs who accompanied it were the princes Buchak and Tanriberdi; the begs Erekliberdi and Altamir; Pulad Muhammed, Yusuf, the son of Suliman; Tegin, the son of the Sheikh Urus, and his son Serai; Ibrahim, the son of Tahmuras; Yashibeg and Seid Alibeg, the sons of Idiku; while Idiku himself was commander in chief.¶ Having detached a body of 30,000 men to besiege the Grand Prince at Kostroma, and ordered Ivan, Prince of Tuer, to join them with his army, his arquebusiers, and his artillery,

* *Id.* Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 118. † *Ante*, 249. ‡ *Ante*, 256.
§ Schiltberger, 90. ‖ Karamzin, v. 231. ¶ Golden Horde, 371.

the Tartars spread over the Grand Principality. They burnt Pereislavl Zalesky, Rostof, Dimitrof, Serpukof, Nijni Novgorod, and Gorodetz. The horrors of the invasions of Batu and Toktamish were revived. "The miserable Russians," says Karamzin, "instead of resisting, were like a flock of sheep pursued by wolves. Some were decapitated, others made into butts for the Tartar archers. The young people were reserved as slaves, the old were stripped of their clothes and left to perish in the cold. The prisoners were chained together, and one Tartar sufficed to keep guard over forty of them."

Meanwhile Idiku waited for the artillery which the Prince of Tuer was to bring, but the latter returned home again on the plea of illness after he had gone half way. The contingent which was sent after the Grand Prince also failed in its object. Nevertheless Idiku determined to winter at Kostroma and to blockade Moscow, but he was suddenly recalled by news which came from the horde. The Tartars no longer could muster their former numbers. The plague, the attack of Timur, and internal dissensions had made terrible ravages. We accordingly find that Pulad, who had remained at Serai while his army marched to Moscow, was at the mercy of another aspirant to the throne, and wrote to recall Idiku to go to his defence. Meanwhile the Grand Prince was assembling an army at Kostroma to attack him.

He determined therefore to raise the siege. He promised to retire on the payment of 3,000 roubles. This was gladly acceded to by Vladimir, who commanded in the town, where the people were in a state of panic and given up to religious exercises. Retiring by way of Kolomna, he captured Riazan en route. The traces of his invasion were not effaced for a long time. From the Don to Bielo ozero and Gallicia the land was terribly devastated.

On leaving Muscovy he wrote a letter to the Grand Prince in these terms :—"Idiku, after holding counsel with the tzarevitches and princes, sends Vasili greeting. Having learnt that you have given shelter to the sons of Toktamish, the Great Khan ordered me to march against you. You not only ill-treat our merchants, but you also insult our envoys. Ask your old men if it was so formerly. Russia was then famous for its fidelity to us. It preserved a sacred respect for the Khans, paid its tribute regularly, and respected our merchants and envoys. Instead of this, what have you done? When Timur (*i.e.*, Timur Kutlugh) mounted the throne, did you go in person to him, or send one of your princes, or even a boyard? After the death of Timur and during the eight years' reign of Shadibeg, did you make a single act of submission? And lastly, during the three years Pulad has been on the throne, have you, as the senior Russian prince, gone to the horde, as it was your duty? All your actions have been criminal. When Theodore Koshka* lived the Russians

* Doubtless a Tartar commissary at Moscow.

heeded his counsel and behaved well, but you no longer heed John, his son, your treasurer and friend. You reject the wise counsel of the elders. See the consequences in the wasting of your country. If you would avoid this, listen to your wisest boyards, to Ilia and Peter, and John Nikitich, &c., and send me one of your grandees with the tribute Russia used to send to Janibeg. All the excuses you have made to the Khans about the poverty of the Russian people were false. We have overrun your country, and we know that every two ploughs pay you a rouble. What becomes of this money? We do not wish to ill-treat you. Why should you behave like a miserable fugitive? Reflect and listen to the counsels of prudence."*

This magniloquent letter had little effect on the Grand Prince, who knew of the dissensions that reigned at the horde. He returned again to Moscow, where he greeted his uncle, the brave Vladimir. "The first of all the Russian princes," says Karamzin, "to serve under one of his nephews."†

Meanwhile Pulad had been driven from the throne by Timur. Of Pulad as Khan we have coins struck at Bulghari, New Bulghari, Azak, Astrakhan, Khuarezm, and Radjan or Rasan, which some have read Majar, but it may be a corruption of Riazan. They range from 810 (1407-8) to 815 (1412-13). Fræhn suggests, I know not why, that the coins struck at Khuarezm belong to another Pulad.‡

TIMUR KHAN.

According to Abdul Ghassar, Timur and Pulad were the *protegés* of Idiku and his son Nur ud din respectively, Idiku supporting the former; but from the facts already mentioned, it is much more probable that it was his son who supported the new Khan, while Idiku was the patron of Pulad. The author just cited tells us that Idiku and Nur ud din quarrelled about their candidates for the throne, and that the former, rather than fight his son, retired to Khuarezm, where Nur ud din, unmoved by his father's generosity, pursued him.§

We are told that at this time Daniel, the son of Boris, Prince of Nijni Novgorod, endeavoured to recover his father's patrimony, which had been appropriated by the Grand Prince, and at the head of five hundred men, the guards of the Bulgarian princes, he defeated the latter's brother at Liskof, while his voivode or general Talich, supported by the Tzarevitch of Kazan, with a combined army of less than five hundred Russians and Tartars, surprised and pillaged the city of Vladimir, which was now but the shadow of its former self, and was unfortified. His allies, the Tartars of Kazan, returned home with their booty.‖

* Karamzin, v. 239-241. † *Id.*, 242. ‡ Res., 372. § Langles, op. cit., 385, &c.
‖ Karamzin, v. 244, 245.

Timur had only a very short reign, and was succeeded by Jelal ud din Sultan, a son of Toktamish, who was apparently living at Kief, and who was a close friend of the Lithuanian Prince Vitut. This took place about the year 1411. Although his undisputed reign was short, Timur seems to have struck coins during several years. The first one of him known, according to Soret, is dated in 809. That was before the accession of Pulad. It was struck at Krim, and is now in the Ouwarof collection. On the other hand, there is a coin of his of the year 818 (*i.e.*, 1415-16), some years after the accession of Jelal ud din, which may, however, have a blundered legend. Two or three dateless coins of Timur were struck at Astrakhan, the rest at Bulghari.

JELAL UD DIN KHAN.

The rapidity of these revolutions and the ease with which they were effected proves how weak and disintegrated the central authority at Serai was becoming. Jelal ud din Sultan was the eldest son of Toktamish. He is called Seleni Sultan and Seledin by the Russian and Polish chroniclers, and Jelalberdei by the Turkish writers. Schiltberger calls him Segelalladin.* Abdul Ghassar tells us that, having profited by Idiku's absence, he marched against Timur, who fled. Jelal ud din seized the throne, and having strengthened his position, he attacked and sought to kill Nur ud din, and did succeed in killing Pulad, who it seems still survived, in the struggle.† Schiltberger also tells us it was he who drove away Pulad.‡ Nur ud din escaped, but repented not having followed his father's advice. It was doubtless at the instance of Idiku that the Mankuts or Kara Kalpaks, his special subjects, now made an attack on the borders of Kipchak from beyond the Yaik.§

I have described how Daniel, son of Boris, Prince of Nijni Novgorod, made an effort to regain his ancient patrimony and attacked Vladimir. We now find the sons of Boris repairing to the Tartar court, which at their instance sent orders to Vasili to cede the principality to them. This intrigue and the fact that Vitut of Lithuania was in close alliance with Ivan, the Prince of Tuer, and also with Jelal ud din, induced the Grand Prince to go himself to the horde, with some of his principal boyards. Fourteen days later the Prince of Tuer followed his example, and also went to the horde, but another revolution had taken place there. We are told that, inflated by his success, Jelal ud din became quite insupportable on account of his pride and avarice, and neglected his nearest relatives, to whom he had been indebted for his advancement.‖ In a battle with Idiku he was treacherously shot with an arrow by his brother

* Op. cit., 90. † Langles, 385, &c. ‡ Op. cit., 90.
§ Golden Horde, 374, 375. ‖ Langles, loc. cit.

Kibak. Von Hammer says by Kerimberdei.* Jelal ud din struck coins at Astrakhan and Bulghari, and one of them bears the uncertain date 814 (*i.e.*, 1411-12).† He was killed, according to Langles, in 1412.

KERIMBERDEI KHAN.

Jelal ud din was succeeded by his brother Kerimberdei. The new Khan, who had no doubt with his other brothers found a useful asylum in Russia, was well disposed towards Vasili, and received him very graciously. He promised not to support the Princes of Suzdal (*i.e.*, of Nijni Novgorod), and that he would not second the machinations of Vitut against Russia. At the horde Vasili met a quasi rival in the person of Ivan of Tuer, who was also well received by the Khan. Ivan behaved in a friendly way, and promised not to molest the Grand Principality.‡ Vasili, however, seems to have renewed the obligation to pay annual tribute to the Tartars, which was duly carried out during the rest of his reign, notwithstanding the commotions that went on at Serai.

In April, 1413, we read of an embassy which went to Ofen in Hungary, bearing rich presents, offering Ladislaus the alliance of the Khan. Two years later the Tartars west of the Don invaded the district of Riazan, and captured and pillaged the town of Eletz, whose prince was killed. While Kerimberdei was on friendly terms with the Russians he was the reverse with the Lithuanians. His brother Jelal ud din, we are told, had fought with Vitut and Ladislaus against the Prussian knights. Kerimberdei, on the other hand, was hostile to them, and we actually find Vitut nominating a new Khan of his own. He was called Betsa Pulad, and was solemnly invested at Vilna, decked in a splendid cap of golden tissue and a superb pelisse covered with scarlet cloth. He was, however, captured and beheaded by Kerimberdei, who was soon after himself killed by his brother Jebbarberdei, also called Jarimferdei, who was a creature of Vitut.§ The coins of Kerimberdei do not bear dates. They were struck at Serai and Astrakhan.‖

KIBAK KHAN.

The name of Kibak appears in several corrupt forms. He was called Thebacht by Schiltberger, who tells us he reigned both before and after his brother Kerimberdei, whom he eventually supplanted. He lived amidst constant difficulties. These difficulties are shared by the historian, who has now few dated coins to rely upon, and has a

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* Golden Horde, 375. Schiltberger, 90. Langles, loc. cit.
† Soret, op. cit., 32.
‡ Karamzin, v. 246.
§ Golden Horde, 376. Karamzin, v. 246.
‖ Soret, op. cit., 32.

number of names of various Khans whom he finds it difficult to place, and who were doubtless rivals for the throne. Amidst this dearth of materials one can only make a tentative arrangement. Kibak struck coins at Astrakhan and Bulghari.* From their scarcity it is probable that he did not occupy the throne very long. It would seem that, like his brothers, he was at issue with Idiku, who set up Chekre in his place.

JEBBARBERDEI KHAN.

Khuandemir names Jebbarberdei as the successor of Kibak, Abdul Ghassar, on the other hand, tells us both he and Kerimberdei died from the wounds they received in a single combat.† We have no coins of his, and merely the solitary statement by Karamzin, who calls him Jeremferdei, that he was in close alliance with the Lithuanians.‡

CHEKRE KHAN.

Chekre is said by Abdul Ghassar to have been a relative of Idiku's, but he probably belonged to the family of Urus Khan. The Bavarian traveller Schiltberger, who was in his service, tells us he had lived for some years at the courts of Miran Shah, and Abubekhr, the son and grandson of Timur. While there an embassy came to him from Idiku, asking him to return to the Kipchak. He accordingly did so, and was supplied by Abubekhr with a force of six hundred horsemen, to whom Schiltberger was attached. They travelled by way of Georgia to Shirvan, and thence to Derbend, Astrakhan, and a place called Setzulet (probably a corruption of Serai), where there were many Christians, who had a bishop. Their priests, he says, knew Latin, but read and chaunted their prayers in Tartar. They then went on to find Idiku. The latter set out on an excursion to Siberia, and Chekre and Schiltberger went with him. Our traveller calls Siberia, Ibissibur, and this is one of the earliest notices we have of the name. He tells us that in Siberia was a mountain two and thirty days long (*i.e.*, the Urals), beyond which, according to the inhabitants, was an uninhabited waste reaching to the end of the world. In this mountain the people were wild, and lived apart from other nations, and only their hands and faces were free from hair. They hunted wild animals in the mountains, and also ate leaves and grass, and whatever they met with. The ruler of the country sent Idiku a wild man and woman who had been captured there, also a wild horse not larger than an ass, and other animals. In that land (*i.e.*, Siberia), he says, there were also dogs who drew carts and

* Soret, op. cit., 33. † Langles, 38. ‡ Karamzin, v. 247.

sledges, containing furs and cloths. These dogs were as big as asses, and were also used as food. The people who lived there were called Ugine (*i.e.*, Ugri). When a young unmarried person among them died, they dressed him in his best clothes, held a feast, put the corpse on a bier, and raised a beautiful canopy over it. This they carried in procession. In front went the young people in their best clothes, and behind the father and mother and other relatives, raising lamentations. They carried the eatables and drinkables to the edge of the grave, where they held a funeral feast, the young folk sitting round eating and drinking and the relatives wailing. The latter were afterwards accompanied home. In that land men ate no bread, nor had they any corn but only beans. These facts Schiltberger reports came within his own observation.* We must now on again with our story.

Kerimberdei having been driven away,† Idiku, we are told, put his *protegé* Chekre on the throne, as he had promised. His reign lasted for nine months. He and Idiku were then attacked by Ulugh Muhammed, Chekre fled to Desht Kipchak, and Idiku was made prisoner.‡ Chekre's coins are dated in 817 and 818 (*i.e.*, 1415-16), and were struck at Bulghari, Astrakhan, and the Ordu. If, as Von Hammer suggests, Kibak be the same person whom the Russian chroniclers call Kuidat or Kuidadat, as is very probable, then it would seem that Ulugh Muhammud's war against Chekre was in support of the dispossessed Kibak, and was in fact in favour of the family of Toktamish as against that of Urus Khan. This is favoured by the fact that Chekre is found in alliance with Idiku, the enemy of Toktamish and his descendants, while we find Kuidat the object of resentment to Borrak, the representative of the house of Urus Khan in the Eastern Kipchak.

SEYID AHMED KHAN.

Abdul Ghassar and Khuandemir make Chekre be succeeded by Seyid Ahmed, to whom we shall revert in the next chapter. He seems to have been a boy, for the former writer says he had no experience in ruling, and was deposed after only forty-five days' rule.§

DERWISH KHAN.

At this time we meet with another Khan named Derwish, who is made the successor of Seyid by Khuandemir and Abdul Ghassar. His coins are not unfrequent. They are also found minted in several places, as Astrakhan,

* Op. cit., ed. Neumann, 88-90.
† Schiltberger tells us Kibak regained the throne, but he only kept it for a short time.
‡ *Id.*, 91. Golden Horde, 377. § Langles, 389.

Serai, Bulghari, Ordu, and an uncertain locality, Bing Bazar.* His dates are very corrupt and uncertain. They seem to range from 805 to 822, but the matter is very doubtful. He is called the son of Alchi Khan by De la Croix.† It is strange that, with the wide authority which his various mint places show he had, that we should know so little of his history. It is not improbable that, like Chekre, he was a member of the family of Urus Khan.

KIBAK (RESTORED).

As I read the authorities, Kibak or Kuidat, the *protegé* of Ulugh Muhammed, still lived, aud he seems now to have again occupied the throne of the Western Kipchak. In the Eastern Kipchak or the country of the White Horde, Koirijak was dead, and his place was occupied by his son Borrak. In 1422 he marched against Kibak or Kuidat, as he is called, defeated him, and laid siege to the town of Odoyef, but did not take it. The next year Kibak returned with a fresh army and attacked the same town. He captured many prisoners, but these were retaken by the Russian Prince Yuri Romanovitch of Odoyef and the voivode of Mzensk. He made another attack some time after, but was severely beaten and apparently killed by Yuri and a contingent sent by the Lithuanian Vitut, and both his wives were taken prisoners and carried off, one to Lithuania and the other to Moscow.‡

ULUGH MUHAMMED KHAN.

We now find the Khanate dominated by Ulugh Muhammed Khan, who was a patron of the family of Toktamish and himself belonged to the family of Tuka Timur, as I shall show in a future chapter.§ M. Soret says that a coin of the collection Pflug, struck at Astrakhan in 822 (*i.e.*, in 1419), shows that Muhammed was then reigning.‖ In 1424 we find him attacked and defeated by Borrak. The account of what followed is contained in an interesting passage from the work of Abderresak, quoted by Von Hammer.

BORRAK KHAN.

That historian of Timur and his son Shahrokh, in an extract given by Von Hammer, says that, having in 1424 defeated Muhammed Khan and possessed himself of the command of the Uzbegs, Borrak the following

* Soret, op. cit., 32.
† Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 119.
‡ Golden Horde, 382.
§ Sub. voc., Kazan.
‖ Op. cit., 32.
¶ Golden Horde, 378.
** 378.

year demanded from Ulughbeg, the governor of Turkestan, the surrender of Sighnak, the old capital of the White Horde, which had been incorporated by Timur with his dominions. Arslan Khoja, the Terkhan who governed at Sighnak, reported that the messengers of Borrak had committed some depredations in the neighbourhood. Their demands were submitted by Ulughbeg to his father Shahrokh, then Khan of Jagatai, as heir to the dominions of Timur. The demand was met by preparations for war. Shahrokh sent an army to his son's assistance, commanded by another of his sons named Muhammed Choki. They set out for Samarkand on the 15th of February, 1427. Meanwhile Ulughbeg set out with his own troops towards Sighnak, and was soon joined by his brother with the army of Khorassan. The battle field was very hillocky and ill-adapted for a cavalry struggle. When the armies drew near to one another it was seen that the troops of Borrak were superior. He would not, however, risk an open fight, says the chronicler, but had recourse to a ruse. Collecting his men, he made a sudden rush with them altogether. The right and left wings of Ulughbeg's army were overthrown, the centre was shaken, and eventually the whole army took to flight. They were pursued to the very walls of Samarkand, and the rich and beautiful country of Transoxiana and Turkestan was terribly ravaged, the victors retiring with a rich booty.

It would seem that during the absence of Borrak in the East, Muhammed regained a temporary authority in the Western Kipchak. He was soon driven away again by Devlet Berdi.*

DEVLET BERDI.

Devlet Berdi is made a son of Tash Timur by Khandemir,† but it seems more probable that he was a son of Toktamish and the brother of the other princes whose names were compounded with Berdi. According to Schiltberger, he only reigned for three days.‡ He issued coins, however, at New Serai and Astrakhan.§ The only one known to me with a date was struck in 831 (*i.e.*, 1427-28).‖ He was displaced by Borrak Khan, who was afterwards defeated and killed by Muhammed. This defeat took place in the year 831 of the hejira.¶ According to M. Soret, no coins of Borrak are known, proving what little hold he can have had on the towns of the Khanate.

KADIRBERDI.

We now meet with another son of Toktamish with the name of Kadirberdi. He struck a coin at Bulghari, published by Fræhn.** He

* Schiltberger, 91. † Journ. Asiat., 4th ser., xvii. 119. ‡ Op. cit., 91.
§ Soret, 32. ‖ Fræhn Res., 395. ¶ Golden Horde, 383. ** Res., 385.

is not named by Khuandemir, but we are elsewhere told that, having refused to acknowledge Idiku, the latter marched against him and killed him. According to one account Idiku was also killed in the struggle, while another makes him be drowned in the Sihun.*

ULUGH MUHAMMED (RESTORED).

Muhammed again found an opportunity and mounted the throne. Chekre, the patron of Schiltberger, who it seems was still living, marched against him, but was also slain,† and Muhammed was for a while the master of the Kipchaks.

We must now make a long digression to bring up the narrative of events in Russia to this point. The latter years of the reign of Vasili were spent for the greater part in peace with his neighbours. We find him sending some troops to assist the Lithuanians against the Livonian knights,‡ and having a passing brush with the Swedes,§ but otherwise Great Russia was tolerably tranquil. It was, however, again ravaged by the plague, which was apparently a form of cholera, and which was more or less chronic from 1352 to 1427, and destroyed a great number of people. To avert this terrible attack various methods were employed, churches were built, wealth was devoted to charity, and at Pskof the distressed people burnt twelve witches.‖ 1419 was marked by a thick snow which prevented the seed from being sown, and which was succeeded by a famine lasting three years, and this by the terrible winter of 1422. Hearing that there were stores of grain at Pskof, the people of Novgorod, Tuer, Moscow, the Chudes, and Carelians hastened there, and soon caused a dearth, and the fugitives were driven back again. Novgorod and Moscow were devastated by fires. In 1421 a large part of Novgorod and nineteen monasteries were overwhelmed in an inundation; terrible hurricanes, falls of aerolites, and the great comet of 1420,¶ which the Italians believed foretold the death of John Galeas, Duke of Milan, seemed to be a warning that the end of all things was at hand. It was amidst these evil days that Vasili died, on the 27th of February, 1425, after a reign of thirty-six years.

During his reign Nijni Novgorod, Suzdal, and Murom, some districts in the country of the Viatiches, formerly belonging to Chernigof, such as Torussa, Novossil, Kozelsk, Peremysl; and others, such as Beyetski-Verkh, and Vologda, belonging to Novgorod, were added to the Grand Principality, while the republic of Viatka was practically subjected to his authority; but he made no marked inroad upon the Tartars, whose government was breaking to pieces, nor could he recover for Russia those fair Western

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* Golden Horde, 384. † Schiltberger, 91. ‡ Karamzin, v. 248. § *Id.*, 250. ‖ *Id.*, 256. ¶ ? 1492. See

and Southern provinces which were ruled by his father-in-law Vitut, the master of the neighbouring and much larger empire of Lithuania. By his will he left his infant son Vasili the title of Grand Prince, and the various domains he had received from his father, together with his own acquisitions. It is strange to read the list of this private property, including the principalities of Nijni Novgorod and Murom, the mill at Khodinka, a house at the gate of Barovitsk, and another beyond the gate near Saint Vladimir, a cap of gold, a superb collar, the cross of the patriarch Philotheus, a stone vase sent by Vitut, a crystal cup presented by Yagellon, &c. To his wife he left his other property for life, and *inter alia* he left each of his five daughters five slaves or serfs.* By a treaty which he made with the Prince of Riazan, and which was dated in 1403, the Oka was fixed as their common boundary. He ceded the town of Tula to him, and that prince in return promised to live at peace with the princes of Torussa and Novossil, vassals of the Grand Prince, who were probably Tartars.

Vasili, when the Emperor Manuel of Constantinople was terribly harassed by the Ottomans, sent him a welcome supply of money, and the grateful Kaiser married his son John Palæologos to Anne, the daughter of Vasili, who however died three years later from the plague.† During a large part of Vasili's reign Cyprian was metropolitan, and he ruled the Church with firmness and prudence, and was also famous for his learning. *Inter alia* we are told he had the satisfaction of converting three Mongol nobles, named Bakhti, Khidir, and Mamat, who were baptised with great pomp on the banks of the Moskwa, in the presence of the Grand Prince and his court. The three neophytes received the names of Ananias, Azarias, and Misael. Cyprian died in 1406,‡ and was succeeded by Photius, a Greek from the Morea, who was skilled in the Slave tongue, but who was avaricious, and thought more of the worldly than the spiritual wants of the Church, and engaged in quarrels and litigation with the grandees. He was in consequence unpopular. Although living at Moscow, the metropolitans were styled metropolitans of Kief, the old mother city of the Russian empire, whence they drew a considerable income. This position kept up a close bond of union with the Southern provinces now under the Lithuanians, not at all to the taste of Vitut, who was a Roman Catholic. Cyprian had conciliated him by living a long time at Kief, and otherwise; but Photius, who was a bigoted Greek, refused to make any visitation of the Southern provinces, although he insisted on them sending him his proper dues. Vitut persuaded the Southern bishops to address a remonstrance to Photius, and on the refusal of the patriarch at Constantinople, who was the latter's friend, to consecrate a fresh metropolitan, these Southern bishops repaired to Novgorod in Lithuania, and having issued a famous pro-

* Karamzin, v. 264. † *Id.*, 267. ‡ *Id.*, 267-271.

clamation to the people, proceeded themselves to consecrate Gregory Tsamblak as their hierarch. In this proclamation, signed by the archbishop of Polotsk and Lithuania and the bishops of Chernigof, Lutsk, Vladimir, Smolensk, Kholm, and Turof, and in which they call Vitut the hospodar of Lithuania, they recite how Photius refused to visit them or govern them, and was only engaged in amassing wealth and robbing Kief of the ornaments of its churches. They recite also that from early times the bishps had had the right of electing a metropolitan, and had in fact in the reign of Isiaslaf consecrated Clement; that Bulgaria and Servia, less important countries than "Little Russia," had their own metropolitans; that it was not the patriarch of Constantinople who nominated the metropolitan but the Emperor, whence had arisen many abuses, &c. The whole document is interesting to those who study ecclesiastical changes. The election took place on the 15th of November, 1415.

Photius protested in vain. His rival, zealous for religion and for learning, made an effort to join the churches of the East and West, and journeyed to Rome and Constantinople, but the attempt was fruitless. He died in 1419, and was succeeded as Southern metropolitan by Gerassim, bishop of Smolensk.*

For the first time since the days of Yaroslaf the Great, we find the Russian sovereign issuing a set of laws; at least no intervening ones are extant. These were issued for the people of the Dwina in 1397. The usual feudal method of paying fines for various offences is carried out. Some of the clauses are curious. No one was to interfere with a quarrel at a feast which terminated on the spot, but if it was prolonged the Grand Prince's representative was to receive a marten's fur; labourers removing landmarks were to be fined a sheep or its equivalent; promises made under durance were void; thieves, when caught, were to be marked (*i.e.*, branded); those taking the law into their own hands or assisting criminals to escape were to be fined; no lord of a serf was to be responsible for killing him by inadvertence, whipping him until he died, &c. The merchants of the Dwina were to have free trade with the Grand Principality, paying only to the Grand Prince's deputies at Ostiugh and Vologda a tax of two measures of salt for each boat and two furs (?) for each cart.

During the reign of Vasili, Novgorod and Pskof began to imitate Moscow and introduced a metal coinage in place of the old system of paying by skins. In his reign the Russians also began to date their years from the Creation, and to make September instead of March the beginning of the year as formerly. This was doubtless an innovation of Cyprian's, in imitation of the Greeks. Meanwhile the arts made some progress although the Germans

* Karamzin, v. 273-278.

of Dorpat prevented their artisans from entering Russia and otherwise hindered its progress. Simeon the Black, the monk Prokhor, and Daniel of Gorodetz are named as famous painters at this period, and we are told that in 1420 the method of preparing lead for roofing churches was introduced at Pskof.* In 1404 the first clock that struck was erected at Moscow. It was made by a Servian monk of Mount Athos and was put up in a public place. It was deemed a prodigy. In a letter addressed by the metropolitan Photius in 1410 to the Archbishop of Novgorod, we have some curious details of the times, those who were united in marriage without the usual benediction were excommunicated. Marriages were to be celebrated after mass and not at night. Only young people who had no children were to marry a third time. Girls of less than twelve years were forbidden to marry. Oaths and obscenities were condemned. Nuns and monks were forbidden to live in the same monasteries. The clergy were forbidden to trade or to practise usury, &c.† But on surveying the period we cannot avoid the conclusion that progress was well nigh impossible so long as Muscovy was tightly held all round her borders in the grip of strong and barbarous powers, who closed every inlet into the country and created an isolation scarcely paralleled in history. We must remember that she had at this time no seaboard at all, that no traveller could enter her borders or leave them without crossing more or less hostile territory, and that she was absolutely cut off from all knowledge of the renaissance in the West and limited for teachers to the crystallised and mumified ecclesiastical caste which dominated the church of Byzantium.

Vasili was succeeded by his son Vasili, a boy ten years old. He is well known in history as Vasili the Blind. From the first his uncle Yuri or George, who wished to revive the old form of succession, refused to submit to him. He had retired to Galitch, and when he heard of his nephew's enthronement he collected an army, but dared not face that of the latter and fled beyond the Sura. He then proposed an armistice for a year. Vasili sent Photius, the metropolitan, to treat with him, and when he ventured to intimidate him by the presence of a crowd of the people of his own appanage, the proud prelate reminded him that peasants were not soldiers and shirts were not cuirasses. The result of the mission was that Yuri agreed to forego his claims until the matter had been decided by the Khan of the Tartars.‡ Meanwhile the plague again ravaged Russia, several princes perished both at Tuer and Moscow. This was in 1426 and again in 1431. In 1430 there was a great drought followed by famine. Thus was the new reign inaugurated with sad omens. In 1426 the redoubtable Vitut, who deemed no doubt that Russia was now in weak hands, besieged Apochka, in the district of Pskof, with an army of Bohemians, Wallachians, and of Tartars, furnished by the Khan

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* Karamzin, v. 284. † *Id.*, 286. ‡ *Id.*, 290-294.

Muhammed. The citizens having dug a large hole and planted stakes in it, covered it with a bridge hung on cords, and posted themselves behind their wall. Into this ambush the Lithuanians fell, many of them were killed, while those who were taken prisoners were burnt alive. Having withdrawn his army it was overtaken with a terrible hurricane which was deemed a visitation of heaven, and Vitut the more readily agreed to make peace on condition of the Pskofians paying a sum of 1,450 silver roubles. Two years later he marched through the marshy district called the Black Forest to punish the Novgorodians, who given up to luxury and confident that they were safe among their marshes, treated his threats with contumely, and sent him word they were preparing hydromel for him. An advance guard of 10,000 men with axes cut their way through the forest, a corduroy road was then made by laying the trunks of trees side by side, and marching over it Vitut proceeded to besiege Porkof. His largest cannon had been made for him by a German workman and was drawn by forty horses. One shot from this cannon knocked down a tower as well as the wall of the church of Saint Nicholas, but it eventually burst and killed many Lithuanians including the man who had made it. The town at length offered 5,000 roubles for peace. The people of Novgorod made similar advances, and the prudent Vitut contented himself with exacting a sum of 10,000 roubles, and 1,000 more as a ransom for his prisoners, a price which taxed the powers of the Novgorodians.*

Vitut, who was now eighty years old, made his grandson Vasili promise not to meddle with the affairs of Novgorod and Pskof, and he in 1429 invited him to go and see him. He was, no doubt, the most powerful monarch in Europe, and at this time there were assembled at his court such a series of notables as were seldom collected. There were the Princes of Tuer, Riazan, Odoef, and Mazof, the khan of the Taurida or of Krim, who had now become independent; Ilia, the exiled hospodar of Wallachia, the ambassador of the Greek Emperor, the grand master of the Prussian Knights, the grand commander of those of Livonia, and Yagellon, the king of Poland. They vied with each other in their display, and were magnificently entertained. Each day there were consumed seven hundred casks of hydromel, besides beer and the wine of Roumania; while among the eatables furnished by his kitchens were 700 cows and heifers, 1,400 sheep, 100 buffaloes (probably bisons), and as many elks and wild boars. The feast lasted for seven weeks. Vitut, following the counsel of the Emperor Sigismund, with whom he had an interview in 1429, wished to have himself crowned King of Lithuania by the Pope's legate; but this was opposed by the Polish grandees, whose kingdom would be overshadowed, and as they were supported by the legate, they had their way. Sigismund probably intended to separate the

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* Karamzin, v. 298.

interests of Poland and Lithuania, and to make the two countries attack each other.* Vitut was irritated at the turn of affairs. He fell ill and died. This was in 1429. He was a crafty and powerful statesman, abstemious and open-handed, unscrupulous and ambitious. His reign was the apogee of Lithuarian greatness, which fell to pieces rapidly in the hands of his successors. He was succeeded by Suidrigailo, the brother of Yagellon. Let us now return to the Tartars.

For some years they had not had much intercourse with Russia. In 1426 they made a raid on Riazan, and three years later a body of them from Kazan, commanded by a tzarevitch and a prince, ravaged the towns of Galitch, Kostroma, Plesso, and Lug. They were attacked by the people of Riazan, and made to disgorge their booty. The tzarevitch was pursued by the uncles of the Grand Prince as far as Nijni, while his rear guard was cut to pieces by the Prince of Starodub. In the autumn of 1430, a Tartar prince, named Haidar, entered Lithuania, and laid siege to Mtsensk. The town resisted for three weeks. Its governor, Gregory Protassief, trusting to the promises of Haidar, went to his camp, where he was made prisoner, and sent on to the Khan Muhammed, who honourably released him, and reprimanded Haidar.‡ About this time the Russian prince, Feodor Pestri, made a raid upon Eastern Bulgaria and the country of the Kama.§ It was now six years since the treaty between Vasili and Yuri, by which it was agreed that their claims to the Grand Principality should be remitted for decision to the khan of the Tartars. In 1428, by a fresh treaty, each of them agreed to retain his own territory; but in 1431, Yuri, having attacked his nephew, the latter proposed to appeal to Muhammed, who was then khan. This was agreed to, and both princes set out. Both arrived together at the camp of Minkulad, the Daruga, who was stationed at Moscow.‖ He was a friend and strong partisan of Vasili; but Yuri found a champion in Tegin Murza (the Teguinia of Karamzin), who took him with him to pass the winter in the Krim, and promised to secure him the Grand Principality. Ivan Dimitrovitch, an active boyard of Vasili, aroused the jealousy of the other grandees against Tegin, who, he said, would end by dominating over Russia and Lithuania, and displacing the authority of the khan. The jealousy of Haidar, Minkulad, and the other grandees was aroused, and they so worked upon the Khan Muhammed that he promised to put Tegin to death if he should declare for Yuri.

On the arrival of the latter with his patron at the Horde, Muhammed assembled a court to decide the question, over which he presided himself. Vasili urged the recent rule of succession which had been adopted by the Muscovite princes. Yuri appealed to the ancient rule and to the

* Karamzin, v. 300. † *Id*, 301. ‡ *Id.*, 303. Golden Horde, 383. § Karamzin, v. 304.
‖ Golden Horde, 384. Karamzin calls him Bulak, and styles him a baskak.

will of Dimitri Donski, in which he was named the successor of Vasili the elder. The astute boyard whom I have mentioned then approached the throne, and asked the Khan not to consider these precedents, but to decide, as he had the power to do, according to his own wish ; and he further urged him to confirm the will of the late sovereign, who had nominated his son as his successor. Muhammed decided in favour of Vasili, and, according to Asiatic custom, he ordered Yuri to hold the horse's bridle for his nephew, which the latter, however, magnanimously refused to allow him to do.* Meanwhile, Kuchuk Muhammed, of whom we shall have much to say presently, began his rebellion against the Khan, and Tegin seized the opportunity, and secured for his *protegé* the towns of Swenigorod, Rusi, Wishogorod, and Dmitrof.† On their return to Russia, Ulan, the Khan's deputy, enthroned Vasili as Grand Prince *at Moscow*, at the golden gate of the Church of the Virgin. Hitherto this ceremony had been performed at Vladimir. The latter town continued, however, to be named before Moscow in the titles of the grand princes.‡

The decision of the Khan did not settle matters in Russia. The boyard Ivan, who had served Vasili so well, wished to insist upon his marrying his daughter; and, on his refusing to do so, and marrying Maria, the daughter of Yaroslaf and grand-daughter of Vladimir the Brave, he left the court, determined upon vengeance, and joined Yuri at Galitch. Yuri's two sons, Vasili the Squinter and Shemiaka, had gone to Moscow to attend the Grand Prince's wedding. The former wore a famous golden girdle, enriched with diamonds, which had belonged to Dimitri Donski, but had been surreptitiously changed for one of inferior value by one of the grandees, and, after passing from hand to hand, had reached those of its present wearer. Sophia, the mother of the Grand Prince, having been told of this, had it publicly seized, and the two young princes, naturally much vexed, left the court and went to join their father. By the persuasion of these fugitives Yuri, having collected an army, suddenly attacked Vasili, made him prisoner, and overran Muscovy. By the advice of one of his boyards named Simeon Morozof, he granted Kolomna to his nephew as an appanage and seated himself at Moscow. But the boyards there were not willing to see the new rule of succession thus rudely set aside. "Public opinion," says Mr. Kelly, "disarmed as it was, yet stronger than a victor, neutralised his victory; priests, people, nobles, all disavowed him. The entire population of the great Moscow followed the lineal heir into his banishment; the conqueror, struck with dismay, remained alone; and, vanquished by this terrific insulation, he descended from his solitary throne, and restored it to the legitimate heir."§ Yuri's two sons

* Karamzin, v. 304-307. † Golden Horde, 386. ‡ Karamzin, v. 308.
§ Op. cit., i. 97.

avenged themselves on their father's adviser Morozof by assassinating him. Vasili returned to his capital in triumph, the vast crowd of people, in the quaint words of the old annalists, "surging about him like bees about their queen,"* but his triumph was short-lived. Pusillanimity seemed to control his council, and Yuri, having continued the struggle notwithstanding his promises, successfully contended against his armies, again occupied Moscow, and captured Vasili's mother and wife, while the latter fled successively to Mologa, Kostroma, and Nijni Novgorod. Yuri, having taken the title of Grand Prince, almost immediately after died, at the age of sixty. In his will, which had apparently been made in his days of comparative obscurity, he had not provided for the new state of things. He merely divided his own appanage, and ordered his sons to contribute 1,026 roubles towards the tribute of 7,000 roubles which the Grand Prince had to pay to the horde.

Vasili the Squinter, notwithstanding, had himself proclaimed his father's successor, but his brothers refused to acknowledge him, and drove him away from Moscow. They were duly rewarded by Vasili Vasilovitch, who was once more seated on the throne, Shemiaka receiving as his portion Uglitch and Kief.† The Squinter took up arms and ravaged the borders of Muscovy and the principality of Novgorod, and the Grand Prince, who suspected his brother Shemiaka's fidelity, had him seized and imprisoned at Moscow. In a struggle which ensued between the two Vasilis; the son of Vasili captured his rival the Squinter and had his eyes put out, and he passed the remainder of his life in obscurity. Shemiaka was released and restored to his appanage, on condition of his returning the treasures which his father had carried off from Moscow.‡ Soon after the Grand Prince punished the temerity of the Novgorodians, who had imposed a tribute of 50,000 squirrel and 240 sable skins on Ustiughe, a dependency of Muscovy, by himself compelling a payment of 8,000 roubles.

Meanwhile the Russians continued to pay their tribute regularly to the Tartar Khan Muhammed. The latter's reign at Serai was, however, drawing to a close. I have mentioned how he was troubled with a rival named Kuchuk Muhammed, or Little Muhammed. The latter now (*i.e.*, in the year 1437) finally drove him away from his capital. Ulugh Muhammed sought refuge in Russia, where he expected to be well received by Vasili. He was, on the contrary, ordered to leave the country immediately. The Russians prepared an army to enforce this order, but with a most craven disposition it broke to pieces and fled at the sight of the very inferior forces possessed by Muhammed; so inferior that he could not follow them up, but deemed it wiser to retire. He crossed the land of the Mordvins into Bulgaria, which had been terribly ravaged by the Russians in 1399. There he rebuilt the city of

* Karamzin, v. 314. † *Id.*, 317. ‡ *Id.*, 321.

Kazan and became the founder of a separate empire, known as the Khanate of Kazan, on which a separate chapter will follow.

We are told that Ulugh Muhammed had wearied out his people by his continual migrations. He had so dragged his court from place to place that they had no leisure in which to sow or reap their harvest, and there had been great scarcity of grain among them.* Driven away from Serai, the family of Tuka Timur continued to rule both at Kazan and in the Krim, under which heads their future fortunes are traced out.

Note 1.—The land occupied by the White Horde is one of the least known parts of Asia. Once dotted with flourishing towns, these have long since, for the most part, disappeared, and are now marked merely by ruins or mounds. As the country has been little explored, we can only in a few cases fix the sites of the old settlements.

It would seem that the land of the White Horde was conterminous largely with that occupied by the Oghuz Turks of the Arab writers. Thus it included the lower Jaxartes and the valley through which it flows, the western part of the Alexandrofski range, the valley of the Sarisu, the Ulugh Tagh and Kuchuk Tagh mountains, and the present camping ground of the Middle Horde of the Kirghiz Kazaks. Its boundary on the east, where it was conterminous with the Khanate of Jagatai, is very uncertain. Von Hammer enumerates Sighnak, Otrar, and Taras as its chief towns,† and we find that in Ssanang Setzen the Golden Horde is spoken of as the Khanate of Togmak, which name it doubtless derived from the town of Togmak on the Chu. This seems to show what is otherwise probable, that it included all the valley of the Chu, a famous river which loses itself, after a considerable flow, in the sands of Karakum. On the north it was apparently limited by the Khanate of Sheiban, which we shall describe in a later chapter, on the west by the Horde of Batu, on the south-east by the Alexandrofski mountains, and on the south-west by the deserts of Kizil kum, which separated it from Khuarezm.

As I have said, this country is at present singularly unexplored. Once it was no doubt a very thriving region. We have reason to believe that the Chu once rose in lake Issikul and flowed into the Caspian, and that the Talas and the Sari Su were its tributaries. Its banks were thickly peopled, and its borders irrigated with artificial canals. The district was traversed, too, by the great highway which in Mongol times connected the East and West, and was then much frequented. We can only throw a partial light on the topographical riddles that meet us at every turn. First let us consider this trade route.

The problem of tracing out some of the vaguely described journeys of ancient travellers is much facilitated by certain physical features which limit our hypotheses very considerably. Oceans cannot be crossed without ships,

* Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 346. † Golden Horde, 329.

nor high mountain ranges by large armies except at certain passes. This is familiar enough, but it is hardly as familiar that deserts are almost as impassable as oceans, and that we cannot therefore hypothecate a direct march from one point to another unless we know the nature of the intervening country. It is the necessity of avoiding physical barriers that makes ancient trade routes in the East so persistent; perhaps more persistent than any human institutions. The great trade route from China to Persia, which was travelled by Chinese as well as Western travellers, led by all accounts along the northern slopes of the Alexandrofski range and by the road which still remains the only route from Togmak to Avlie Ata. It is well delineated in Colonel Walker's capital map of Central Asia. In traversing this district it crosses the very numerous head streams of the Chu, which spread out like a fan, and form the well known Ming Bulak or thousand springs, to which I shall presently refer. Between Togmak and Avlie Ata its course is pretty nearly east and west, and is bounded on the south by the impenetrable Alexandrofski mountains.

At Avlie Ata the mountain range is broken by a gorge through which flows the river Talas or Taras. This gorge forms one of the most important passes in the world; the pass which connects Iran and Turun, and by which it is probable that many of the earlier nomadic invaders of Persia entered the valley of the Jaxartes. This important site, now marked by the town of Avlie Ata, was formerly the meeting place of two distinct trade routes. One of them has been almost discontinued, and formerly led westwards along the northern slopes of the mountains towards the sea of Aral. The Uzbegs and other nomades have swept away its towns and made it otherwise impracticable. The other route is still frequented, and goes through the gorge to the south-west to Chimkend. From the fact of two great roads meeting there, and from the fact also of its being the only feasible trade route across the mountains, the gorge I have referred to must always have been a very important station, and it is, I believe, universally held now that in former times it was commanded by the town of Taras, and that Taras occupied a site not far from the modern Avlie Ata.

"Avlie Ata owes its name," says Mr. Schuyler, "to the tomb of the patron saint of the Khirghiz, Avlie Ata (holy father), said to have been a certain Kara Khan, and a descendant of the Sheikh Ahmed Yasavi, who is buried at Turkestan. The tomb itself, which is an ordinary brick building, is in a woful state of dilapidation, and is by no means as interesting as the similar monument erected over the grave of Assa bibi, some female relation of Kara Khan, which can be seen on the road side, ten miles west of the town. Ten miles below Avlie Ata on the Talas, amidst the sands of the Muyun Kum, are the ruins of what was apparently a city called by the natives Tiume Kent," which the author adds, "may perhaps prove to be those of the city of Talas." Tradition says that a maiden once lived there who was beloved by the prince of the Divs, giant spirits who dwelt in the neighbouring mountains. In order to prepare a fit residence for her, this Div began to build a city, and for that purpose threw down immense stones from the mountain of Makbal. The city was never finished, but its remains are still visible, called by the natives

Akhyr tash (Akhyr tepé) or Tash kurgan. The legend may be absurd, but the ruins, which are about thirty miles east of Avlie Ata,* are very curious. They consist of an immense unfinished building, 600 feet by 450 feet, of reddish sandstone, the lower layer of the front being built of large stones, 7 feet long by 4 feet broad. M. Lerch, who investigated the river, thinks it was intended for a Buddhist monastery. The scattered stones are supposed by the natives to have been mangers or feeding troughs for an encampment, and hence the name Akhyr tash (stone manger). The Chinese traveller Chang Chun, who passed here in 1221, says, "We travelled westwards along the hills, and after seven or eight days journey the mountains suddenly turned to the south. We saw a city built of red stone, and there are the traces of an ancient encampment. To the west we saw great grave moulds, placed like the stars in the Great Bear." These mounds also still exist, and from a short distance they indeed appear to be seven, disposed like the seven stars of the Great Bear. In reality, however, there are sixteen mounds of different sizes, the largest being two hundred to two hundred and fifty paces in circumference. They are called by the Kirghiz Jitte tepé or the seven mounds. On one of these M. Lerch found a stone bearing a Manchu inscription, relative to a victory of the Chinese over the Sungars in 1758.†

Having shown that there are abundant ruins to satisfy those who wish to have proofs of the former existence in this neighbourhood of a large city, we will now pass on to collect such notices of it as we can find. I propose to begin my short survey of this difficult area with Taras or Talas, as it is oftener called. This is probably one of the oldest sites in the world. Edrisi writes the name Taran, and I would suggest as possible that the name Taran, the complement of Iran, is connected with it, for Taras commands the main pass which leads from Iran into Central Asia. It first occurs in the pages of Menander Protector, who wrote towards the end of the sixth century, and who, in describing the embassy of Zemarchus to the Turkish Khan Dizabulus in the year 569, tells us that while the Khan was engaged in an expedition against the Persians, and while his camp was pitched at a place called *Talas*, an ambassador from the Persians went to meet Dizabulus, who invited him and the Romans to dinner.‡

About the year 729 Hiuen Thsang, the famous Chinese pilgrim, passed through Taras. He tells us that about 400 li west of the Su ye (*i.e.*, the Chu), he arrived at Thsien thsiuen (*i.e.*, the thousand springs answering to the Mingbulak of the Mongols). The country of Thsien thsiuen was about 200 li square. On the south it was bounded by snowy mountains, and on three other sides by continuous plains. The land was well watered and the vegetation abundant. . . . The Turkish Khan went there every year to pass the summer heats. After travelling about 140 li or 150 li to the west of Thsien thsiuen, he arrived at the town of Ta-lo-si.§

The thousand sources, called Thsien thsiuen or Ping yu by the Chinese, Mingbulak by the Mongols, and Bin gul by the Turks, is a name occurring in

* He says above they were ten miles below Avlie Ata, and perhaps a different set of ruins is here meant.

† Schuyler's Turkestan, ii. 121, 122.

‡ Cathay and the Way Thither, clxv.

§ Vivien St. Martin, Memoir on Hiuen Thsang's Travels, 18.

several places, and meaning in effect a well watered country. *This* Mingbulak which was bounded on the south by snowy mountains, was doubtless the district watered by the cluster of small rivers and torrents which form the head waters of the Chu, and the Talosi of the Buddhist traveller is no doubt Taras. In the Tang shu or history of the Tang dynasty, under the article Shi (*i.e.*, Shash or Tashkend). We read of Ta-lo-sze as a city situated west of the river Sui ye (*i.e.*, the Chu).*

In the travels of Chang chun, who visited Western Asia in 1221, and whose narrative is very confused, he mentions that four days after leaving Almaligh he arrived at the river Talasu molien (*i.e.*, the Talas muren), a river which is described as deep and broad, coming from the east and cutting across the Yin shan mountains, and running in a north-western direction. To the south of the river were snow-covered mountains.† In the Si shi ki, describing Shang tis journey westwards in 1259, he tells us that he passed Ta la sze, without mentioning whether it was a river or a town.‡ In the Si yu lu we are told that several hundred li to the west of Hu sze wo lu do, the capital of Kara Khitai, which last town was 400 li from K'u jan (*i.e.*, Khojend), was the city Ta la sze.§ All these references point to one conclusion only, namely, to the Ta la sze of the Chinese being the Taras or Talas identified with Avlie Ata.

Ishtakhri tells us Teraz was on the extreme border between the land of the Turks and Mussulmans, and that all about there were strong castles, called in general after Terez. The region of Islam extended as far as this spot.‖

Let us now turn to the Western authorities. Edrisi calls the town Taran. He says it was a place of passage for the Mussulmans, who had established fortifications there against the Khizilji Turks with whom the Mussulmans were for the most part at war. When there was peace between them then there was an exchange of commodities in merchandise, cattle, furs, &c.¶ This answers exactly to the frontier town of Avlie Ata, but the fact is made certain when we examine the route which he gives from Samarkand to Taran, which we can trace step by step to Isfidjab, now called Chimkent, whence it was three days' journey to Taran, with one intervening station at Badakh kath, between which and Taran was a wild country without inhabitants or cultivation.**

In a work quoted by Quatremere as the Mesalek alabsar fi memalek alamsar, whose author was born in the year 700 and died in 749 hej., we are told it was twenty days' journey from Samarkand to Yanghi, and that Yanghi consisted of four towns, separated from each other by a distance of a fersenkh each. They all had distinct names, and were known as Yanghi, Yanghi baligh, Kanchuk, and Talas.†† In the Tarakhi Rashidi we read that Taras was called Yanghi by the Mongols, and that there were many people of Yanghi in Mavera un nehr who were called Yangelik. In the steppe of Yanghi, says its author, are found the remains of several cities, and of domes, minarets, and schools, but he adds, it is not known which of these ancient cities was Yanghi or what

* Bretschneider, Notices of Mediæval Geography, &c., 59.
† Bretschneider, Notes on Mediæval Travellers, &c., 34. ‡ *Id.*, 75.
§ *Id.*, 114, 115. ‖ Ishtakhri, published by Ousely as Ibn Haukal, 269.
¶ Edrisi ed., Jaubert, ii. 208, 209. ** *Id*, 214.
†† Quatremere Notices et Extracts, xiii. 224-226.

were the names of the others.* In the Geography of Heft Iklim we are told that Taras was formerly a celebrated town, then destroyed by the Uzbegs. Its environs, to which the name of Taras was given, were desert.† Baber and the Akbar Nameh seem to confuse Yanghi and Otrar, and Klaproth and others among modern writers have confused it with Yassy or Turkestan.

Having fixed the site of Taras, let us now proceed further. There is a passage in the history of the Kara Khitai which has not hitherto been rightly explained. We are told that after the Gurkhan had conquered the country which he ruled over, he appointed governors from Kum kidjik (*i.e.*, the desert of Kipchak) to Barsedjan, and from Taras to Tamdj (*i.e.*, to Tamghadj or Taugas) answering to Uighuristan.

Barsedjan has been a puzzle to most inquirers. Dr. Bretschneider says that Du Halde, in the map of China appended to his history of China in 1734, places Bersagian la haute or Sairam on the river Talas.‡ This name of Sairam reminds us that Mirkhond associates a Kara Sairam with Taras, and tells us it was a vast town, a day's journey from end to end, having forty gates, and inhabited by Mussulmans, and that it belonged to Kaidu.§ On turning to Edrisi we find him mentioning two Barsedjans; Upper Barsedjan, remote from the neighbourhood we are describing, and Lower Barsedjan, a town surrounded with inhabitants and cultivated fields, and thirty-three miles from Taran or Taras.‖ Again, reporting the famous voyage made by the Arab Salam among the Turks in the ninth century, he tells us that in returning homewards from the East he came by way of Gharian, Barsedjan, and Taran to Samarkand.¶ These extracts seem to show that Barsedjan was situated on the grand route to the East some thirty-three miles from Taran, which agrees very well with the site of the ruin of red stones mentioned by Mr. Schuyler, which he tells us was thirty miles east of Avlie Ata, and which he seems to have confused with other ruins some ten miles further down the Talas than Avlie Ata, as I have mentioned. On journeying eastwards from Taras the first important place met with is the fort of Togmak on the Chu. Mr. Schuyler says, "The old town of Togmak, of which only undistinguishable ruins remain, was about fifteen miles above the present one, which is a small place with a Russian population of 800, and is on the site of a Khokandian fort captured in 1860."** Togmak must have been of great importance in mediæval times, for it gave a name to the Khanate of Kipchak.

The name Togmak, as Dr. Schmidt says, was used by the Mongols to designate the Khanate of Kipchak. Ssanang Setzen, whose geography is not very clear, applies the name also to the empire of Khuarezm.†† He calls Juchi "Khan of Togmak,"‡‡ and speaks of the ruler of Togmak in 1452 as a descendant of Juchi.§§ Abd el Razzak, in describing Timur's campaign in 1391, calls the people of Kipchak Togmaks, and after their victory the soldiers of Timur sang a song in which they boasted of being the vanquishers of the Togmaks.

Rubruquis, as I have mentioned,‖‖ having on his journey towards Kara-

* Veliaminof Zernof, op. cit., ii. 156. † Quatremere, loc. cit.
‡ Notices, &c., 37. § Quatremere, Notices et Extracts. ‖ Op. cit., ii. 217. ¶ *Id.*, ii. 420.
** *Id.*, ii. 126. †† Op. cit., 87 and 383. Note, 41. ‡‡ *Id.*, 111. §§ *Id.*, 165. ‖‖ *Ante*, 87.

korum travelled southwards for eight days from certain alps or mountains, which were doubtless the Urtagh chain and its shoulders, arrived at a well watered and cultivated plain, bounded on the south by high mountains, and entered a town which the Saracens (*i.e.*, the Muhammedans) called Kenchat, and which was watered by a large river which sprang in the mountains, and was lost eventually in the sands, and was six days' journey from Talas. Mr. Schuyler has identified Kenchat with Merke, and I followed him in so doing,* but I am now convinced that Togmak must have been the town otherwise called Kenchuk. The distance from Taras, as given by Rubruquis, suits it better than Merke, where Mr. Schuyler puts it, and it is further the converging point of the trade route along the north of the mountains and that east of the river Chu, which latter seems to have been followed by Rubruquis. Taras and Kenchuk are associated together several times by the Persian writers. Thus Rashid ud din speaks of the meadows of Talas and Kenchuk, and Haidar Razi talks of "the meadows of Talas and Kenchuk, which are commonly called Meske and Taraz." The two places were at each end of the well watered tract of Ming bulak, and the whole district was thus well described by its limiting towns.

Kenchuk was apparently a new name given to the town after the Mongol conquest, for I do not meet with it before. It is in form similar to Seraichuk, and may be a corruption of Kent or Kend, a town, and Kuchuk, small.

Having examined the topography of the country east of Taras, let us now turn to that west of that city. Here, unfortunately, we have but scant information. The road followed by nearly all travellers was through the gorge at Avlie Ata, and down upon the Jaxartes by Chimkent, a route which is well known. For information as to the road westwards along the northern flanks of the Alexandrofski range, we are in fact limited to one writer, namely, the Armenian royal traveller Haithon. He went to visit Mangu, as I have mentioned, and travelled from Cilicia by way of the Kipchak. It would seem that it was his intention to return by the same route. When he therefore reached Taras on his way home, and there had an interview with Khulagu, he tells us he there turned to the north-west, and came successively to Kutukchin, Berkent, and Sukulkhan, none of which places are apparently named elsewhere, but they were doubtless on the main route from Avlie Ata to Suzak. He then reached Urusokan. Ur is a particle occurring in many Turkish names, as Urtepe, Urtagh, &c., and simply means high. Usokan is assuredly but a form Uzkend. Uzkend was one of the cities captured by Juchi, as I have mentioned, and I have also shown that this Uzkend was not the Uzkend on the eastern limits of Ferghanah, but was situated much further west. It is not at all improbable that it was the same place which Haithon calls Urusokan.

Let us follow his further steps. After leaving the latter place he passed Kayi kent (?), and then arrived at Khuzak. This is identified by Mr. Schuyler with great probability with Suzak, a well known town marked on Colonel Walker's map, and mentioned in the account of M. Mazarof's journey to Tashkend in 1813. He reached it after crossing the Chu and crossing some

sands beyond.* After leaving Suzak our traveller passed successively Kamotz, Khendakhoir, and Sighnak.

Sighnak was a famous town, the capital of the White Horde, and it is curious that its site should be quite unknown. Haithon, in speaking of it, says, "There is the mount Kharchuk whence the Seljuks came and where mount Thoros begins." The mountains of Kharchuk were no doubt the range of Kara Tau, in which the river Kara Ichuk, a tributary of the Jaxartes, springs. Klaproth says Sighnak was situated on the Muskan, a tributary on the right of the Jaxartes, which had its origin in the Karachuk mountains.† He does not cite his authority, but the position is in itself probable. Sherifuddin speaks of Sabran and Sighnak as the two frontier towns of Turkestan, and tells us Sighnak was situated four-and-twenty miles from Otrar, while the biographical work entitled Tabakatol hanefiyet of Kesevi speaks of it as being near the town of Yassy.‡ Vambery, I know not on what authority, says it was united to Jend by a canal.§ These various hints point to the neighbourhood of Babai kurgan (which is named on Colonel Walker's map) as the most likely site for the capital of the White Horde. It would therefore seem that Haithon on leaving Suzak crossed the mountains by the Bivpik pass, and went to Sighnak. Thence he retraced his steps again to pay a visit to Sertak, who was on his way to Mangu Khan. After which he returned to Sighnak, and thence went on to Sabran, which he tells us was extremely large. Sabran is a well known site on the main route from Yanghi-kent to Turkestan, and is marked on Colonel Walker's map. Edrisi says that Sabran was a town where the Ghuz met to make peace or a truce, and to trade in times of peace. He tells us it depended on Nukath, the capital of Ilak.‖ In another place he tells us that after passing Sabran one enters the desert of the Ghuzzes.¶ Its site was passed by Schuyler a little above the Russian fort of Julek. He says its ruins lay some distance from the post station, so that he could not visit them. "They were noted a few years ago for containing two tall brick towers or minarets of very graceful construction, having spiral staircases within. One of them fell a few years ago, and as the other was greatly injured by the Kirghiz, it is now also probably in ruins."** From Sabran, Haithon went to Kharchuk, situated doubtless on the river of the same name, flowing between Sabran and Turkestan, and then went on to Yasun (*i.e.*, Yassy), the old name for the town of Turkestan, recently visited by Mr. Schuyler, and whose description will occupy us in a later chapter. From Yassy our traveller went on to Savri, which is probably to be identified with the ruins north of the river Aris, marked in Colonel Walker's map. The next station he reached was the famous Otrar, whose ruins are still to be seen a little to the south of the river Aris. It was a famous city in early times, and we have described how the truculence of its governor led to the invasion of the Khuarezmian empire by Jingis Khan, and how his people wreaked their vengeance upon it. It was also at Otrar that the Great Timur died. It first appears under the name of Otrar in the thirteenth century, and was previously known as Farab. It is mentioned by Ishtakhri,†† and seems to have been the capital of a small

* Levchine, Kirghiz Kazaks, 104. † Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 285. Note.
‡ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 11. Note, 8. § History of Bokhara, 124.
‖ Op. cit., ii. 208. ¶ *Id.*, 209. ** Op. cit., i. 68. †† Ouseley's ed., passim.

territory, a position which it retained after its change of name, for in the Chinese account of the travels of Yelu Chutsai,* it is said ten other cities were dependent on it. In Pegolotti's land routes to Cathay, compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century, we are told Oltrarre was forty-five days' journey with pack asses from Almaligh, while it was a journey of thirty-five or forty days with camel waggons from Urgenj.† As Colonel Yule says, Otrar was the great frontier city between the Khanates of Kipchak and Jagatai, and we find it, with the other towns of the White Horde, assigned as the appanage of Toktamish by his patron Timur.

On leaving Otrar Haithon crossed the Jaxartes and went on by way of Zernuk, whose ruins are marked on several maps, on the left bank of the Jaxartes and Jizak, which still retains its name, and so on to Samarkand.

We have not completed our survey of the towns of the White Horde, and still have to consider those which were to the west of Sighnak. In speaking of the mountains of Kharchuk, Haithon says they began with Taurus and reached to Parchin. This will be recognised as the name of a mint place of the Golden Horde. Among the towns captured by Juchi in his first campaign was Barchin, otherwise called Barkhaligkent. It is called Barjen in the Yuan shi, and Barchilikan in the Chinese map published by Dr. Bretschneider.‡ It is mentioned by Carpini under the name Barchin.§ These are all the notices of the town known to me, and it seems to have been situated at the western termination of the long chain of mountains known now as the Alexandrofski range, where all accounts agree that the country is strewn with ruins as yet unexplored. Between this point and Suzak is the station of Ak Sumba, marking no doubt one of Timur's halting places on his journey towards the Urtagh, and which he calls Ak Saman.

Let us now examine the towns on the Lower Jaxartes. Of these the most important in every way was Yanghi kent. Yanghi kent simply means new town, a name which is in some measure misleading, since it is mentioned in early days. Mr. Erskine tells us it is the Alkariah al jadideh of the Arabs.‖ It is mentioned by Masudi under the name of Haditse (*i.e.*, "the new"). He tells us it was situated a fersenkh from the Sihun or Jaxartes, and two days' journey from its outfall into the lake of Khuarezm. He tells us further, it was the chief winter residence of the ruler of the Oghuz Turks.¶ Edrisi, in describing the course of the Sihun or Jaxartes, tells us that after passing Sabran it entered the desert of the Ghuz, and passed at a distance of three miles from the town of Ghozzia the New, and then fell into the lake of Khuarezm at two days' journey from that town. He tells us this town was the capital of the Ghuz and the winter residence of their ruler, and that Mussulmans were found there. It was twelve days' journey from Khuarezm and twenty from Farab or Otrar.** Carpini mentions the town under the name of Janc kin. Abulfeda tells us Yanghi kent was situated on a river which fell into the lake of Khuarezm. It was ten days' journey, he says, from Urgenj, twenty from Otrar, and twenty-five leagues from Bokhara.††

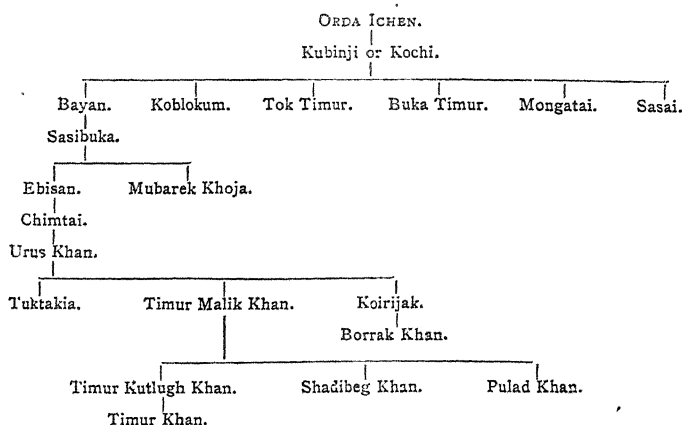
* Bretschneider, Notes on Mediæval Travellers, &c., 115.
† Cathay and the Way Thither, 288. ‡ Notices of Mediæval Geography, 193, et passim.
§ Ed. Dav., 750. ‖ Baber, 11. Note, 6. ¶ D'Ohsson, Abul Cassim, 147.
** Op. cit., ed. Jaubert, ii. 209, 210. †† D'Avezac, op. cit., 513. Note, 2.

Levchine tells us its ruins are situated at a distance of an hour's ride on horseback from the Syr or Jaxartes, and a day's journey from its mouth. In the last century it belonged to the Karakalpaks. Gladychef, who was sent on a mission to these people in 1742, found the town then in ruins, but its ramparts and towers still remained, and the Khan of the Karakalpaks lived inside the enclosure. It was afterwards occupied by the Kirghiz Kazaks, who reported that its primitive inhabitants had been driven away by serpents.*

M. Lerch explored the ruins of Yanghi kent in 1867. He opened several of the mounds, and found various articles of pottery and household ware, but nothing which could enable the age of the ruins to be ascertained.†

Another town of the Lower Jaxartes, which was captured by the army of Juchi Khan, and which occurs frequently in Eastern history, is Jend or Jund. I have no doubt it is the Kojend of Edrisi (not to be confounded, of course, with his Khojend much further east). He mentions it as one of the three cities of the Ghuz on the Lower Jaxartes.‡ Masudi expressly calls it Jend, in a passage which was probably copied by Edrisi.§ It is very probable that the name Lemfinc, a town mentioned in this neighbourhood by Carpini, is a blundered legend for Jend.

M. Lerch, who has studied the archæology of Turkestan so diligently, fixes the site of Jend at some ruins on the right bank of the Jaxartes, between the fort of Kazalinsk and that known as No. 2. Of this famous city, where the founder of the family of the Seljuki adopted Islam and also died, there only remain some mounds of rubbish and some tombstones with Arabic inscriptions. Its bricks have been largely used by the modern Kazaks to build their mausoleums with.‖ I may add that the third town of the Ghuz on the Jaxartes is called Khuara by Masudi. The name is written Hawara in the translation of Edrisi.

Note 2.—In the following tables I have endeavoured to reconstruct the family tree of the Royal houses descended from Orda Ichen, as contained in the previous chapter.

* Hist. des Kirghiz Kazaks, 114. † Schuyler, op. cit., 68 and 401. ‡ Op. cit., ii. 209.
§ D'Ohsson, op. cit., 147. ‖ Russische Revue., i. 31.

CHAPTER V.

THE LATER KHANS OF THE GOLDEN HORDE AND THE KHANS OF ASTRAKHAN.

KUCHUK MUHAMMED KHAN.

WE have now reached a notable crisis in the history of the Golden Horde, whose eastern half had become independent of the ruler of Serai, and was, as I shall show in a future chapter, the subject of contention between the Kirghiz Kazaks and the Uzbegs. Its western half was also undergoing disintegration. The northern districts of Bulghar were subject to Ulugh Muhammed, and I shall follow their fortunes in a later chapter on Kazan. In the south-west a new and vigorous branch of the Tartars, founded a separate and substantive Khanate in the Krim, and dominated probably also over the Circassians. On this also I shall have much to say in future chapters. Meanwhile we find in the west and in the country included between the Don and the Dnieper, and probably for a while also in the Krim, a third more or less independent sovereignty set up by a chief named Seyid Ahmed.

This person has been identified by Von Hammer* and others with Abusaid Janibeg, the son of Borrak Khan, an identification in which I cannot concur, and which seems to me quite misleading, nor is it based, so far as I can see, on any evidence save mere conjecture. I believe that this Seyid Ahmed was the same person already mentioned,† who was set up as Khan for a short time on the deposition of Chekre, and then almost immediately deposed because of his youth and inexperience. As at that time Borrak Khan was still living, it is exceedingly improbable and contrary to Tartar notions to suppose that his grandson should have been then nominated as Khan. The only statement I can find in any Eastern author as to his origin is in the Turkish authority followed by Langles, who has by far the fullest details about this crooked period, and who tells us he was a descendant of Toktamish, but the same writer tells us just before, that at this time the family of Toktamish was extinct. When Seyid Ahmed occupied the country between the Don and the Dnieper it would seem that he was followed by a considerable body of Nogais, and according to an authority I have mislaid, he is looked upon by the Nogais

* Golden Horde, 388.

† *Ante*, 272.

as having introduced them into Europe. It may be, therefore, that he was related to the great Nogai leader Idiku, who had a son named Seyid Ali. The Russians named his people "the Swift," which answers to their description in the Turkish annals and to the style they gave themselves, *i.e.*, Tatari badreftar, or "Tartars who fly like the wind."* Seyid Ahmed is mentioned as holding joint authority with Kuchuk Muhammed as early as 1434, when we are told Vasili Vasilovitch sent his tribute to the Khans of the horde, Kuchuk Ahmed and Seyid Ahmed.†

Seyid Ahmed's joint rule is a token of the growing disintegration of the Golden Horde. Luckily for Russia, a similar decay occurred at this time in the empire which had so long threatened it in the west, namely, Lithuania. On the death of Vitut he was succeeded by Suidrigailo, brother of Yagellon, who, as I have mentioned, reigned in Poland, and from whom he tried to conquer the districts of Podolia and Volhynia.‡ He was on friendly terms with the Russians and devoted to the Greek church, but he was a drunkard and otherwise weak, was driven away by his people, and eventually became a shepherd in Moldavia. The Lithuanians called in Sigismund, the brother of Vitut, a cruel and avaricious tyrant, who, we are told, kept savage beasts as guardians of his gates. He was assassinated by Ivan and Alexander, princes of Chertorisk and grandsons of Olgerd, and was succeeded by Casimir, son of Yagellon, whose brother Vladislas was now King of Poland. This was in 1440. On the latter's death Casimir once more united the crowns of Poland and Lithuania.§

We now arrive at a famous crisis in the history of the Greek Church. The metropolitan Photius had died in 1431, and during the next six years there was a vacancy in the office, which Gerassim, the metropolitan of Lithuania, tried to usurp, but the Russian bishops would not tolerate him. A council was at length summoned to elect a new chief of the church, and the choice fell upon Jonas, bishop of Riazan; but meanwhile the patriarch of Constantinople had consecrated Isidore of Thessalonica, a learned theologian, equally versed in the Greek and the Latin theology, and furthermore a friend of the pope, the famous Eugenius IV. At this time the Imperial throne at Byzantium was occupied by John Palæologus, who had married the Russian princess Anne. He was but a shadow of an emperor, and the Turks pressed upon his borders more and more. Under these circumstances the pope promised to support him, and to preach a European crusade against the invaders on condition that the Greek Church would, after an impartial examination of the points in dispute between themselves and the Latins, conform to the decision of a general Œcumenical council to be called in Italy. These terms were agreed to, and the Emperor with

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* Golden Horde, 394. † *Id.*, 388.

‡ Latham Nationalities, i. 50. § Karamzin, v. 301, 302. Lelewel, Hist. de Pologne, i. 93, 94.

his brother (the despot Demetrius), together with Joseph, the patriarch of Constantinople, and seven hundred of the Greek clergy, set sail from Byzantium on the 24th of November, 1437.*

Isidore, the new metropolitan, who had now no rival, Gerassim having been burnt alive by Suidrigailo at Vitebsk for having had secret communications with his rival Sigismund, set off on the same errand from Moscow on the 8th of September, 1437, with a large cortége, and soon proved himself an ardent champion of the Latin cause. It is curious to trace his route; he went by way of Novgorod, Riga, Lubeck, Luneburgh, Brunswick, Leipzic, Erfuhrt, Bamberg, Nuremberg, Augsbourg, and the Tyrol,† and was very cordially welcomed. The various objects of art, the rich cities and gardens, the stone aqueducts and palaces were objects of astonishment to the hitherto secluded Russians; nor were they who knew only the wide plains and steppe land of Central and Southern Russia less amazed with the sight of the Tyrolean Alps.‡

The council thus summoned was the famous Council of Florence, and the four chief points in dispute were the procession of the Holy Ghost, the use of unleavened bread only in the sacrament, purgatory, and the supremacy of the pope. It is no part of my subject to recount its history and how its apparent success was brought about. Isidore, the metropolitan of Russia, was rewarded for his complacency with a cardinal's hat, and appointed apostolical legate of the North. He returned home by way of Venice and Hungary, and arrived at Moscow in the spring of 1440, bearing a letter from the pope for the Grand Prince. But Vasili refused to give up the old faith of his ancestors, declared that the Greeks had been taken in, and declared further that Isidore was a heretic; and having called a council of bishops and learned boyards, who agreed with him, he had him imprisoned, but he escaped and fled to Rome, where he was always known as the bishop of Russia.

Jonas, the former choice of Yasili, was again nominated metropolitan. As the Emperor of Byzantium had declared for Rome, Jonas did not go to Byzantium for consecration, nor was he acknowledged outside Muscovy. The bishops of Southern or Lithuanian Russia obeyed as their metropolitan a Bulgarian named Gregory, a disciple of Isidore's and a partisan of union, who had his seat at Kief and ruled the dioceses of Briansk, Smolensk, Pereimysl, Turof, Lutsk, Vladimir, Polotsk, Kholm, and Galitch.

Thus ended the attempt to piece together the broken unity of Christendom. The effort may be said to have failed because of the obduracy of Vasili, and although his obsequious bishops flattered him by saying he had kept awake while they slept, an impartial observer, who considers the terrible expenditure of blood and hatred which the separation of the two churches afterwards caused in the long continued

* Karamzin, v. 334. † *Id.*, 337. ‡ *Id.*, i. 338.

and still lively strife, between the Poles and the Lithuanians on the one hand and the Russians on the other, cannot help thinking that a mistake was made. Whatever the means employed, it is pretty certain that the most learned prelates of the Eastern church acquiesced in the decision, and if it be deemed a misfortune for Europe that the Turks should have supplanted the Greeks at Byzantium, we cannot help feeling that a patent cause was the disunion of Christendom. The chief effect of the council of Florence in Russia was to create a bitter feeling of hatred there against the church of the Latins.

In 1441 the strife between Vasili and his cousin Shemiaka again broke out, and the latter even made a momentary attempt upon Moscow, but his time had not yet arrived, and afraid of the power of the Grand Prince, he seems to have again withdrawn to his appanage.*

On another side Vasili had a contest with Casimir, the King of Lithuania, whose enemy Yuri, the son of Lugveni, had found shelter at Moscow. This led to a declaration of war in 1444, during the winter of which year Vasili sent two Tartar princes in his service against Briansk and Viazma. This force ravaged the country as far as Smolensk. The raid was revenged by the Lithuanians, who with 7,000 men plundered the environs of Kozelsk, Kaluga, Moyaisk, and Vereia, and defeated the Russian force sent against them. They afterwards withdrew.†

Let us now revert again to the Golden Horde. The Khan at Serai at this time was Kuchuk Muhammed, or the Little Muhammed, who is proved by the best of all authorities, namely, his coins, by Khuandemir, by the authority followed by Langles, and the Rodos. Kniga,‡ to have been the son of Timur Khan, the former ruler of the Kipchak. The details of the overthrow of Ulugh Muhammed are given by a very interesting contemporary author, the merchant traveller, Josafa Barbaro, who lived so long in Southern Russia, and whose work has recently been edited for the Hackluyt Society by Lord Stanley of Alderley. He tells us that in the year 1438, when Ulugh Muhammed ruled in the champaigns of Tartary, Nurus, the son of Idiku, who was one of his chief captains, having quarrelled with him, went with a number of his people to the Itil (*i.e.*, the Volga), to his rival Kuchuk Muhammed. Having united their forces they marched by way of Astrakhan, which he calls Citerchan, and then by the steppes of the Tumen and the Don towards the sea of Azof, which, like the Don, was frozen over. The army had in its march to occupy a considerable distance, so that those who went before should not consume the forage of those who were to follow. So great was the line that when the advance guard was at Palastra (?) its rear guard was at Bosagaz,§ on the Don, the two places being 120 miles apart. The news

* Karamzin, v. 356. † *Id.*, 366, 367. ‡ Golden Horde, 389. Note, 1.

§ This Jehosaphat Barbaro explains as the grey wood, but Von Hammer as the ice wood. (Barbaro's Travels, Hackluyt Society, 1873, p. 9. Golden Horde, 389.)

of their march had reached Tana or Azof four months before, during which time scouts, in parties of three and four, and leading spare horses, had appeared there. Some of them were taken before the consul, who interrogated them, but could only learn that they were travelling for pastime. They stayed only an hour or two, but their numbers kept increasing, and when the army was five or six days' journey off they came in twenty-fives and fifties. At length Kuchuk Muhammed arrived himself, and was lodged in a mosque an arrow-shot from Tana. The consul sent him and his mother and Nurus each a present of novena (*i.e.*, a present of nine things, as bread, wine, honey, &c.),* and Barbaro himself headed the deputation, and commended the town and its inhabitants to his favour. He found him reclining in the mosque with his head towards Nurus, and he tells us he was twenty-two years old and Nurus twenty-five. He received them well, jocularly remarking "what a town is this, where three men have but three eyes among them." This he said because Buran Taia-Pietra, their Turkoman attendant, Zuan Greco, the consul's servant, and he that carried the hydromel had each lost an eye.†

Barbaro tells us that the scouts who preceded the army each carried a bottle made of goat's skin, and containing a paste made of millet and honey and a wooden bowl, so that when they failed to kill any game they mixed some of the paste with water and drank it. They also ate different herbs and roots. A necessity of their diet was salt, without which he says their mouths swelled and festered.

On the march the Khan went first, then herds of horses, sixty, one hundred, or two hundred together, then camels and oxen, and lastly, small beasts—a procession six days' journey long—and this was only the advanced division. "We stood on the walls," says Barbaro "(for we kept the gates shut), and in the evening we were weary of looking, for the multitude of these people and beasts was such that the diameter of the plain which they occupied seemed a Paganea of 120 miles."‡ At Bosagaj, on the Don, where Barbaro had a fishing place, the fishermen told him that after fishing all winter they had salted a great quantity of moroni and caviare, but the invading Tartars had carried off all their fish, both fresh and salt, and also their salt, nor did they even leave the barrels, but broke them up, perchance, he says, to use the staves to trim their carts with, and broke three small mills which were there to grind salt, merely to get the little iron in them.§ They even found a cache of thirty barrels of caviare which had been buried by one Zuan de Valle, who burnt wood over the spot to hide it. The people, he says, were accompanied by innumerable carts with two wheels, "higher than ours," partly covered with cloth and partly with felt, and closed with mats (*i.e.*, arabas). Some of these carts carried their yurts.

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* Barbaro, 10. Golden Horde, 389. † Barbaro, 10, 11. ‡ *Id.*, 12. § Op. cit., 13.

After Kuchuk Muhammed had passed on two days he was followed by his brother-in-law Edelmugh (*i.e.*, Aadil Mulk), who was entertained by Barbaro in his own house at Tana for two days, and who entreated him to accompany him. This he agreed to do, and he went accompanied by two Tartars from the town. His host, he says, was so drunk that the blood ran from his nose, and when he would have persuaded him not to drink any more, he made mouths like an ape, saying, "Let me drink; when shall I find any more of this?"*

The whole party traversed several rivers which were frozen over, the prince's course on the ice being naturally very aberrant. When they neared the camp of Kuchuk Muhammed the party were received with the Mongol hospitality usual when Royal princes were guests; flesh, milk, and bread were given without stint. They found the Khan in his tent, and we are told those who desired audience were kneeling, detached from one another, and had left their weapons a stone's cast away. "Unto some of them," says Barbaro, "the lord spake, and demanding what they would, he always made a sign to them with his hand that they should rise. Whereupon they would rise, but not approach eight paces more till they kneeled again, and so nearer and nearer till they had audience." According to Barbaro, litigation was settled in a very simple fashion. When a quarrel arose, a stranger at haphazard was chosen to decide, and he did it according to his judgment, the bystanders being witnesses Barbaro calculates that in the whole ordu, including the encampment of Ulugh Muhammed, there were 300,000 people. Barbaro tells us the more valiant among the Tartars were called Tulubagator, which signifies a valiant fool.† Barbaro says the class was held in great repute among the Tartars, and from his description they would seem to have been a kind of Berserkers. The man of peace has a quaint remark about their name. "This surname," he says, "to my seeming is very convenient for them, because I see none that deserveth the name of a valiant man but he is a fool indeed. For, I pray you, is it not folly in one man to fight against four? Is it not madness for one with a knife to dispose himself to fight against divers that have swords."‡ He then tells a story which reminds one of the feats recited in the last volume, performed by some of the soldiers of Jingis in Persia, and in our own day by the Uhlans in the French towns. Being one day, he says, in the street at Tana, some Tartars reported that in a wood, about three miles from the town, there were some hundred Circassians intent on making a raid upon the place, as was their custom. Barbaro was in a butcher's shop, he says, with a Tartar merchant, who, on hearing the news, asked how many there were of the enemy. On being told one

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* *Id.*, 14.

† Lord Stanley adds in a note that this is Tula behadur, and that Bahadury means swaggering or boasting.

‡ Op. cit., 16, 17.

hundred, he said well, we are five, and addressing Barbaro, how many horses will you make? The latter said forty. That was forty-five in all. The Circassians, said the Tartar, are not men but women; let us go and take them. They accordingly went, and attacked them unawares and killed about forty of them. The Tartar wished to pursue the remainder, and as the others did not do so he went on himself, but he did not capture any. As soon as their lord was lodged, the remaining Tartars unloaded their yurts and pitched their camp, which had broad ways between the yurts, and was very miry in winter and dusty in summer from the treading of the cattle. They then put up their ovens and roasted and boiled their flesh, and dressed it with milk, butter, and cheese, and generally they had some venison or wild flesh, especially red deer. They had many artificers with them, as clothiers, smiths, armourers, &c. They had no walls or towers about their camp, a peculiarity which received an epigrammatic explanation from one of them, who said, "He that is afraid buildeth towers," an aphorism which is not easy to gainsay, and which proves the martial habits of the people. There were also many merchants with them. The Tartars were much addicted to falconry, using large falcons which they flew at deer, &c. "Sometimes there passeth over the army a flock of geese, at which some of them shoot crooked unfeathered arrows, which in ascending hurle about breaking everything in their way, necks, legs, and wings."*

Their herds of horses were enormous, and they were very skilled in catching them and putting a collar, which they carried on a pole, over their necks. These horses were not very good, being little with great bellies and eating no provender. They were in fact similar to the Cossack horses of our own day. The chief market for them apparently was Persia. Their oxen were very big, and were exported, Barbaro tells us, by way of Poland, and also through Wallachia and Transylvania into Germany, whence they passed into Italy. This breed was apparently the origin of the famous cattle of the Campagna. They also had a great number of two-humped camels, which they sold in Persia at twenty-five ducats each, while those with one hump were smaller, and only brought ten ducats. Their sheep were also big and long legged, with long wool and fat heavy tails. These sheep are no doubt represented by the modern sheep of the Kirghiz steppes. Barbaro describes what may still be seen there, namely, how small carriages with wheels were attached to the sheep so as to support their tails. The Tartars, he says, practised some agriculture, sowing their seed in March, at two or three days' journey from the encampment. The rest of the story must be told in his own quaint words:—"The Emperor with the ordu doth meanwhile as a mother is wont to do with her children. For when she letteth them go to play she ever keepeth her eye on them, and so doth he never

* *Id.*, 19.

depart from these ploughmen more than four days' journey, but compasseth about them, now here now there, till the corn be ripe, and when ripe he sendeth those who sowed it or who wished to buy it, with carts, oxen, and camels." Lord Stanley tells us in a note that in Wallachia the villagers still go in their carts to a distance from their village and from any water, plough and sow the ground, and return again in the same way to gather in the harvest.*

The ground was very fertile, and returned fifty bushels of wheat and a hundred bushels of millet for one of seed. While speaking of the agriculture among the Tartars, he tells us an interesting fact in regard to Ulugh Muhammed's family, proving that he must at this time have been a very old man. He tells us that a grandson of Ulugh Muhammed, who had reigned for some years, fearing that his cousin Cormayn (?), who lived beyond the Itil (*i.e.*, the Volga), might overwhelm them, would not let a portion of his people go out for their tillage, and thus they did not sow or reap for eleven years, and had to live on flesh meat, except a scanty portion of meal and paste. He was, nevertheless, eventually driven away by his cousin. Barbaro tells us that in crossing rivers the Tartars made rafts or platforms of dry wood, under which they fastened bundles of reeds. The latter they also put under their carts and about their horses, to serve as floats; and he tells us how, when he was once on the river, he met the floating debris of such a crossing in great numbers of these reed bundles on the bank, &c. In speaking of the good side of the Tartar character, he mentions how he received a second visit from Edelmulk, Kuchuk Muhammed's brother-in-law, at Tana, who introduced his son to him and presented him with eight slaves, which he described as part of the prey he had captured in Russia. He made some presents in return, and then adds with naïve quaintness: "Some there be that departing from others, thinking never to meet again, do easily forget their amity, and so use not those courtesies they ought to use, wherein by my small experience it seemeth to me they do not well. For as the saying is, mountains shall never meet, but men may."†

Barbaro makes another digression from his story which throws some light on the curiously adventurous times in which he lived. He says that being in a vintner's cellar in the Rialto in 1455, he saw at the end of the cellar "two men tied in chains, which by their countenance he thought to be Tartars." He was told they had been slaves of the Catalans, from whom they had fled in a small boat, and had then been captured by this vintner. Having reported the matter to the Signori di Notte, he had the two prisoners brought into court and released. On taking them to his house he asked them whence they were. One of them replied he was a native of Tana, and had been the servant of one Kazadahuch, whom Barbaro says he had known well, since he was the Emperor's (*i.e.*, the

* *Id.*, 21. † Op. cit., 23.

Khan's) customs-officer over everything that went into Tana. "I asked him," he says, "what was his name. He answered Chebechzi, which signifies a bulter of meal. And when I had well beheld him, I said unto him dost thou know me? He answered no. But, as soon as I mentioned Tana and Yusuph (for so they called me there), he fell to the earth, and would have kissed my feet, saying unto me, 'Thou hast saved my life twice; now when being a slave I reckoned myself dead, and another time when Tana was on fire, thou madest a hole in the wall through which many so creatures escaped, amongst whom was I and my master both.'" Barbaro says he kept the two Tartars in his house about two months, and when the ships departed towards Tana he sent them home. "Wherefore I say," adds the good-hearted old man, "that departing one from another with opinion never to return into those parts again, no man ought to forget his amity as though they should never meet, for there may happen a thousand things that, if they chance to meet again, he that is most able shall have need of his succour that can do the least."*

Let us now revert to the Golden Horde. Barbaro, as I have said, dates the revolution by which Ulugh Muhammed was driven out in 1438. Kuchuk Muhammed was apparently acknowledged as Overkhan of the Golden Horde, with his capital at Serai. His accession did not secure immediate peace, however, for we are told how he proceeded to put to death Manshuk, the first of his princes, and others.

In 1438 we read of an attack made on Podolia by the horde of Seyid Ahmed, in which the brave Michael Busa perished.† Our notices of the Great Horde or Horde of Serai become very *jejune*. In the years 1437 and 1438 these Tartars made raids upon Riazan. In 1442 they again plundered the borders of that exposed principality. In 1445 they are found in Poland, and advanced as far as Lemberg. The last of these were doubtless the subjects of Seyid Ahmed. In 1445 the invasion of Riazan was repeated, under a commander named Mustapha. The history of this expedition is told by Karamzin.‡ He calls Mustapha the Tzarevitch of the Golden Horde (*i.e.*, probably the son of the Khan). The winter was very cold. The Tartars captured Riazan, where they made some prisoners and exacted ransoms, and then marched upon Pereislavl, where they appeared as suppliants rather than enemies. The severe weather had destroyed all their horses, and they had no means of returning home. The people of the town allowed them to enter, but the Grand Prince sent Prince Obolenski against them with a body of the Cossacks of Riazan and of Mordvins mounted on wooded pattens, called in Russian liyi (snow-shoes or snow-skates), and armed with maces, swords, and javelins. The cold prevented the Tartars using their bows, but Mustapha, who had planted his men on the banks of the Listana,

† *Id.*, 24, 25. † Golden Horde, 391. ‡ v. 367.

refused to give way, threw himself with his men on the Russian spears and was killed. No prisoners save the wounded were taken.* We are told that Mut Mursa and Usberdi, son of Nushirwan, were captured.† The vigour of the blood of Jingis was clearly not yet extinct. Some time after a fresh army marched towards Riazan and the country of the Mordvins to revenge the death of Mustapha, but was driven out. We now reach the famous crisis in Russian history when Vasili was made prisoner by the Khan of Kazan, which I have described in a later chapter.

The capture of the Grand Prince was a great stroke of fortune for his cousin and rival Shemiaka, who had retired to Uglitch, where he plotted with Boris, Prince of Tuer, Ivan of Moyaisk (whom he had persuaded that Vasili intended to resign Muscovy to the Tartars and appropriate Tuer to himself), with the boyards of the deceased Constantine Dimitrovitch, who were jealous of those of the Grand Principality, together with many boyards and others at Moscow. This proved how disliked the weak Vasili was. On the latter's return from Kazan it was determined to seize him, and this was accomplished while he and his sons were on a visit to the famous monastery of the Trinity. During the night of February the 12th, the conspirators seized the Kremlin unawares, with the wife, mother, and treasures of Vasili, as well as the houses of many boyards, which were plundered. Troops were then despatched to the monastery, the Grand Prince was captured in the church of St. Sergius, and his friends about him were arrested and pillaged. But worse was to come. On his arrival at Moscow the conspirators ordered him to be blinded. This was done in the names of Dimitri Yurivitch (*i.e.*, Shemiaka), Ivan of Moyaisk, and Boris of Tuer. "You favour the Tartars so far even as to appoint whole towns for their entertainment. You continually gorge them with the gold and money of the Christians. You weigh down your people with taxes. You caused our brother Vasili the Squinter to be blinded." The unfortunate prince and his wife were conducted to Uglitch, while their two sons were taken to Murom by a faithful prince named Ivan Riapoloviski.‡ Shemiaka signalised his victory by excesses of various kinds, but the nobles of Moscow were overawed and did him homage. He began once more to disintegrate the Muscovite dominions which had been so carefully consolidated during the previous reigns, and his conduct became so arbitrary that it gave rise to a proverb still in use, expressive of some ill-judged act, which is said to be "a judgment of Shemiaka."§ By fair promises he induced the ingenuous Jonas, bishop of Riazan to repair to Murom, and to bring the young sons of Vasili to Moscow, when he treacherously broke his word and sent them to join their father at Uglitch. But he soon began to find his position intolerable,

* Karamzin, v. 367-369. † Golden Horde, 392. ‡ Karamzin, v. 384. § *Id.*, v. 386.

and that a very general conspiracy was rising against him. He therefore determined to adopt another policy. Having gone in State to Uglitch, he summoned Vasili to his presence and behaved in a seemingly courteous way to him; he gave him his liberty and the town of Vologda as an appanage, while Vasili, with unusual and doubtless feigned humility wished his rival a happy reign over Moscow. After a few days' residence at Vologda he repaired to the monastery of St. Cyril at Bielo Ozero, where the abbot absolved him from the promise he had made to Shemiaka, and bade him return and regain his appanage. His partisans began to gather at Vologda, while he secured a useful friend in Boris of Tuer, who made peace with him on condition that Vasili's son, who was seven years old, was affianced to his daughter Mary. With this help he determined to march upon Moscow. On the way his people were joined by an army of Tartars from Kazan, who went to his assistance. The Kremlin was seized by stealth by his partisans, and this news reaching Shemiaka, together with that of the march of an army against him, he fled to Galitch, and thence to Kargopol, taking with him Vasili's mother, whom he, however, restored before long, and soon after he and the other conspirator, Ivan of Moyaisk, submitted. They agreed to restore all the provinces they had usurped, together with the treasures, crosses, the precious images, and the deeds and letters-patent of the Khan's, on condition that they were allowed to retain their appanages peaceably.

Misfortune had taught Vasili some lessons, and his second reign was marked by considerable prudence. He retained his ecclesiastical prejudices however. For eight years there had been no metropolitan in Russia. He now, in 1448, had Jonas consecrated to the office by an assembly of Muscovite bishops, including the bishops of Rostof, Suzdal, Kolomna, and Perm, those of Novgorod and Tuer assenting. Jonas did not repair, as was customary, to Constantinople for benediction, but, on the contrary, an edict was issued to the bishops of Lithuanian Russia denouncing the conduct of the Greeks at the council of Florence, and Vasili was in turn denounced by Pope Pius II. in 1458, as an impious son of the church, an apostate, &c.* This appointment formed a notable epoch in the history of the Russian church. It thenceforward became entirely independent of its mother at Byzantium, which had hitherto had the appointment of its metropolitan.† To secure the succession for his son Ivan, Vasili now had him associated with himself in the government, while the various princes who ruled in the appanages renewed their allegiance, and undertook not to ally themselves with the Tartars or Lithuanians against the Grand Prince. He rewarded Vasili of Borosk and Michael, brother of Ivan of Moyaisk, with the grant of certain towns, and also made over to them a portion of the revenues of Moscow, and

* Karamzin, v. 398-400. † *Id.*

took upon himself the payment of the tribute which they owed to the horde. These various treaties were signed by the metropolitan Jonas, who also brought about a good feeling between Muscovy and Poland, and styled himself the father both of Casimir and the Grand Prince.

Shemiaka continued to behave treacherously. He refused to return the sacred images and treasures which he had carried off, refused to pay his quota of the tribute owing to the horde, on the plea that he did not recognise the Khan Seyid Ahmed, and continued to intrigue with Novgorod, Ivan of Moyaisk, and the people of Viatka and Kazan. The bishops of the Grand Principality thereupon addressed him a famous letter, recounting his various ill-deeds, recalling the fate of his father and brother, reproaching him for not having assisted the Grand Prince when attacked by the Tartars, and with having on the contrary taken advantage of his misfortunes. They summoned him to make restitution and repent, and in default threatened him with the terrors of the church.* This letter had no effect, and two years after he took up arms and made an attack on Kostroma, where, however, he was defeated. The Grand Prince now determined to punish him effectually. He collected a large force and gave its command to Prince Obolenski. With his own people there also marched a contingent of Tartars, which advanced to Galitch in the government of Kostroma, where Shemiaka had encamped in a very favourable position. The fight was a terrible one, and was memorable as the last of the struggles between the Russian princes. Shemiaka was completely defeated, his boyards captured, and his infantry almost destroyed, while he found shelter at Novgorod. There, the citizens took up his quarrel, and allowed him to collect some forces, with which he captured Ustiugue, where those who remained faithful to the Grand Prince had stones tied round their necks and were thrown into the river Sukhoma. He afterwards made a diversion towards Vologda, but failed to capture a single town.

In 1449 the Grand Principality was again invaded by the Tartars of the Golden Horde, who attacked the neighbourhood of the Pokhra and of Bitiugue, carried off the wife of Prince Vasili Obolenski, and committed other ravages. They were defeated by Kassim, the son of Ulugh Muhammed, who was a *protegé* of the Grand Prince, and the founder of the principality of Kazimof. Others of them pillaged the district of Eletz, and even advanced as far as the province of Moscow.†

Von Hammer tells us that in 1450, under the leadership of Malberdei Ulan, the Tartars once more advanced against the Grand Prince, who was then at Kolomna. He sent his faithful vassal Kassim against them, and they were defeated on the river Batiutza, and one of their chiefs named Romodan was killed. They then entered Podolia, and wasted the borders of Gorodek and Belz, and nearly captured Vladislas of Madof,

* Karamzin, v. 403-406. † *Id.*, 410, 411.

Prince of Belz, who was out hunting. They returned home with a great booty.*

In 1451 we hear of an invasion on a larger scale. This was commanded by Masofsha, the son of Seyid Ahmed, and its declared object was to insist on the Grand Prince paying a tribute. The Prince of Zuenigorod was ordered to guard the passage of the Oka, but he deserted his post. The Grand Prince himself, who was not a heroic person, withdrew to the Volga to collect the contingents of the various towns, while Moscow was confided to the care of his mother Sophia, his son Yuri, the boyards, and the metropolitan Jonas.

The Tartars reached Moscow on the 2nd of July, set fire to the suburbs, and were defeated by the Russians in a sortie. They were afterwards seized with unaccountable panic and withdrew in the night, leaving behind them carts filled with iron and copper vessels, and arms and merchandise strewn about.

The Grand Prince, freed from this danger, now determined to suppress his old enemy Shemiaka, the Prince of Ustiugue, who on the approach of the Muscovites fled to the Dwina, and eventually sought refuge at Novgorod, where he was poisoned. This was in 1453. The turbulent prince, whose end was probably dictated by Vasili himself, was buried in the monastery of Yurief.†

In 1452 the Tartars of Seyid Ahmed made another raid upon Podolia. They captured the fortress of Rosof and carried off the noble Stogney Rey of the house of Oksha, with his wife and children, together with the landgraf Mrozko and others.‡

Casimir of Poland collected an army to punish this invasion, but while his nobles were assembling at Siradien the Tartars made another attack upon the district of Lemberg, which they apparently repeated five times. They were incited to these attacks by the nobles of Lithuania, who doubtless resented being in a subordinate position to the Poles, and who had sent Radzivil Hostikovitch as their envoy with presents to Seyid Ahmed. The Poles found a friend in Haji Girai, the Khan of Krim, who marched against and defeated the Nogai subjects of Seyid Ahmed; but this was only a temporary relief, for in the year 1453 we find the Tartars making two new raids into "the land of plains." One of their armies marched by way of Lichtmess, Lusy, and Olyeshko, and carried off 9,000 young men and maidens as prisoners. The other army was divided into two sections. One of them was defeated on the 1st of April, 1453, between Ostrog and Zinkowiecz, on the river Skucz, by Yorio Lasez, Johannes Niemiecz, and Maczieiek, and forced to surrender their booty. A similar fate overtook another body of them who were nearly overwhelmed by the citizens of Breczlaf.§

In 1455 Seyid Ahmed was again attacked by Haji Girai, and so

* Golden Horde, 395. † Karamzin, v. 414, 415. ‡ Golden Horde, 395. § *Id.*, 396.

badly beaten that he fled with his nine sons and other princes to Kief. Andrew Odrowasz, the palatine and captain of Lemberg, marched against him at the bidding of Casimir, and made him prisoner. Thereupon the people of Kief fell on such of the Tartars as they could lay hands upon and killed them. Seyid Ahmed was shortly after sent to Kovno, where he died miserably.* The same year that he was made prisoner the Tartars of his horde crossed the Oka and defeated Prince Simon Babitch. They were driven back, however, by a Russian army under Theodore Basenok Vasilivitch, the voivode of Moscow.

Two years later, namely, in September, 1457, they once more entered Podolia. Bartholomæus Buczacski, whose prowess had already been tested in struggles with the Tartars, was at Potilicz with Johannes Lascz, the sub-chamberlain of Podolia, when news arrived of the Tartar attack. Having surprised the outposts of the enemy, they ventured to attack the main body, which was strongly posted. They were defeated and both killed, and the Tartars returned home in triumph.†

In 1459 the Tartars of Seyid Ahmed again crossed the Oka, and advanced as far as Kolomna, whence they were driven back by Ivan, the son of the Grand Prince. A church was built by the metropolitan Ivan in commemoration of this victory.‡

The year of Kuchuk Muhammed's death is nowhere recorded, so far as I know. All we can say is, that it happened before the year 1460, when the Great Horde was ruled by his son Ahmed.

On his coins, which were struck at Serai, Astrakhan, Ordubazar, and Bulghari, Kuchuk Muhammed styles himself the Just Sultan Muhammed Khan, the Supreme Sultan Muhammed Khan, and Muhammed, the son of Timur Sultan, the Supreme Khan.§

MAHMUD KHAN.

Kuchuk Muhammed left four sons, Mahmud Khan, Ahmed Khan, Yakub Sultan, and Bakhtiar Sultan.‖ Of Mahmud Khan we have no mention in the Russian annals, and he probably reigned only a short time. Coins struck by him at Astrakhan and Ordubazar, but without dates, are extant. On some of these he styles himself Mahmud Khan, the son of Muhammed Khan, the son of Timur Khan.¶

AHMED KHAN.

Mahmud Khan was succeeded by his brother Ahmed Khan, who was a more important figure in history. M. Soret mentions a coin struck by him on which he styles himself the Supreme Sultan Ahmed Khan.**

* *Id.*, 397. † *Id.*, 398. ‡ *Id.* § Fræhn, Res., 386-392. ‖ Vel. Zern., i. 38, 39. ¶ Fræhn, Res., 393, 394. ** Lettre a M. le Cap. Ross., &c., 32.

He first occurs, as far as I can discover, about the year 1460, when, according to Karamzin, Ahmed, son of Kuchuk Muhammed and Khan of the Great Horde, besieged Pereislavl of Riazan, but was obliged to retire with loss. He accused his principal commander Kazat Ulan of being a secret partisan of the Russians.* We must now again take up the thread of Russian history.

The death of Shemiaka removed the great rival who had so persistently opposed Vasili, and he now began to consolidate his power. Ivan of Moyaisk, who had refused to march with him against the Tartars, was driven into Lithuania and his appanage annexed.† The proud and independent merchants of Novgorod were his next victims. They had given shelter to his enemies, refused to acknowledge the decrees of his council, and appropriated his revenues. He marched against them in the winter, and captured Russa, one of their richest entrepôts, with a large booty. A body of 5,000 Novgorodian cavalry, who went to the rescue under the Prince of Suzdal, was dispersed, and Tucha, the first possadnik of Novgorod, was captured. Terror now reigned at the city of merchants, where a majority declared themselves for diplomacy rather than war, and the archbishop Euphemius and other notables were sent with an open commission to settle terms. These were granted. A fine of 8,500 roubles was to be paid. All decrees of the national council tending to limit the authority of the Grand Prince were annulled, and the citizens undertook not to give asylum to his enemies. The treaty was signed by the Novgorodians and Pskofians, who had assisted them. Thus did Vasili pave the way for his sons and grandsons.‡ Ivan, Prince of Riazan, dying at this time, left his children under the care of Vasili, who removed them to Moscow and sent his deputies to rule the principality. He then turned upon Vasili of Borosk, who had been so loyal and faithful to him in his misfortunes, and under the pretext that he was ambitious of displacing him, he had him conveyed to Uglitch under arrest. Ivan, the son of the Prince of Borosk, fled to Lithuania, where he shortly afterwards died. This appropriation was shortly afterwards followed by that of the throne of Suzdal, whence the grandsons of Kirdiapa were constrained to fly; and in 1458-9 the republic of Viatka, a vigorous daughter of Novgorod, which had persistently defied the Muscovite princes, was compelled to pay tribute and to place its forces at the disposal of Vasili. Successful on all sides, he did not venture, however, to interfere with Tuer, whose princes had been so powerful in the last generation, and we are told that when its prince, Boris Alexandrovitch, died in 1461, he was succeeded by his son Michael.§ This death was followed by that of Vasili himself. He apparently suffered from phthisis, and had recourse to an extraordinary remedy then in vogue, namely, to put German tinder

* Karamzin, v. 427. Golden Horde, 399. † Karamzin, v. 415. ‡ *Id.*, 419.
§ *Id.*, 425.

on different parts of his naked body and to set fire to it. This terrible remedy only produced ulcers which gangrened, and he at length died on the 17th of March, 1462. By his will he created a number of appanages for his younger sons, thus undoing much of what he had previously done. Ivan succeeded to the throne of the Grand Principality and one-third of the revenues of Moscow; his second son Yuri was given the towns of Dimitrof, Moyaisk, Serpukof, and the domains belonging to his mother Sophia, who had died in 1453; his third son Andrew received Uglitch, Verkh-Beyetsky, and Zuenigorod; Boris, his fourth son, Volok-Lamski, Kief, and Russa; a second Andrew, his youngest son, Vologda, Kubena, and Zavzeria. To their mother he left the little town of Romanof, his treasures, all the domains which had belonged to the Grand Princesses, as well as those he had bought or confiscated for treason.*

Vasili was a weak and vain tyrant. His reign was disgraced by many cruel acts, and, according to Karamzin, by the introduction of the knout as a punishment even for grandees. It was borrowed, he says, from the Mongols.† The period was marked, as usual in times of misfortune in the Russian annals, with apparitions and natural phenomena—bloody rain, showers of wheat, weeping images, &c., are among the marvels named. The ancient ingots or roubles were abolished by him. The same period was remarkable for the foundation of the famous monastery of Solofsky on the White Sea, and for the first intercourse the Russians had with the Voguls, a tribe of Ugrian origin living in the Middle Urals. It was remarkable, too, for another event which deeply touched Russian sympathies, and this was the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, which took place, as is well known, in 1453. As Karamzin says, Constantinople was a second homeland to the Russians. Thence they had received their religion and their culture, and people at Moscow spoke of it as Europeans in the time of Louis XIV. did of Paris. The contemporary Russian annalists write in gloomy terms of the catastrophe, but they speak with some impartiality also. Listen to their phrases as quoted by Karamzin. "Without the fear of the law an empire is like a steed without reins. Constantine and his ancestors have allowed their grandees to oppress the people. . . . the judges have amassed treasures from the tears and blood of the innocent. Greek soldiers were proud only of the magnificence of their dress, the citizens did not blush at being traitors. The soldiers were not ashamed to fly. The Lord has consequently raised and supported Muhammed, whose warriors delight in combat, and whose judges do not betray their trust. There remains not an orthodox empire save that of the Russians. See how the prophecies of Saint Methodius and Saint Leo the Sage have been fulfilled, that sometime the children of Ishmael should conquer Byzantium. It may be that we shall also see accomplished another prophecy, by which the

* *Id.*, 427, 428. † *Id.*, 430.

Russians shall triumph over the children of Ishmael and reign over the seven hills of Constantinople."* Little did the Russians know of the fierce future that this conquest was to bring for them, and less of the terrible gadfly which the Tartars of Krim, who now began to form a separate kingdom of their own, would also prove. The succession of Ivan III. to the throne of Muscovy forms a notable epoch in its history, and we may imitate Karamzin in giving a short resumé of the then condition of Russia.

Its long subjection to the Tartars had had a natural result in breaking down the spirit of independence of its people, and in introducing those habits of chicanery and diplomacy which are generally the inheritance of slaves. It was well for the Russians, however, that their oppressors did not parcel out the land and settle there, as they did in China, and as the Turks did in Europe, but contented themselves with ruling it from a distance, and merely exacted taxes and black mail by means of their agents, or it may well have been that Russia would still be groaning under their rule. I have already mentioned how effective the Mongol suzerainty was in inducing the growth of extremely autocratic institutions within the Grand Principality, where the bell summoning the vetché or popular assembly was now no longer heard, as it once had been in the more ancient Russian cities. Moscow, Tuer, &c., the more modern ones, had not known the privilege, and only one such summons is mentioned in the former town, when it was at once threatened by the Tartars and abandoned by its prince. The towns had also lost the privilege of electing their military chiefs. The boyards or old grandees, who filled the various administrative posts in the Russian polity, whose office was a personal rather than an hereditary one, but who had the singular privilege of changing their allegiance with their retainers from one prince to another, formed the only aristocracy of Russia, and were really the heads of its principal families. They had now sunk greatly from their former importance, the subjugation of the southern provinces by the Lithuanians and of the appanages by the Grand Princes left them practically at the mercy of the great autocrat who filled the throne of Moscow, and whose hand the Russian annalists are fond of arguing it was necessary to strengthen by the elimination of democratic institutions, in order that when a blow was struck for freedom it should be a strike-down blow, and not be distracted by internal dissensions. We can sympathise better with the welding together of the various broken fragments of the land under one hand, and the consequent sweeping away of local laws, coins, institutions, and armies, which led to the Grand Prince becoming something more than receiver-general of Tartar taxes and the commander-in-chief of the general levy. This consolidation we may well believe could never have been effected but for

* *Id.*, 437.

the external pressure of the Tartars and the relative importance which the deputed authority of their Khans gave to the great autocrat.

Ivan III. was only twenty-two when he succeeded to the throne. One of his first acts was to send back Vasili, the young Prince of Riazan, who had married his sister Anne, to his principality. He then entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with his brother-in-law Michael, Prince of Tuer, the brother of his wife Mary.* Three years after his accession we find him at war with Ahmed, the Khan of the Golden Horde. It would seem that he had not only neglected to get an investiture of his kingdom from the Tartars, but had also failed to pay them the accustomed tribute. Ahmed had collected his people for an attack upon Muscovy, but meanwhile he quarrelled with Haji Girai, the Khan of Krim, and a struggle ensued between them on the banks of the Don.† This was the beginning of a long feud, which was itself the afterflow of the struggle between Urus Khan and Toktamish, and which was very opportune for Muscovite interests. In Muscovy the early years of Ivan were marked by various calamities, by famine and a pestilence known as "Glandes," which destroyed a vast number of people, 48,400 dying at Novgorod alone. It was now nearing the seven thousandth anniversary of the Creation, and a popular delusion was spread abroad that the end of the world was at hand. Many people became monks, and the metropolitan Theodosius resigned his office and went to live in a hut with a leper. Philip, bishop of Suzdal, was elected in his place.‡ To restore confidence to his people, Ivan determined upon a war with his neighbours the Tartars of Kazan, which will be described in a future chapter, and which ended favourably for the Muscovites. It took place in 1469. The same year we read that a great army of Tartars, led by a prince named Maniak, made an irruption into Poland. It divided into three streams. One marched by way of Vladimir Kremenetz, Kuzmin, Czudov, and Zathomir, and carried off 10,000 prisoners. Another went by way of Trabovlya, and retired again with its prey on learning of the approach of the Polish army. The third division, which invaded Moldavia, was twice defeated, and the son of Maniak was captured. Maniak sent one hundred of his people to demand the return of his son. Ninety-nine of them were slaughtered, and the remaining one was sent back with his nose cut off.§

Casimir, the Polish king, was in close alliance with the Tartars of Krim, and it is probable that these invaders were Nogais, and Maniak a son of Seyid Ahmed. We now find him intriguing against Muscovy. The people of Novgorod, it would seem, were impatient to recover the liberties they had surrendered to Vasili, and began to act very independently. Ivan sent to warn them, in generous but firm language, of the consequences of their acts, and his words seemed to have produced

* Karamzin, vi. 5. † *Id.*, 8. ‡ *Id.*, 9-12. § Golden Horde, 403.

their proper effect when there broke out at Novgorod a very strange sedition. Marfa, the widow of the possadnik Isaac Boretski, an ambitious woman with great wealth and influence, conceived the project of freeing Novgorod from the domination of the Grand Prince, and of placing it under the patronage of Casimir of Poland, who she probably expected would make her son his deputy. She was opposed by the higher clergy and notables, who did not wish to become *protegés* of an heretical Latin prince, nor to change the allegiance which Novgorod had faithfully owned since the days of Ruric; but their influence was overborne by the crowd, and eventually an embassy was sent to Casimir to offer him the title of chief of Novgorod. This he accepted, and a strange treaty was drawn up between the Polish king and the authorities of the town, by which he was to have a deputy of the Greek religion, who was to live at Goroditche, and was not to have a retinue of more than fifty men. He was to sit conjointly with the possadnik of the town, but was to have no voice in the affairs of the tissiatski, the archbishopric, or the monasteries; besides this lieutenant, he was to be represented by an intendent and a judge. Casimir undertook to aid them against the Muscovites. The towns of Kief, Veliki-Luki, and Kholm were to remain subject to Novgorod, but to pay tribute to Casimir. The Lithuanians and Novgorodians residing in each others land were to be judged by the *lex loci.* The dues from ten salt pits at Russa were assigned to Casimir for a revenue. While he undertook not to buy their slaves and their villages, they promised that his dues should be regularly paid; his deputies were not to make any exactions upon them, and their domains were to be managed by their own magistrates. He was to have a joint judge with theirs at Veliki-Luki, Torjek, and Volok. The Lithuanians were not to trade directly with the Germans, but through themselves. The German quarter at Novgorod was to be outside Casimir's jurisdiction. They were to be permitted to have their metropolitan consecrated at Moscow or at Kief, as they wished, he was not to build any church of the Latin rite within their borders, and in case he should succeed in appeasing the Muscovites, they promised to make a general levy to repay him.*

But the Muscovites were not likely to be appeased. Once more the Grand Prince sent his envoys to recall the recalcitrant citizens, and as they were obdurate, war was determined upon. The people of Tuer and Pskof undertook to assist the Grand Prince. The citizens of Ustiuge and Viatka were ordered to repair to the Dwina with their contingents. Prince Daniel Kholmski marched upon Russa, and Prince Vasili Obolenski Striga, with the Tartar cavalry, to the Amsta. This was, only the advanced guard, the main body followed. A terrible vengeance was exacted from the wretched people. Vuichegorod was captured, and Russa was burnt. Marfa meanwhile, with the usual

* Karamzin, vi. 35-38.

pertinacity of martial women, inspired vigour into the councils of her people. Even the poorest labourers were drawn into the ranks of the regiments or made to man the war boats. A momentary success of the Novgorod infantry was followed by a disastrous defeat, in which 500 men perished, and the captives had their noses and lips cut off—a barbarous custom, probably learnt from the Mongols—while their captured cuirasses and helmets were flung into the stream contemptuously by the troops of the Grand Prince, who declared they needed not the arms of traitors. Presently a more important battle was fought on the river Chélone, in which the Muscovites were greatly outnumbered, but were superior in discipline and skill to the armed mob opposed to them. The Novgorodians were completely defeated, and their chronicler assigns an ambuscade laid by the Tartar cavalry as the cause; 12,000 men perished, and 1,700 were made prisoners, among them some of the principal rebels. The draft treaty of peace already mentioned was also captured. The victorious Muscovites proceeded to ravage the country as far as the Narova and the frontiers of Livonia. The Grand Prince repaired to Russa, where some of the ringleaders were beheaded or imprisoned, while others were freely sent home. Meanwhile the division of the Muscovite army which had marched to the Dwina gained a victory there over the combined troops of the Dwina and the Petchora, colonists and faithful subjects of Great Novgorod. Nor did the Polish king send any succour. The envoy in fact who had been sent to apprise him had not been allowed to cross the Livonian territory, and had had to return. Want began to be felt within the city, and the more martial spirits, who were determined to prosecute the war, were met by the dangerous cries of bread and peace.* The archbishop Theophilus and the principal notables of the town were sent to the Muscovite camp at the mouth of the Chélone to entreat for the citizens. They prostrated themselves humbly, and when Ivan ordered his secretary to read out a list of the various grievances which the Grand Princes had suffered at their hands, they replied that they had not gone to justify anything but to ask for pardon. Pardon was granted them, but they undertook to pay a fine of 15,500 roubles or 80 pounds of silver, to restore the domains they had appropriated, to duly pay the annual taxes to himself, and the ecclesiastical dues to the metropolitan, to have their archbishops consecrated at Moscow, and promised to renounce all connection with Casimir and the other enemies of Moscow, that they would abolish the acts of the vetché or national assembly, recognise him as supreme judge, and issue no judicial acts not previously confirmed by himself. He on his part gave up to them again Torjek and his recent conquests on the Dwina, and swore not to violate their rights. Marfa was, as if in disdain, not even mentioned in the treaty, and the Grand Prince returned home in triumph, while the rash merchants of Novgorod

* *Id.*, 50-54.

had to deplore at leisure the terrible ravage of their country, which became for a time the prey of roving bands of robbers.*

Although Casimir did not render any direct aid to his *proteges* the people of Novgorod, it was not through any good will he felt for the Muscovite power, and we now find him intriguing and causing it trouble in another direction. Vasili Dimitrovitch, ancestor of the Grand Prince Ivan, had bought in Lithuania a Tartar named Misur, who had been captured by Vitut. A grandson of this Misur, named Kiree (? Girai), deserted the Muscovite service and sought refuge in Poland, where he gained the ear of Casimir, and was sent by him to the Golden Horde to incite Ahmed against the Russians, urging that the ambition of the Grand Prince was to break off his allegiance and to cease paying tribute. His persuasion was supported by that of Timur, the first grandee at Ahmed's court, but the Khan had to exercise considerable caution, for the power of the horde was fast decaying, and this very year we find that the people of Viatka took boat on the Volga, and hearing that Ahmed was encamped some fifty versts away from Serai, they made a descent upon it and carried off a large booty, running the gauntlet of a number of Tartar boats, which would have cut off their retreat.†

Ahmed at length sent Girai back with a promise that he would at once attack the Muscovites; and a few months later, leaving, says the chronicler, the old, the rich, and the children in charge of his wife, he approached Alexin on the Oka.‡ He also put under arrest a messenger whom the Grand Prince had sent to him. The latter, on hearing of this invasion, ordered the boyard Feodor, with the troops of Kolomna, to the Oka, and presently sent a larger contingent under Daniel Kholmski, Obolenski Striga, and his brother, with a contingent under the friendly Tartar chief Daniar, altogether a force of 140,000 men. Nevertheless, so great was still the fame of the Tartars, that considerable fear reigned at Moscow, and the Grand Prince's mother retired to Rostof. The Tartars succeeded in burning Alexin, which was an unfortified town, and its inhabitants were either burnt or made prisoners. They then fell upon a detachment of Muscovites on the other side of the Oka, but on the appearance of reinforcements retired. We are told how the Russians marshalled their men on one side of the river, and how the Tartars, having seen from the other bank their strength and equipment, retired, and when darkness came on fled precipitately, carrying away with them the Russian envoy Kilitshei Volnin. Their retreat was so rapid, that they regained their camp in six days, while their advance had occupied six weeks.§ This attack took place in the year 1471, and one account assigns the breaking out of a contagious disease as the cause of the retreat. This same year Prokhor was installed as bishop of Serai.‖

* *Id.*, 58. † Karamzin, vi. 63. ‡ Vel. *Zern.*, 1. Note, 36.
§ Karamzin, vi. 65. Vel. *Zern.*, 1. Note, 36. ‖ Golden Horde, 404.

About the time of this invasion we find the borders of Muscovy enlarged towards the north-east by the conquest of Permia, whose towns were the seat of a great trade in furs, and were peopled largely by colonists from Novgorod. They were successively occupied, and their prince, Michael, was made prisoner. His son was allowed to return and to reign for a while as a *protegé* of the Grand Prince.*

In 1472 Ivan III. married Sophia, the niece of Constantine Palæologos, the last Emperor of Constantinople. This wedding was arranged at the instance of the pope, who wished to complete the work of the Council of Florence. It was also very grateful to Ivan, who spoke of his bride as a branch of an Imperial tree whose shadow had once covered all orthodox and brother Christians.† He probably also deemed that by this graft his own descendants would some day have claims upon the mistress of the Bosphorus.

It is very curious to read of the graceful compliments that passed between the pope and the ambassadors of Ivan, and to read further that the solemn betrothal of Sophia took place in the Basilica of Saint Peter at Rome. The pope gave her a dowry, and sent a legate and other ecclesiastics with her, and she made a stately progress across Europe, and was met at Dorpat by a Russian escort.‡ She was received with great honour at Pskof and Novgorod, and was eventually married at Moscow. The legate and his companions tried in vain to induce the Russian authorities to submit to the decision of the council of Florence and then returned home. Karamzin remarks that this famous marriage broke the seclusion which had hitherto surrounded Muscovy. Till then an unknown land in the west, it now began to form a unit of the European body-politic. While the destruction of Constantinople drove many Greeks and other useful emigrants to Italy, another stream went to Russia, and initiated a kind of renaissance there. The services of the church acquired the pompous surroundings they wore at Constantinople, while many books, &c., found their way to the Russian libraries. Ivan also adopted the arms of the Greek Emperors, the double-headed eagle, and his seal bore on one side an eagle and on the other a horseman trampling on a dragon, with the inscription, "The Grand Prince, by the grace of God, Sovereign of all Russia."§

We now find the Venetians asking Ivan to incite the Khan of the Golden Horde to attack and harass the Turks. On the other hand Ivan, who was desirous of embellishing his capital, sent to Venice for an able architect. Fioravanti Aristotle, who had built a fine palace at Venice, accordingly went to Russia, and there designed and built the famous Church of the Assumption within the Kremlin, which was consecrated on the 12th of August, 1479, and which still survives; other Italians were employed upon other large buildings. *Inter alia* there was built the

* Karamzin, vi. 59-61. † *Id.*, 72. ‡ *Id.*, 77. § *Id.*, 86.

Granovitaia Palata or Granite Palace, which also survives, and which was meant for State ceremonials. The residences of the Grand Princes had hitherto been of wood only, the constant victims of merciless Russian fires. Ivan had a brick palace built by the Greek Alevizo, which is still known as the Palace of the Belvedere, and his example was followed by the greater grandees. He also built the massive walls and bastions of the Kremlin as they now remain. Cannon founders were introduced, while Italians improved the character and style of his coinage, on some specimens of which the name of the architect Aristotle occurs.

When we read of the rising empire of Muscovy stretching itself in various directions, making such dignified alliances, and otherwise showing signs of great vigour and rejuvenescence, we are apt to forget that the Grand Princes were still the vassals of the Tartars, and Muscovy only a dependence of the Khanate of the Golden Horde; but this period of subserviance was drawing to a close. We are told that Sophia continually taunted her husband with his position, and asked how long she was to remain a slave of the Tartars. There was a house within the Kremlin where the ambassadors and other functionaries of the horde resided, and where the Tartar merchants congregated. As they acted as spies upon the Russians, Sophia determined to rid herself of them, and craftily wrote a letter to the wife of the Khan Ahmed, accompanied by presents, in which she said that in consequence of a dream, she had determined to build a church on the site of this house (the place where the church of Saint Nicholas Gostunsky now stands). She asked that it might be made over to her, and offered to replace it with another. The Tartars consented, the house was demolished, but thenceforward no resting place was found for the strangers within the Kremlin. It is said she also persuaded Ivan that in future he must not march out to meet the Tartar ambassadors. Formerly when these functionaries arrived bearing with them the Basma or portrait of the Khan, it was the custom of the Grand Princes to go out and meet them, and then to prostrate themselves, offering a cupfull of kumis and spreading a sable skin under the feet of the person who read the Khan's letter, which was listened to kneeling. During the reign of Ivan a church was built on the spot where this ceremony generally took place. It was dedicated to the Saviour, and still survives.* Herberstein says that latterly Ivan, on the approach of the ambassadors, used to feign sickness.† He, however, continued to pay tribute, which in the official acts of the time is called the tax of the horde. We find Nicephorus Bassenkof mentioned as an envoy from Ivan to the Khan, are further told that Karachuk went in the same capacity from Serai, accompanied by 600 servants and 3,200 merchants, escorting 40,000 Asiatic horses for sale in Russia.‡ I have mentioned that the Venetians tried to persuade Ahmed to declare war

* Karamzin, vi. 111. † *Id.*, 6. Note, 8. ‡ *Id.*, 112.

against the Turks. Their envoy for this purpose was Trevisani, who visited Serai. About this time that Khan had a struggle with Mengli Girai, the Khan of Krim, whom he drove out. Proud of this performance, he sent Bochuk to demand that Ivan should repair to the horde to do homage. The Grand Prince received the envoy courteously and sent back presents with him, but he refused to go.*

Many severe things have been said about the peculiar policy adopted by Ivan. It was certainly not heroic, and when he gained his ends it was more by craft and chicane than by open fighting. People forget that such characters are absolutely necessary in certain stages of national progress. What would France have been but for Louis XI., or England but for Henry VII.? and the position of Russia was far more difficult. With many more external enemies and a long inheritance of disintegration within; Charles XII. of Sweden and such as he, would simply have buried the empire under glorious ruins, while Ivan's persistent Macchiavelianism welded together a splendid inheritance.

At this time Contarini, the Venetian envoy, passed through Russia on his journey to and from Persia. He tells us how on his return home, in April, 1476, he sailed with one Marco, a Russian envoy, from Derbend on the Caspian to the mouth of the Volga, and thence to Citracan (*i.e.*, Astrakhan), which he says was seventy-five miles from the river's mouth. Some of the merchants who accompanied him were taking rice, silk, and fustians for the Russian market, and there were some Tartars going to get furs for sale at Derbend. Between Citracan and the coast, he says, there was a large salt lake, yielding salt of excellent quality, from which Russia was principally supplied, and which would suffice for a great part of the world. Marco, he says, was allowed to land as he had friends in the town, but he himself was prohibited doing so. He, however, went ashore and lodged in the same house with his friend. "In the morning," he says, "came three ill-favoured Tartars, who told Marco that he was welcome as he was a friend of their lord, but that for me I had become his slave as the Franks were their enemies." Marco at length arranged that he should pay their lord a sum of 2,000 alermi (?) by way of ransom. "This sum did not include," he says, "what was extorted by others. As I had not a soldo, the money was advanced on very usurious terms by Russian and Tartar merchants who were going to Muscovy, on security given by Marco. Although our difficulty with the lord might be said to have been overcome by this arrangement, the dog of a Comerchier used to come to our house when Marco was not at home, and, after knocking down my door, would threaten in his cursed voice to have me impaled, saying that I had jewels in quantities. I was therefore obliged to appease him as best I could. Many and many a time, also, Tartars drunk with a beverage they make with apples, used to come and shout

* *Id.*, 112.

that they would have the Franks, who had not the hearts of men. We were terrified into purchasing their silence also." The travellers remained at Astrakhan from the 1st of May to the 16th of August, 1476. He goes on to say that the town belonged to three sons of a brother of the present Emperor of these Tartars, who inhabited the plains of Circassia and the country lying in the direction of Tana. In the heat of summer they (*i.e.*, the Great Horde) went towards the confines of Russia in search of fresh pasturage. These three brothers remained in Astrakhan a few months in the winter, but in the summer did like the rest. The latter were, he says, the nephews of the Khan of the Great Horde. He tells us one of them, and apparently the chief one, was named Kasim, and he was then at strife with his uncle (*i.e.*, with Ahmed). This is confirmed by Karamzin, who says that Ahmed was for a long time at strife with his nephew named Kassyda.* Kassyda is obviously the same person as the Kasim of Contarini. The other two princes I shall revert to further on. Contarini says their father had been Khan of the horde, which makes it clear that they were the sons of Mahmud Khan. He thus describes his journey to Moscow. "On the 10th of August, 1476, the feast of St. Lawrence, as we have said, we left Citracan, as I shall hereafter relate. The lord of Citracan, named Kasim Khan, sends an ambassador to Russia every year to the Duke of Muscovy (more for the sake of obtaining presents than anything else), who is accompanied by a great many Tartar merchants, who form a caravan, and take with them silk manufactured in Gesdi, and fustian stuffs to exchange for furs, saddles, swords, bridles, and other things which they require. And as the country between Citracan and Muscovy is a continual desert, everyone is obliged to carry provisions. The Tartars, however, care little to do so, as they always drive a great number of horses with them, some of which they kill every day for food. They live, indeed, continually on meat and milk without other food, no one being even acquainted with bread unless it be some merchant who has visited Russia. We, however, were obliged to provide ourselves as well as we could. We took a little rice, with which a mixture is made with milk dried in the sun, and called thur, which becomes very hard, tastes rather sour, and is said to be very nourishing. We had also onions and garlick, besides which I obtained with much trouble a quart of biscuits made of very good wheaten flour, and a salted sheep's tail."†

The route of the travellers lay between two tributaries of the Volga, but as Kasim Khan was at war with his uncle, pretending that he was the true Emperor, his father having been the Emperor of the Orda and in possession of the territory, they determined to cross the river, and to go as far as the narrow pass between the Tanais and the

* Karamzin, vi. 177. † Contarini's Travels, ed. Hack. Soc., 151, 152.

Volga (*i.e.*, to near Tzaritzin). The Tartar who was his guide not finding a boat to take Contarini and his party over in, collected some branches, which he bound together as well as he could; and after placing the saddles upon them, tied them with a rope to the tail of a horse, which he drove to an island in the river, a distance of two bow shots. He then returned and took a Russian woman, and eventually Contarini himself, and also his horses. "This was the third day," he says, "I had not eaten, and when he (*i.e.*, the Tartar) gave me a little sour milk I received it with the greatest thanks, and thought it very good. A number of Tartar neat-herds, who were on the island, collected round to look at him, no Christian having ever been there before. On the 14th of August a lamb was killed in his honour, which was partly roasted and partly boiled, but no trouble whatever was taken to wash the flesh, as they said that washing took all the flavour away, nor did they scum it with anything but a twig. Some of this meat and some sour milk was then served up, and, although it was the eve of our Lady (of whom I craved forgiveness as I could hold out no longer), we all began eating together. Mares' milk was also brought, of which they wished me to drink, as it gives great strength to man, but as it stunk most horridly I refused to take it, which gave them some offence."* Two days later he crossed to the further bank of the river, and met Marco, who had crossed further south, and his caravan.

Speaking of the Great Horde, he says:—"This horde is governed by an Emperor, whose name I do not remember, who rules over all the Tartars in those parts. These Tartars, as I have said, are constantly wandering in search of fresh pasturage and water, and live entirely on milk and meat. They have, I believe, the most beautiful oxen, cows, and sheep in the world, the meat being of good flavour on account of the excellence of the pastures. Mares' milk, however, is held in great estimation. Their country consists of beautiful and extensive plains, where not a mountain is to be seen. I did not visit this horde myself, but was desirous of obtaining what information I could respecting it and its numerical strength. It is the general opinion that, although it contains altogether a great many people, a thousand men armed with sword and bow could scarcely be mustered in it, all the rest being women and children in great numbers, or men shoeless and without arms of any kind. They are accounted valiant, as they plunder both Circassians and Russians. Their horses are no better than wild; they are timid, and it is not the custom to shoe them. These Tartars themselves are generally looked upon as brutes. As has been said, they dwell between the rivers Tanais and Volga. But there is said to be another tribe of Tartars living beyond the Volga, in an east-north-easterly direction, who are supposed to be very numerous. They wear long hair reaching to their waists, and

* *Id.*, 154.

are called wild Tartars. They wander in search of pasturage and water like the others, and in winter, when there is much cold and ice, they are said to come as far as Citracan, nor do they commit any damage in the town, unless it be some paltry theft of meat."*

Our traveller now proceeded to Riazan, a wooden town with a wooden castle, thence to Kolomna, and reached Moscow on the 26th of September. He was not very cordially received, it would seem, by Ivan, who resented the intercourse of the Venetians with the Great Horde, and especially the recent journey of Trevisani to the Tartars. He met Aristotle, the architect, already mentioned, and also a Maestro Trifoso, a goldsmith from Cattaro, who had made some beautiful vases for the Grand Duke. He describes Moscow as built entirely of wood, as traversed by a river, having a castle with a portion of the town on one side, and the rest on the other. The river was crossed by several bridges. The town was surrounded by forests, with which indeed, he says, the greater part of the country was covered. The land abounded in grain, which was then, as it is now, very cheap. Meat was also very cheap, three pounds of beef or pork being only a soldo. A ducat would buy one hundred fowls or forty ducks, and geese were little more than three soldi each. Hares were common, but other game scarce. Many small birds were sold in the market. Water melons, as now, abounded. Most of the heavy traffic was carried on in the winter, when the roads were covered with snow, and it was easy for sledges to be moved. In October the river was frozen over, and a bazaar was held where provisions were sold. The cattle and pigs, when killed, were frozen, the former skinned and then made stand up on their legs. "The meat you eat," he says, "has sometimes been killed three months or more." Fish, fowl, &c., were treated in the same way. "They have a pope of their own," he says, "and hold ours in little esteem, saying that we are doomed to perdition. They have no wine of any kind, but drink a beverage made of honey and the leaves of the hop. They boast of being great drunkards, and despise those who are not. Their custom is to remain from morning till mid-day in the bazaars, and to spend the rest of the day in the taverns in eating and drinking. After mid-day you cannot obtain any service of them whatever." Many merchants from Germany and Poland, he says, frequented the city to buy peltries, such as the furs of young goats, foxes, ermines, squirrels, wolves, &c., for which Moscow was the great emporium.†

Before Contarini left the Grand Duke, who is described as thirty-five years of age, tall, thin, and handsome, was more courteous, undertook to pay the money he owed the Russians and Tartars, entertained him at his table, gave him a gown of ermine skins, and also a present of a thousand squirrel skins, and showed him some of his own dresses of cloth of gold

* *Id.*, 155. † *Id.*, 161, 162.

lined with ermine. At the farewell banquet he was given a large silver cup filled with hydromel, this he was told to empty and then keep the vessel, which was done when great honour was to be done to envoys or others. He then returned home by way of Poland.*

Barbaro's account of Russia adds but little to the graphic details of Contarini. He tells us the drink used by the Russians was called bossa (*i.e.*, kwass, from the Turkish and Persian buzah, a kind of beer). The abundance of flesh in Russia, he says, may be gathered from the fact that they did not sell it by weight but by the eye, and gave as much as four pounds for a marchetto (*i.e.*, a coin not worth an English halfpenny). Seventy hens could be got for a ducat, and a goose for three marchetti.†

Let us now continue our account of the aggrandisement of Ivan III. We have reached the time when the proud burghers of Novgorod had to stoop their heads very low. That mercantile republic, like others similarly based—like Venice and Genoa—had become in effect an oligarchy, in which wealth and its surroundings ruled the roost, while the people were tyrannised over. Ivan cleverly took advantage of this state of things. He fomented the dissensions between the boyards and the people, and where injustice seemed inevitable he laid the blame on the ancient laws of Novgorod. At the invitation of the lower orders, he repaired in person to the banks of the Volkhof, and was received with royal hospitality, presents of casks of red and white wine, cloth of Ypres, ducats, and the much valued teeth of the narwhal, &c. He in his turn entertained the higher clergy, the possadniks, and boyards at his own table. He then proceeded to business, and courts were opened for the trial of the many complaints which had arisen. "Then it was," says Kelly, "that he sent to Moscow, loaded with chains, the nobles of Novgorod who had formerly been his enemies. He had procured their denunciation by the people, whose blind jealousy exulted to see violated, in the person of these eminent men, the ancient law of the republic, 'that none of its citizens should be tried or punished out of the limits of its own territory.'"‡ What Ivan did, he did under the semblance at least of equity and fairness. Those taller poppies, upon whom the crowd lean for support in tempestuous times, were charged with treacherous dealings with the Lithuanians or with oppression, charges often well founded, and they were accordingly weeded out. He then returned to Moscow, after distributing a generous largess and receiving rich presents in return.§

The punishment of these boyards was followed by a crop of fresh complaints from those who easily found grievances now that they had Ivan to repair to; and, for the first time in its history, Novgorod was a constant suppliant at the feet of the Grand Prince, "who, when by this slow, gradual, and almost imperceptible progression, thought he had led them far enough astray from their ancient usages, and had made them

* *Id.*, 165. † *Id.*, 29, 30. ‡ Kelly, i. 115. § Karamzin, vi. 127.

forget their ancient liberties, then on every thoughtless movement to which he had given rise, and on every imprudence he had excited, he grounded a claim of right."*

The Grand Princes were styled Gospodars of Novgorod, Gospodar meaning master. Either through inadvertence or design, an envoy of the republic addressed Ivan under the style of gosudar (*i.e.*, liege lord), upon which he wrote a letter to the citizens, claiming the rights of an absolute master, demanding that they should take an oath of allegiance to him as *their monarch*, only legislator, and judge; that they should accept only such judges as he sent them, and should surrender to him the ancient palace of Yaroslaf, where their public meetings were held.† These demands caused an outbreak of patriotic fervour, the traitors who had connived at the encroachments of Ivan were seized and terribly punished, and the envoy who had committed himself was torn in pieces. The Muscovite representative, however, was treated with courtesy, but Ivan was plainly told they would never submit to him as their sovereign, they would not surrender their ancient meeting hall, nor allow the Muscovite court, which sat at Goroditçhe according to ancient custom, to transfer its sittings to Novgorod.‡ Ivan professed to be much aggrieved at this answer, and insisted that, having been styled their sovereign by their envoys, the Novgorodians now intended to insult him before all the people. He ordered a general muster of his troops, and constrained the unwilling citizens of Pskof and Tuer, who doubtless saw their own fate looming in the distance, to send their contingents. He quickly surrounded Novgorod and occupied its environs. The citizens built a wooden rampart about it, but they saw they were overpowered, and that the real choice left them was death by famine or the sword. They accordingly began to negotiate. Several times their notables approached Ivan, seeking to restrain his demands, but from these he would not move. He would reign at Novgorod as he did at Moscow. They must give up their possadnik and the great bell which summoned the national council, and also make over to him some Royal domains within their territory, such as he had at Moscow.§ These terms the citizens were obliged at last to submit to, and we are told that the domains he seized, which consisted of a large portion of the land belonging to the archbishop Theophilus and the monasteries, amounted to 2,700 arpens, without counting the territory of Torjek.

It proves that Ivan was a statesman as well as a crafty manipulator, that his victory was not stained with any excesses. "Marfa and seven of the principal Novgorodians were the only persons sent prisoners to Moscow, and had their property confiscated; but on the 15th of January, 1478, the national assemblies ceased, and the citizens took the oath of

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* Kelly, op. cit., i. 115, 116. † Karamzin, vi. 129, 130. Kelly, i. 116.
‡ Karamzin, vi. 132. § *Id.*, 149, &c.

allegiance (Kelly says slavery, but this is mere prejudice). On the 18th the boyards entered voluntarily into the service of the victor, and the possessions of the clergy, united to the domain of the prince, served to endow the three hundred thousand boyard-followers, the immediate vassals of his own creation, by whom the supremacy of Moscow over all the empire was to be permanently secured. He exacted the surrender of a great part of the territories belonging to the city, and is said to have conveyed to Moscow three hundred cart-loads of gold, silver, and precious stones, besides a vast quantity of furs, cloths, and other valuables.* Among the presents given to him by the archbishop are mentioned a gold bejewelled image, a cup in the shape of an ostrich egg ornamented with silver, a carnelian cup, a crystal bowl, a silver spoon weighing six pounds, golden vessels, and several hundred ducats.† But the trophy which was probably held in greatest esteem was the celebrated bell which had summoned the citizens of Novgorod to their assemblies, which was carried off and hung in the tower of the church of the Assumption, in the market-place of Moscow.‡

It was not likely that the Novgorodians would instantly submit with a good grace. Smouldering discontent lingered among them, and they still fed on the hope of some returning good fortune. Ivan was well informed of this, and we find him in 1481 seizing some of the principal and richest boyards, and incarcerating them in various parts of Russia. Then began a series of transportations of the sturdy republicans. Fifty of the chief families of Novgorod were transferred to Vladimir, and this was followed by the moving of eight thousand boyards and merchants, who obtained possessions at Vladimir, Murom, Nijni Novgorod, Pereislavl, Yurief, Rostof, and Kostroma, while their old possessions were made over to Muscovite merchants. Thus was the spirit of the old republic broken; its most chivalrous sons carried away. "It was now," says Karamzin, "like a body without a soul;" and presently and inadvertently a greater misfortune overtook it. "Having been insulted by a Hanseatic city, Ivan ordered to be put in chains at Novgorod all the merchants of all the cities of that union, and confiscated the whole of their property. From that moment confidence was no more, the commerce of the North took another route, and the great Novgorod, which for many centuries was able to muster a force of 40,000 men, and which is said to have been peopled by 400,000 souls, has dwindled until now it is nothing more than an insignificant borough."§ How insignificant and decayed may be seen in the picture lately drawn of it by Mr. Mackenzie Wallace.

The fall of Novgorod immensely increased the power and resources of Muscovy. Its borders now stretched to the White Sea and the Urals, and it came into immediate contact with the Swedes and the Germans of Livonia. Its politics were now entering upon a fresh phase, and Ivan

* Kelly, op. cit., i. 118. † Karamzin, vi. 157, 158. ‡ *Id.*, 159. § Kelly, op. cit., i. 119.

was becoming one of the most important integers in the European assembly of crowned heads. This bound forward was succeeded by another of even greater importance, namely, the breaking of the yoke which had hitherto made the Russians the subjects of the Tartars. Ahmed having sent fresh envoys to bring the Russian tribute, they were presented to Ivan, "who," we are told by one annalist, "thereupon took the Basma or image of the Khan, threw it down, and trode it under, and having put to death all the envoys except one, he bade him return to his master and report what he had seen, and to tell him further, that if he continued to trouble him, he should be served in the same fashion as his image had been." Ahmed was naturally enraged, and began to collect his forces. This story, however, is hardly consonant with the crafty and diplomatic temper of Ivan, and other accounts attribute the arming of Ahmed more probably to the instigation of Casimir of Poland, who began to fear the growing power of Muscovy, and sent Ak Girai as his envoy to the Golden Horde accordingly. Ahmed had for a long time been struggling with his nephew Kassyda or Kasim, but they were now friends again, Kasim having no doubt submitted, and it was arranged that while the Tartars advanced to the Oka the Lithuanians should march to the Ugra, and thus attack Russia on both sides. Accordingly, in the year 1480, Ahmed marched with his nephew Kassyda, with six of his sons and a number of Tartar princes.* Meanwhile the Krim Tartars, who were the close allies of the Russians and at feud with Lithuania, made a descent upon the latter country, and prevented Casimir from performing his part of the contract. The Grand Prince having learnt that Ahmed had advanced with his warriors and left his homeland unprotected, thereupon ordered his *protegé* Nurdaulat, the tzar of Gorodetz, and Prince Vasili Nostrowali, the voivode of Zuenigorod, to make a descent upon "the city of Batu." Gregorief argues that this was not Serai, but such a view seems inconsistent with the context, where we read that, taking ship on the Volga these leaders proceeded to the fated town, which they captured. They would have destroyed it, but a Tartar named Oblasi or Obuyas, in the suite of Nurdaulat, addressed him, saying, "What are you going to do? Have you forgotten that this ancient horde is our common mother, that to it we owe our existence? You have fulfilled the calls of honour and the promise you made to the Muscovites. You have given Ahmed a terrible blow. It is enough. Spare the poor ruins of his power." Nurdaulat thereupon retired.†

Meanwhile, having collected an army at Moscow, Ivan marched to the Oka. His wife seems to have sought safety at Bielozirsk. His mother alone consented to stay to animate the courage of the people. He was not made of heroic materials; his cold and phlegmatic

* Karamzin, vi. 176, 177. † Vel. Zern., 23. Note, 55. Karamzin, vi. 180 and 196.

temperament, like that of Louis XI., dreaded an ill turn in fortune, nor could he forget the terrible fate which had overtaken Moscow after the great victory of Dimitri on the Don, and he would gladly have avoided a conflict. Ahmed, on hearing that the borders of the Oka were occupied by the Muscovites, abandoned the Don and advanced upon Mtsensk, Odoef, and Lubutsk on the Ugra, in the hope probably of forming a junction with his ally Casimir. Ivan thereupon ordered his son and brother to march upon Kaluga, and to occupy the left bank of the Ugra. He himself retired to Moscow, and arrived there as the inhabitants were leaving the suburbs and sheltering in the Kremlin. His arrival, which implied the desertion of his soldiers, was by no means welcome. The people cried out, "The prince has handed us over to the Tartars; he has weighed the land down with taxes without paying the tribute to the horde, and now that he has irritated the Khan he refuses to fight for the country."* Touched by these reproaches, he did not enter the Kremlin, but stopped at the village of Krasnoi, and said he had merely returned to his capital to take counsel with his mother, the clergy, and the boyards. "March then," said the bishops and boyards, "bravely to meet the enemy," while the aged archbishop cried out, "Does it become mortals to fear death? We try in vain to avoid our destiny. I am feeble and bent with the weight of years, but I am ready to brave the Tartar sword, and I will not turn away my face from his sparkling lance." Even his own son refused to go to him, saying he preferred to die rather than to leave his army for an instant at such a pass. Ivan, seeing how matters were turning, promised to go and oppose the Tartars. He also made peace with his brothers, with whom he had had a long strife, and having made certain dispositions of the local forces, he once more set out. The metropolitan Gerontius blessed him as he departed. "May God protect your empire and grant you victory, as he formerly did to David and Constantine. Have the courage and firmness of a soldier of Christ, my son; a good shepherd will sacrifice himself for his sheep; you are not a hireling; save then the flock the Lord has intrusted to you from the tooth of the sanguinary wolf who approaches our frontiers. God shall be our ally." Amen, said the other bishops, as they urged Ivan not to listen to the perfidious voices of those who counselled peace.

These brave words, however, did not produce any very marked spirit in the Grand Prince. He advanced, it is true, to the Luya, and gave out he should direct the movements of his forces from behind that vantage. Meanwhile the two armies faced each other on opposite banks of the Ugra, across which they for some days carried on an interchange of musketry and artillery fire. At length, seeing that the Russians did not mean to retire, Ahmed withdrew for a distance of two versts, and sent

* Karamzin, vi. 183.

out sections of his people to forage. Some of his men addressed the Russians across the river, saying, "Let our tzar pass freely, or it will go badly with your Grand Prince and bring misfortune on yourselves." A few days later Ivan held a counsel of his grandees, who showed a bold front, except two of his favourites, the boyards Ostshera and Gregory Mamon, whose mother had been burned as a witch by Ivan of Moyaisk. These fat and powerful lords, as they are called by the chronicler, loved their families and wealth more than their country, and urged that everything must be sacrificed for the sake of peace. They recalled the fate of his father Vasili the Blind, and even urged that Ivan was bound by his oath not to take up arms against the horde. He was naturally moved by these counsels, so consonant with his own sympathies, and accordingly sent envoys to treat for peace with Ahmed and with Timur, a prince of the horde, but Ahmed rejected these offers, as also the presents which Ivan sent. "I have come here," he said, "to revenge myself on the perfidy of Ivan, to punish him for not having during the last nine years come to my presence to do homage and to bring his tribute. If he will come in person before us, and if my princes will intercede for him, I will extend my clemency to him."* Such was the recklessly brave language of the Khan, who must have known how few resources he had to back up such language. Timur also refused the presents, and replied that the only means Ivan had of pacifying the anger of Ahmed was to kiss the stirrup; and as even Ivan refused to humiliate himself so far, it was suggested that his son, or his brother, or even the boyard Bassenok might act as his deputy. These terms were refused, and thus the negotiations broke down. One can hardly credit such pusillanimity in a sovereign amidst an army of 200,000 men eager to fight. Far different was the conduct of the patriotic Russian clergy at this time. When news reached the metropolitan, the archbishop Vassian, and Paisius, abbot of the Trinity, they wrote strong remonstrances. Vassian sent an especially energetic letter. "It is our duty to speak the truth to kings," he said, "and what I have already said to you, greatest of sovereigns, I now write in the hope of strengthening your purpose. When you set out, moved by the entreaties of the metropolitan and the highest of your subjects, to combat the enemy of the Christians, we interceded with God that he would grant you victory. Meanwhile we hear that on the approach of this ferocious Ahmed, who has killed so many Christians, you have humbled yourself before him and asked for a peace, which he has contemptuously rejected. Oh, prince, to whose counsel do you listen? They are not worthy of the name of Christian. Is not this to throw away your buckler and to fly? From what a height of grandeur are you not descending? Would you give up Russia to fire and sword, its churches to plunder, and your subjects to the enemy's

* Karamzin, vi. 188.

sword. What heart would not break at such a disaster. The blood of the flock cries for vengeance in accusing its shepherd, but whither will you fly, where can you expect to reign after sacrificing the sheep God has confided to you? Can you mount like the eagle and make your nest among the stars? The Lord will cast you down from that asylum. No, we will trust in the Almighty. You will not desert us and brand yourself with the name of coward and traitor. Have courage, . . . there is no God like our God. Life and death are in his hands, and he gives strength to his warriors. Democritus, the pagan philosopher, enumerates prudence, firmness, and courage as the virtues of kings. Recall the glories of your ancestors, of Igor, Sviatoslaf, and Vladimir, to whom the Greeks were tributary; Vladimir Monomachos, the terror of the Poloutzi; Dimitri, who beat the same Tartars on the Don. See how he fought. He did not say, *I have a wife, children, riches, and when I am deprived of my country I will go and live elsewhere.* He bravely faced Mamai, and the Lord protected him. Did not he raise his arm against the Khans notwithstanding his oath of allegiance? We, the metropolitan and other ecclesiastics, will release you from an oath extorted by violence. We bless you and implore you to march against Ahmed, who is no tzar but a brigand and an enemy of God; a breach of faith which will save the empire is preferable to the fidelity which will ruin it. By what sacred law are you bound to obey this impious tzar, who never belonged to the race of tzars? Was it not merely over the weakness of your ancestors that he triumphed? . . . Did not God overthrow Pharaoh in the Red Sea to save the children of Israel? He will pardon you also if you are penitent. The repentance of a king is the sacred obligation to observe the laws of justice, to cherish his people, to renounce violence, and to be merciful to the wrong doer. God has raised you above us, as he raised Moses and Joshua, that you may save Russia, the new Israel, from the impious Ahmed, this second Pharaoh. . . . God will grant you a glorious reign, you and your sons, and your sons' sons, from generation to generation. . . . You have already defeated the infidels, but what says the evangelist? 'He who endures to the end shall be saved.' Lastly, do not blame my feeble words, my requiem, for it is written, 'Show the wise man knowledge, and he will be wiser.'* Thus may it be. Receive our blessing. You, your sons, and all the boyards and voivodes, and all your brave warriors, children of Jesus Christ. Amen."†

Well might even Ivan's courage be roused, as we are told it was, at these words, which were copied by many hands and distributed. For fifteen days nothing, however, was done, and the two armies were separated by the Ugra, called by the Russians "the girdle of the Holy Virgin," the rampart of Muscovy. An attempt made by the Tartar cavalry to force the passage of the Oka was frustrated. At the end of

* Proverbs ix. † Karamzin, vi. 189-194. Kelly's Russia, i. 110.

October there came a severe frost, which froze over the Ugra, and made it therefore passable. The Grand Prince thereupon ordered the army to retire to Kremenetz, on the plea that the plains of Borosk afforded a better battle-field. This show of weakness communicated itself to the army, whose retreat was in fact a disorderly scramble. The Tartars, on seeing the retreat of the Russians, thought it was a ruse to draw them into an ambuscade, and the Khan was similarly seized with panic, and the strange sight was seen of two great armies flying away from one another without being pursued by anyone. Ahmed's retreat was perhaps hastened by the capture of his capital, as I have mentioned, by Nurdaulat.* Having revenged himself upon Casimir for not having kept his appointment, by destroying twelve Lithuanian villages, Ahmed retired homewards. On the way his son Murtaza made a raid upon a district of the Ukraine, but was driven away by Ivan's brothers.† Karamzin has the somewhat cynical remark, that although Ivan's policy did not lead to his being crowned with laurels like the conqueror of Mamai, that it planted the crown more firmly on his head and consolidated the independence of the empire.‡ The metropolitan fixed the 23rd of June as a fête day in honour of the transcendent event by which the yoke of Russia was finally broken, "for here," says Karamzin, "ended our slavery."§

On his return home with a rich booty, which he had collected in Lithuania, Ahmed was attacked by Ivak, Prince of Tumen, a descendant of Sheiban's, in alliance with Yamgurchi and Mussa, two murzas of the Nogais, and 16,000 Kazaks. Ahmed and his people nomadised between the Volga and the Don; he had his winter quarters near Azof, and had retired to the Little Donetz and dismissed his kulans, when Ivak approached during the night the white yurt of the Khan, and killed him with his own hand when asleep.‖ The chronicle of Kazan assigns the deed itself to Yamgurchi, who was Ahmed's brother-in-law.¶ Ahmed's camp, his wives and daughters, and all his wealth, together with a large number of Lithuanian captives and of cattle, fell into Ivak's hands, who on his return to Tumen wrote to the Grand Prince to announce to him that his enemy was no more.** Von Hammer, who has most strangely confused the history of this period by confounding Ahmed with his father Kuchuk Muhammed, closes his survey of the history of the Golden Horde with the death of Ahmed. This is apparently to complete the symmetrical number of fifty Khans, which he assigns to the horde, but, as we shall see further, his view is entirely mistaken. The blow was a crushing one, but it did not mean the utter collapse of the Tartars. It undoubtedly meant, however, the emancipation of Russia, which thenceforth was practically free from foreign domination.

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* *Ante*, 322. † Karamzin, vi. 196. ‡ *Id.*, 198. § *Id.*
‖ *Id.*, 198. ¶ Golden Horde, 408. ** Karamzin, vi. 198, 199.

SEYID AHMED, MURTAZA AND SHEIKH AHMED KHANS.

The assassination of the Khan Ahmed was no doubt a terrible blow to the Golden Horde, and it very largely broke the chains which had so long bound Russia, but it is a great mistake to suppose that the Tartar empire then came to an end. It subsisted for some years longer. The heritage of Ahmed was, however, practically divided into two portions; one of them subject to his sons, and retained control over the nomadic portion of the Tartars ranged between the Don and the Yaik, and also commanded the allegiance of the Nogais. This was known to the Turks as the Takht il (*i.e.*, the Great Horde).* According to Miechof, in his tract "de Sarmatiis," the name was Tak xi (*i.e.*, First Horde). They were also known to the Poles and Russians as Zavolgenses or Zavolhenses (*i.e.*, "those beyond the Volga"). The other section was subject to Ahmed Khan's nephews, and had its seat at Astrakhan. They were probably dependent on the Takht il. We shall revert to them presently, and will now limit ourselves to the history of the Takht il or Great Horde.

Ahmed Khan left several sons. Their number is uncertain. An authority, quoted by Vel. Zernof, thus enumerates them by Bikai bikem, a relation of the Sultan Hassan murza, he had Murtaza Khan, Idige Sultan, Hussein Khan, and Devlet Sultan; by another, Bikai, Sheikh Ahmed Khan, Kuchuk Sultan, and Janai Sultan; by Uishun Bikem, Seyid Mahmud Khan, Seyid Ahmed Khan, and Behadur Sultan; but two of these, Kuchuk Sultan and Janai Sultan, were apparently the brothers and not the sons of Seyid Ahmed.† Three of these sons are alone of interest in our inquiry, namely, Seyid Ahmed, who is not to be confused with the Seyid Ahmed previously named,‡ who was a leader of the Nogais, Murtaza, and Sheikh Ahmed, called Schig Achmet by the Russians; and of these Seyid Ahmed was apparently acknowledged as their senior by the other two.

These brothers lived at constant feud with one another, and hastened the disintegration of the Golden Horde. All three styled themselves tzar at the same time, and they only united together when they had to prosecute the war with the Krim Khans, which they had inherited from their father.§ Like him, they were in alliance with Casimir of Poland.

When the Lithuanians conquered Western Russia, they could not compel the inhabitants to forsake their old faith and adopt that of the Latin church. When, therefore, the Grand Prince began his policy of reconquest, he found a ready magnet at hand with which to attract the former subjects of the Russian crown; and we are told that about 1482, the great-grandsons of Olgerd, who were princes of Seversk, who belonged to the Greek faith and were subject to Casimir, determined to submit them-

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 356. Note. † Op. cit., i. 43-46. Note, 82.
‡ *Ante*, 272. § Vel. Zern. Note, 49.

selves to Ivan. Their project, however, was discovered, and two of them were imprisoned, while the third, the Prince of Belsky, escaped to Moscow; and we are told Casimir sent a precautionary force of 10,000 men to Smolensk, and tried to incite Seyid Ahmed and Murtaza, the chiefs of the Great Horde, to attack Russia, and succeeded in persuading the Krim Khan to do so.*

We now find the Grand Prince Ivan having intercourse with the nations of Central Europe, whose history had formerly been closely entwined with Russia, but had since the Tartar invasion lived apart, thus in 1482 he sent envoys to Matthias Corvinus, the king of Hungary, who was, like himself, the enemy of Casimir of Poland. The two friends undertook to make war against the common enemy. Ivan's solicitude for the improvement of his people is shown by his urgent request that Corvinus would send him engineers, architects, goldsmiths, miners, and cannon founders. His envoy was detained on his return at Bielogorod by the Turks, but was released at the instance of the Hungarian king and Mengli Girai. In 1488 we find Ivan sending his new friend a cloak of black sable, with gold clasps ornamented with pearls, from Novgorod.†

At this period Moldavia was governed by the celebrated voivode and hospodar Stephen IV., whose victories over the Turks have made him famous. He was menaced by Casimir of Poland and the Krim Khan, and as he and his people belonged to the Greek faith, he naturally turned for an ally to the Russian Grand Prince, and the alliance was cemented by the marriage of his daughter Helena with the eldest son of Ivan. The latter was indefatigable in widening his domains. We now find him annexing the principality of Tuer, which had long been the rival of Moscow, and which still retained its independence, an island surrounded on all sides by Muscovite territory.‡ Michael, Prince of Tuer, was Ivan's brother-in-law. Knowing him well and fearing him much, he, like his ancestors, leaned upon an alliance with Lithuania, and made a secret treaty with Casimir. Ivan, having heard of this, declared war against him in 1485. Michael hastened to reconcile himself with his dangerous neighbour, and to make concessions. He gave up his style of "equal," and accepted that of younger brother, promised to furnish a contingent of troops, and to renounce his alliance with the Lithuanians and the dispossessed princes. Ivan granted a formal peace, but he planted his heel rudely on the land, and so ground down the people, that they in despair, and finding no protection in their own prince, turned elsewhere. Several of the principal people deserted him and submitted to Ivan, and shortly after, a letter having been waylaid in which he asked for the aid of Casimir, an army was sent against his capital, which was surrendered after a short siege. Michael fled to Lithuania, where he shortly after died without

* Karamzin, vi. 210-212. † *Id.*, 215. ‡ *Id.*, 219.

children. Ivan showed his usual clemency on these occasions, and invested Michael's son with his father's dominions. Thus was annexed a famous Russian principality which, since the days of Michael Yaroslavitch, had borne the title of Great, and which could formerly muster a force of 40,000 cavalry. Ivan wrote to announce his victory to Matthew Corvinus, who about the same time made his brilliant conquest of Vienna and a large part of Austria from the empire.*

The absorption of Tuer was speedily followed by that of other principalities. Michael, Prince of Vereia, had a son named Vasili, whose wife was a Greek princess, the niece of Ivan's wife Sophia. Sophia having presented her niece with some jewels belonging to Ivan's former wife, he seized the opportunity, had a violent quarrel with Vasili (who fled to Lithuania), insisted upon his father disinheriting him and making himself (Ivan) the heir of Vereia, Bielo Ozero, and Yaroslavetz, which he accordingly did. Ivan succeeded to these districts in 1485. This was followed by the surrender by the Princes of Yaroslavl and Rostof of certain independent rights which they possessed which were incompatible with the supremacy of Ivan.†

By these annexations the Grand Prince, without any bloodshed and by the exercise of consummate statecraft, had not only restored Russia to the limits which it had in the days of Andrew Bogolubski and Vsevolod III., but had added to them the wide domain of Novgorod and the appanages of Murom and Chernigof. Riazan, whose prince was his brother-in-law, alone retained a shadowy independence.

Notwithstanding that the Sultan of the Osmanli had ordered the Khan of Krim and the chiefs of the Golden Horde to live at peace with one another, their mutual strife did not cease. We are told that at the approach of the terrible winter of 1485 Murtaza, who nomadised with his people in the country of the Don, went to seek shelter against the famine in the Krim. Mengli Girai marched against him, captured him, and sent him prisoner to Kaffa, and also defeated the bands of the Nogay, Timur.‡ This is the Russian narrative. The same year when Murtaza was taken prisoner his brother Seyid Ahmed marched to the rescue with the Timur already mentioned, captured and plundered Solgat and Kaffa, drove Mengli Girai away, and set Murtaza once more free. Mengli Girai appealed to the Porte for assistance, which sent some troops, and also ordered the Nogais to march against the Great Horde.§ It would seem the Russians also came to the assistance of their ally Mengli Girai, for we are told they pursued the victors, and recovered a number of prisoners whom they had carried off from Krim, and returned to Mengli Girai.‖

In another account we are told that Mengli Girai had determined to

* Karamzin, vi. 218-224. † *Id.*, 226. ‡ *Id.*, 213. § Vel. Zern., i. Note, 49. ‖ Karamzin, vi. 214.

occupy the country on the borders of the Volga belonging to Seyid Ahmed. On his way thither Murtaza Sultan, one of the Khan's brothers, went and joined him, pretending to have abandoned his brother's cause. He was received with distinction and invited to a feast, during which Murtaza apparently incautiously disclosed his real object. Mengli Girai, seeing he had merely gone to act as a spy, had him arrested. Seyid Ahmed hearing of this, left his wife, family, and property in a safe place on the Volga, and marched at the head of his troops, accompanied by Mamai Bey, a descendant of Idiku, with a body of Nogais. A battle having ensued between him and Mengli, the latter was wounded, fled, and sought refuge in the fortress of Karakar, in the middle of the Krim. Seyid Ahmed advanced into the country and secured a rich booty. He laid siege to Solgat, which resisted bravely. He offered the people a free pardon, and assured them their lives and property if they would submit. They accordingly opened their gates, when the too legitimate heir of Jingis Khan proceeded to kill them and to pillage the place. He then marched against Kaffa. Kasim Pasha, its governor, without telling any-one, sent one of his people out in a ship, and prepared several other vessels, which also put to sea. He received Seyid Ahmed's envoy cordially, and showed him the presents destined for his master. In the midst of this reception there arrived an officer (Chaush), who gravely announced he had left Constantinople three days before, and that the Sultan had already sent a fleet to the rescue of his *protegês*. The other ships now returned and began to fire cannons, &c., and to act the part of a Turkish fleet. The ambassador reported what he saw to his master Seyid Ahmed, who was deceived, and abandoned the attack on Kaffa. He ravaged all the country as he went. While engaged in festivities at the town of Fekeljik, he was suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by Mengli Girai, with the tribes Chirin and Barin, and completely defeated. He had to disgorge his plunder and to return home. According to Karamzin, it was the Russians who thus defeated him. Mengli Girai sent an army in pursuit of him, of which his son Muhammed Girai was commander. They surprised Seyid Khan's brothers, and utterly defeated his troops, many of which were transported to the Crimea.*

Jehoshaphat Barbaro has a different story. He tells us how Mengli Girai determined to go towards Citarcan, a place sixteen days' journey from Kaffa, under the dominion of Murtaza Khan, who at that time was with his ordu on the river Itil (*i.e.*, the Volga). He fought with him, took his people from him, and sent a large part of them to the isle of Kaffa (*i.e.*, the Krim), and spent the winter on the river. At that time, he says, by chance there was another Tartar lord lodged a few journeys off (*i.e.*, Seyid Ahmed), who, hearing that he wintered there, when the river was frozen came on him suddenly, assaulted and defeated him, and

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 353-355.

so recovered Murtaza, while Mengli Girai returned to Kaffa. The next year, in the spring, Murtaza returned to the isle of Kaffa, but as he could not capture the town, he went home again.*

The bitter strife between the two hordes was by no means appeased, and the sons of Ahmed continued to intrigue with Casimir, the king of Poland. They once more marched towards the Taurida, whereupon the Grand Prince Ivan sent a body of Cossacks, commanded by his *protegé* Nurdaulat, the brother of Mengli Girai, against them, and also told Muhammed Amin of Kazan to harass them. The intercourse between Krim and Muscovy had, we are told, become very difficult because of the perpetual raids of the Tartars of the Great Horde, who attacked all whom they encountered on the banks of the Oskol and the Merl, and Ivan proposed to constitute a new trade route thither by way of Azof.† In order to win Nurdaulat over, so that he might use him against his brother, Murtaza in 1487 sent an envoy named Shah Bahlul to Moscow with letters for him and the Grand Prince.

To Nurdaulat he wrote :—" To my brother tzar Nurdaulat. May the Lord grant that thy power may abide, and that thy days may be prolonged, our nearest brother, whose justice, kindness, and sincerity are everywhere known to the good. . . . In this world mayest thou be the support of our religion, our help against the unbelievers and unbelief. Through the grace of God, mayest thou be the just and faithful lord. Thy kingdom would be great and fortunate until the return of Muhammed if our prayers and those of our young folk were heard. Thou knowest that we are both children of the same stock. Thou knowest that our ancestors, blind with ambition, were at strife with one another; but after much evil and carnage they grew more reconciled, and instead of rivers of blood there flowed streams of milk, and they quenched the fires of discord with the waters of peace, and the holy Ahmed tzar, who has gone to his repose, united thine ulus to ours. On his death thy brother Mengli lit again the fires of discord, broke his word, but failed to injure our strength. Thou knowest with what terrible disasters God, the creator of the world, has punished him. Things have gone well with us, and we are again thy brother. We have learnt that thou art living among the unbelievers. It pleases us not, to see thee there. We take the opportunity, therefore, of sending thee a heavy greeting with a light heart, through our servant Shah Bahlul. When he shall reach thy mightiness, and shall behold thy face, tell him in all confidence what thou meanest and how thou art, and he will report it to me. If thou hast the wish to quit this unclean land, I have written to Ivan to this effect. For the rest, whatever thy intentions, mayest thou prosper, and may we remain brothers." This letter, which was phrased exceedingly courteously, was written in December, 1486. Concurrently with it Murtaza sent a

* Barbaro, Hack. Soc., 30. † Karamzin, vi. 230, 231.

Yarligh (*i.e.*, an order or command) to Ivan, which was worded in much more peremptory terms.

It is thus expressed :—"Murtaza's order to Ivan. Be it known to you that tzar Nurdaulat has hitherto lived on friendly terms with my father and myself, and that while we were at peace Mengli Girai has broken the pact. He is still our enemy, and we would consequently cultivate friendship with Nurdaulat. And we have in consequence sent our servant Shah Bahlul as our envoy to you to ask you not to detain him. Let him, therefore, leave with Shah Bahlul. Retain, however, his wife and children. If God wills, I shall give him a yurt, and he will then take them back. 'Full of friendship to you, I dictated and sent this Yarligh."*

Ivan was piqued at the domineering tone of this letter, arrested the envoy, and informed Mengli Girai of what was going on.†

In 1491, we read that the Grand Prince sent an army against Seyid Ahmed and Sheikh Ahmed (*i.e.*, the brothers of Murtaza), who had marched towards Krim to attack Mengli Girai. The commanders of the Russian forces were Prince Peter Michaelovitch Obolenski and Ivan Michaelovitch Repniya Obolenski, together with several boyard's sons, with Satilgan (Nurdaulat's brother), and with many ulans and princes and all their Cossacks. They were also joined by a contingent sent by his brother Boris, and another sent by the tzar of Kazan. When the Tartars heard what a strong force was marching against them they left Perekop and hastened homewards, and the Russians returned without having encountered them.‡ The policy of Ivan was to utilise the feud between the Krim Tartars and the Great Horde as much as possible. We read how he sent several embassies with presents to the Krim Khan, and Prince Romoda Nofski, who was sent in 1490, assured him that the Russian forces were always available to harass the Great Horde. In 1490 Ivan lost his eldest son Ivan. The unfortunate doctor who attended him was executed, a fate deemed reasonable by the people, since he had offered to forfeit his life if not successful.

We now find Ivan showing his moderation and wonderful political insight in another manner. There arose in Muscovy a strange wild heresy, a renaissance of Judaism, originating with a Jew of great eloquence and power, named Skharia. It seems that it was one phase of that movement in favour of the Kabala, which found favour in Western Europe about the same time, and which attracted *inter alios* the allegiance of Pica di Mirandola. These mystics claimed to have in the Kabala a work given to Adam himself by God, and which explained all mysteries. They denied that the Messiah had as yet appeared. They were accused of cursing the Saviour and the Holy Virgin, of spitting on the crucifix, of

* Vel. Zern., op. cit. Note, 57. † Karamzin, vi. 233.
‡ Vel. Zern., i. Note, 58. Karamzin, vi. 257.

calling the images of the saints (which they tore with their teeth and otherwise treated with contumely) idols, of denying paradise and the resurrection of the dead. These charges were probably many of them untrue, and we must view the movement as an erratic phase of that same convulsion of opinion which gave birth in the West to the Reformation. The heresy spread fast among the ecclesiastics, and the metropolitan himself was infected with it. "There was then seen," says St. Joseph of Volok, "a son of Satan on the throne of the holy saints Peter and Alexis, a devouring wolf in the garb of a peaceful shepherd."*

The mysteries of Christianity were rudely criticised, and astrology and the Kabala, those queer ancestors of modern science, attracted a multitude of students, who, if wanting in scientific insight, at least learnt habits of criticism and of doubt. A council was called, the heretics were anathematised, and a cry arose among the orthodox that they must be uprooted by fire and sword. Not so with Ivan, whose clemency is surely an extraordinary feature in one who was a contemporary of Ferdinand the Catholic and his peers in Western Europe. He nominated another primate, and would use no stronger weapons against the offenders than exile and ridicule. A large number of them were sent to Novgorod, where the archbishop Gernadius caused them to be mounted on horseback with their heads to the horses' tails, their vestments the wrong side out, wearing pointed hats, ornamented with tassels of tow, on their heads (in the way they were wont to represent devils), and crowns of straw with this inscription, "See the army of Satan." They were driven about the streets amidst the jeers of the populace, who spat at them, saying, "See the enemies of Jesus Christ." The burlesque proceeding terminated by their hats being burnt on their heads.†

We now find Ivan at issue with his brothers. His impatient ambition could not brook any independent authority near him. Under pretence that Andrew was intriguing with the Lithuanians he had him arrested, and he soon after died, doubtless from poison, in prison. This was in 1493. Five years later, Ivan received absolution from the metropolitan and the bishops for "having caused the premature death of his unfortunate brother."‡ His other brother Boris was very submissive; he died soon after Andrew, and his son Ivan followed him in 1503, after demising his appanage and other wealth to his uncle. Kelly uses much spirited rhetoric in regard to this constant acquisition of new territory. "Now at length," he says, "the feudal hydra has vanished; all the princes of the same blood as Ivan, whom on his accession to the throne he had found almost as much sovereigns as himself, were either expatriated or dead, or so completely subdued that they aspired to no other honour than that of being the most officious of his servants. They were beaten down by so strong a hand that, thenceforth confounded with

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* Karamzin, vi. 245. † *Id.*, 246, 247. ‡ *Id.*, 259.

the higher class of nobility, not one of them dared so much as to call to mind their common origin with their haughty ruler."* The increasing renown of Ivan is shown by the fact that, for the first time for more than two centuries, there came an envoy from the German Emperor. This person was named Nicholas Poppel, and arrived about 1529 with a letter from the Emperor Frederick and his son Maximilian, asking for a treaty of alliance. Ivan reciprocated these advances, and consented to marry his daughter Helena or Theodosia to Albert, the Margrave of Baden. A curious proof of the then seclusion of Russian women is afforded by the fact that Ivan would not let the envoy see her. The latter in a third audience made an extraordinary communication, he said that, "having heard that Ivan desired to receive the Royal dignity from the pope, he reminded him that it was the Emperor alone who had the right of creating kings, princes, and knights, and that the Emperor was willing to grant him the title of king, and then to make him equal to his rival the King of Poland." Ivan replied by his boyards that he owed his throne to Heaven, and did not desire to receive titles from any earthly sovereign.

He seems to have been somewhat inflated by his position, for we find him sending word by his envoy that the Margrave of Baden was not a sufficient match for a descendant of the ancient Greek Emperors, who in moving to Constantinople had ceded the town of Rome to the popes (surely a dry piece of humour to send to the father of the "King of Rome"); and suggesting that Maximilian was a more fit person, if the Emperor desired an alliance. It reads curiously to find Ivan giving his own envoy eighty sable and three thousand squirrel skins to pay for the expenses of his journey.†

The Russian envoy was received with marked honours at the Imperial court, having a seat provided for him next the Emperor's chair. He was doubtless welcomed much as the Chinese and Japanese ambassadors of our own day are received by our people; but his mission had no definite result. If it be curious to trace the rivers of history to their sources, we must be interested in the next movement which brought the empire and Muscovy together. Matthew Corvinus of Hungary was now dead, and the magnates of that country wished to put Ladislaus, king of Bohemia, the son of Casimir of Poland, on the throne. The Emperor's son Maximilian, who deemed himself the heir of Matthew, was much displeased at this, and sent an envoy to propose a joint alliance against the Poles. Thus began that common policy against Poland which ended in our own century in the final partition of the land between the Teuton and the Russian. A treaty was signed between them, in which Ivan undertook to assist the Emperor in his war to gain Hungary, and the latter undertook a similar obligation if Ivan went to war to recover

* Op. cit., i. 122.

† Karamzin, vi. 265.

Kief and the other old possessions of the Russian crown. Ivan styles himself in the text of the treaty, Monarch of all the Russias, Prince of Vladimir, Moscow, Novgorod, Pskof, Yugra, Viatka, Perm, and Bulgaria (*i.e.*, Kazan).* In all these negotiations Ivan was exceedingly punctilious about his own dignity.

It is strange to read of the presents interchanged between the two potentates, which look as if Maximilian treated the Russian Grand Prince as our court treats a barbaric sovereign. The former sent some pieces of grey cloth and a paroqueet, the latter eighty sable skins, some damask, and a gerfalcon. In these negotiations the Grand Prince is called Tzar, apparently, its first application to the Russian sovereign. In the German translations of the same diplomatic documents the title is translated Kaizer.† The negotiations, however, did not come to any satisfactory conclusion. On Maximilian's turning his arms against the King of France he made peace with Ladislas, who undertook to pay him 100,000 ducats for the Hungarian crown. Meanwhile the King of Poland, his father, was firmly seated on his throne, and the ancient enemies of his country, the Teutonic Knights of Prussia and Livonia, were completely subdued.

Ivan, therefore, for a while turned his ambition elsewhere, and we find him in 1490 ravaging Finland terribly, and burning and torturing its inhabitants.‡ In 1491 some German explorers discovered the mines of the river Tsilma, in the district of Petchora, and thenceforward we find coins in use, struck from Russian gold and silver. On the first of these we have on one side Saint Nicholas in pontifical robes, giving his blessing with his right hand and holding a book in his left; on one side of him is a figure of the Saviour and on the other that of the Virgin. The inscription announces that the Grand Prince caused this thaler to be made out of his own gold and gave it to his daughter Theodora. The silver money of the same reign has on it a figure of a man on horseback. This exercise of the right of coining money is of importance as showing how completely the Russians were emancipated. Among Muhammedan races there is hardly a better proof of practical independence than the right of coining money, and so long as the Golden Horde lasted no money was coined in Russia.

In 1493 we find an envoy from John, the king of Norway and Denmark, and formerly an ally of the Polish King, at Moscow. This was another example of the opening of negotiations with a country whose history for many years had run apart from that of Muscovy, and which had once had close relations with Novgorod. Four years earlier an envoy came to Moscow from Hussein Mirza, the Khan of the far distant Khorassan, while on another side we find the long-lived Christian state of Iberia or Georgia, the victim of so many Mussulman conquerors,

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* *Id.*, 268, 269. † *Id.*, 274, 275. ‡ *Id.*, 274.

sending an envoy to ask for the protection of Russia. Its prince in his letter styles himself the servant of Ivan, while he calls the latter the "Great Tzar, the light of the azure sky, the star of the faithful, the hope of the Christians, the refuge of the poor, the legislator and true arbitrator of all the monarchs of the world, pacificator of the universe, and zealous servant of Saint Nicholas."*

This long digression is meant to exhibit the extraordinary outburst of life and energy which Russia exhibited directly after its emancipation, and those who deny the title of Great to Ivan because his method was not Quixotic, fail to read the true lesson of history, which does not favour the virtues of Don Quixote or of Richard Cœur de Lion. It was surely a gigantic task for one man to accomplish, not merely to unite into a homogeneous whole the broken fragments of the Russian realm with scarce any bloodshed, and to break off the yoke of the Tartars, but having done this, to be treated as an equal by the Great Kaizer himself, and to have his favour sought by the weak States of far off latitudes. Not only did he do this, but he used every opportunity to import culture and the arts among the people. Compare his couduct in the treatment of the great heresy with that of Ferdinand the Catholic, who pieced the shreds of Spain together, and then proceeded, with a fierce bigotry whose fruit is not yet all harvested, to eject the Moors and the Jews, who were the guardians and patrons of learning, culture, and the arts of peace. And remember, further, what his people were, what his antecedents and surroundings were, and we shall readily admit that he stood head and shoulders above his contemporaries, and merited the title of Great far more justly than most of those who bear the name. That he had a foresight and an instinct which are only given to the few who have moulded mankind into a new shape, and that to dissect his moral qualities with the critical scalpel produced by our æsthetic standard is as unfair as to test the ignorant by the standard of the wise, and to complain of Friar Bacon because he did not know so much as Newton.

Meanwhile let us return to the Great Horde. Its wretched fragments wandered, we are told, from steppe to steppe, sometimes on the borders of the Dnieper, and sometimes on those of Circassia, near the Kuma. The sons of Ahmed allied themselves with Abdul Kerim, the tzar of Astrakan, made another attempt to invade the Crimea, but their effort was frustrated by the Russians, the Khan of Kazan, and the Nogais on the one hand, and by a contingent of 2,000 troops, sent to the assistance of Mengli Girai by the Sultan, on the other. They lost many of their herds, and in a bloody fight Idiku, the son of Ahmed, was killed.† The Lithuanians continued in close alliance with the Great Horde, however.

On the side of Poland matters were also ripening for Russia. Casimir was growing old; like Ivan, he was a cautious person and averse to open

* Karamzin, vi. 288. † *Id.*, 292.

war, and the two rivals played a prudent game, in which the chief factors were intrigues with the dependents and neighbours of the other. At this game Ivan was very fortunate. Since the reign of Vitut in Lithuania, the ancient appanages constituting the Principality of Chernigof, in the governments of Tula, Kaluga, and Orel, had been subject to the Lithuanians, but they were Russian by race, and remained faithful to the Greek church, while their masters belonged to the Latin communion. We now find Ivan doing what the Russians have lately done in Servia, &c., and encouraging their princes to change their allegiance. We read that several of them, such as the Princes of Odoyef, Vortoynsk, Bielef, and Peremysl, placed themselves under the protection of Muscovy. Meanwhile there was apparent cordiality in the diplomatic intercourse of the two sovereign patrons. On Ivan asking for several favours, however, his envoys were told, "Your monarch loves to ask but not to grant. I will follow his example."* Soon after, namely, on the 25th of June, 1492, Casimir died, and his dominions were divided between his two sons; Albert became King of Poland, and Alexander Grand Duke of Lithuania.† This seemed a happy turn for Russia, and we find Ivan urging Mengli Girai of Krim to make an immediate descent on the latter country. Another messenger was despatched to Stephen of Moldavia to incite him to a similar policy. Meanwhile Feodor Obolenski made a raid into Lithuania, and was assisted by some of the newly enfranchised princes. The Russians overran the province of Smolensk, and gained some minor victories, and Ivan's hatred for his neighbour was further inflamed by the discovery of a plot to poison him, which was said to have been started by Casimir himself. The Prince Ivan Lukomski, of the race of St. Vladimir, and a Pole named Matthias were intrusted with the horrible commission, and on their plot being discovered, they were burnt alive in a cage on the Moskva.

The Krim Khan continued faithful to his alliance against Lithuania. From a letter which he wrote to the Grand Prince, we learn that Sheikh Ahmed, having married a daughter of Musa, a famous murza of the Nogais, had been for a while dethroned, but that he was afterwards reinstated, and continued to reign conjointly with Seyid Ahmed.‡ This was apparently written about 1492 or 1493.

Ivan, whose worldly wisdom perhaps saw that if he pressed matters too much he might combine against him the three brothers Ladislas, Albert, and Alexander, who together controlled Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Lithuania, and knowing that Stephen of Moldavia, his own ally, was being daily weakened by his conflict with the Turks, determined at length to make peace with Alexander. This was signed in January, 1494. By it the Lithuanians ceded all suzerain rights over the Princes of Viazma, Novossil, Odoyef, Vorotynsk, Peremysl, Bielef, and the *Grand*

* Karamzin, vi. 296. † *Id.*, 297. ‡ *Id.*, 303, 304.

Princes of Riazan, and agreed to release the two Princes of Mezetsk, who had been exiled to Yaroslavl; they also undertook that the various discontented princes who had sought refuge in Lithuania should be detained there. The Russians agreed on their part to abandon their recent conquests; the merchants and envoys of each country were to pass freely through the other. The treaty was cemented by the marriage of Alexander with Helena, the daughter of Ivan. It was strictly provided that she was to retain her religion, and that Alexander was not to consent to her changing it, even at her own desire, while a Greek church was to be built within her palace. Ivan, on bidding good bye, strictly enjoined her to respect his wishes in this matter,* and sent a special envoy to see she was married in a Greek church and in Russian costume. Karamzin's naïve narrative says, "The two fiancés met outside Vilna, on a piece of golden damask spread over red cloth, addressed a few words to each other, and then entered the town, he on horseback, she on a splendid sledge." The marriage, like many other similar marriages, did not prove such a gauge of peace as some expected. Ivan was irritated that his son-in-law styled him Grand Prince and not "Sovereign of all the Russias," which doubtless involved some claims upon Kief and other Lithuanian possessions. He also interfered in the domestic arrangements of the young pair, and was absurdly particular in regard to his daughter not being contaminated with Roman Catholic dogmas. She was a sensible person, and very loyal to her husband.

In 1492 Ivan built the fortress of Ivanogorod, opposite Narva, as a menace to the knights of Livonia. He then proceeded to quarrel with the merchants of the Hanseatic league, as I have mentioned. In 1496 he sent his armies to ravage Finland, which was then a possession of the Swedish crown, and the country on the banks of the Limenga was annexed.†

We now read of a strange and cruel domestic incident in the Muscovite Imperial family. Ivan's eldest son Ivan had left a son named Dimitri, who, if the succession had been absolutely settled, would have been undoubtedly the heir to the throne. By his second wife Sophia, the descendant of the Greek Emperors, he had a second son Vasili. It would seem that the partisans of the old order of things, in which brother succeeded brother, seconded the efforts of Sophia to claim the crown for Vasili. Ivan was unsettled, but after some time decided in favour of his grandson Dimitri, who was crowned with great ceremony, while the partisans of Vasili, who had entered into a conspiracy to kill the young prince, were severely punished. Presently, as is the case often with autocratic tempers, Ivan changed his mind, was reconciled to Sophia, and with extreme cruelty punished some of the principal boyards who had taken the other side, and some weeks after he

* *Id.*, 314, 315. † *Id.*, 335, 336.

nominated Vasili as Grand Prince of Novgorod and Pskof, Dimitri retaining the style of Grand Prince of Vladimir and Moscow. When the people of Pskof complained he replied, "May I not act as I please with my sons and grandsons? I will give Russia to whom I please, and I order you to obey Vasili." Surely the words of a most unrestrained autocrat. We now find him receiving envoys from the Shirvan Shah, from the Venetians, and Sultan Bajazet. The representative of the latter was admitted to his table.* Fortune continued to smile upon him, and in 1499 we read of him subjugating the Samoyedes and Voguls of the Northern Urals and the valley of the Obi. Thenceforward the Russian tzars added to their other titles that of Princes of Yugoria.

Meanwhile Ivan continued his Machiavellian policy towards Lithuania. Alexander, his son-in-law, lived in perpetual dread of his ambition. Stephen, the voivode of Moldavia, having devastated Braslavl, Alexander determined to declare war against him, but the Grand Prince warned him not to molest an ally of Moscow. Alexander replied, "I hoped that a relation was dearer to you than an ally, but I was mistaken." In 1499 a Lithuanian envoy took Ivan the following stinging letter:—"My brother: in order to please you I have entered into a treaty of peace and friendship with Stephen of Moldavia. Having heard that the Sultan Bajazet has taken up arms to attack him, my brothers, the kings of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia, have sworn to ally themselves with me to defend him. Unite your arms to ours against the common enemy, who has already seized several Christian kingdoms. Stephen's kingdom is a strong barrier for us, and its conquest by the Sultan would be no less a menace for you than for us. . . . You wish me in my letters to call you Monarch of all Russia. I will do so if you will undertake by a new grant to confirm me in the possession of Kief. Notwithstanding your solemn daily assurances of amity, I hear with regret that you have secretly plotted my ruin with Mengli Girai. Remember, my brother, that you have a conscience and a religion."† The sting of this brotherly letter consisted in its truth. Ivan had in fact sent the Prince Romodonofski in 1498 to the Krim to promise Mengli Girai that he would always be his ally against the Prince of Lithuania and the sons of Ahmed. Ivan in his reply could not deny this, and merely added a *tu quoque* as to Alexander's dealings with the sons of Ahmed. In regard to Kief, he said the proposal was so absurd that no Russian sovereign would ever listen to it.

Meanwhile another element entered into the strife. Those who have travelled in Lithuania know how bitter has been the struggle there between the Greek and Latin churches. Ivan professed, as Nicholas did in 1855, to be the special protector of the Greek church, while Alexander was a rigid Catholic, and doubtless wished to consolidate his kingdom by making his subjects adopt the same faith. In 1499 we

* *Id.*, 355. † *Id.*, 363.

find the bishop of Smolensk busy in converting the people of White Russia to the Greek cult, while Alexander constantly urged on his wife to join his own church, which she, however, refused to do. Macarius, the metropolitan of Kief, having been killed in 1497 near Mozyr by the Perekop Tartars (*i.e.*, by the Tartars of Krim), Alexander nominated Joseph of Smolensk to the post, who with the bishop of Vilna commenced a campaign, in which the watch words were, "One fold and one shepherd." They were supported by papal bulls and by the strong aid of the secular arm. Many who belonged to the Greek rite fled to Russia. Among these, we are told, were the Princes of Bielsk, Mossalsk, and Khotetof, and the boyards of Mtsensk and Serpeisk, who were received by Ivan contrary to the provisions of the treaty with Alexander.

The Prince Ivan Andrewvitch of Moyaisk, an enemy of Ivan's, had been granted as an appanage by Alexander of Chernigof, Starodub, Gomel, and Lubetch, while Ivan, the son of Shemiaka, was similarly endowed with Rylsk and Novgorod Severski. These two princes were now dead, and had been succeeded by their sons. Being rigid followers of the Greek faith, they resented the policy of Alexander, and, forgetting their family feud, placed themselves and their territory under the protection of Ivan, a position he gladly accepted. At the same time, declaring war against the Lithuanians, he rapidly conquered Mtsensk, Serpeisk, Briansk, Putivle, and Dorogobuj. The Princes of Trubtchefsk, descendants of Olga, submitted, and he in fact conquered all Lithuanian Russia, from the governments of Kaluga and Tula as far as Kief.* Alexander now appointed a distinguished soldier named Constantine Ostroisky, a descendant of the famous Roman of Gallicia, hettman of Lithuania. Although belonging to the Greek church, he did faithful service to Lithuania.

Karamzin, in criticising the conduct of Prince Daniel Stchenia, who objected to command the Russian rear guard, says it was the first of that series of quarrels about precedence among the boyards which afterwards proved so disastrous to Russia. A terrible battle now ensued on the banks of the Vedrosha, in which the Lithuanians were completely defeated. Eight thousand of them remained on the battle-field, all their artillery and baggage were captured, and the hetman Constantine was among the prisoners.† He was taken to Moscow, where he swore the oath of fealty to Ivan, was created a voivode, and given large domains. The news of the victory was received with great rejoicings at Moscow, where such an event was very unexpected. While the Russians invaded Lithuania on one side, Mengli Girai ravaged it on another. His sons, at the head of 15,000 cavalry, burnt Khmelnik, Kremenetz, Brest, Vladimir, Lutsk, Braslavl, and other towns of Polish Gallicia. Alexander was not daunted, he put his principal towns in a state of defence, hired

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* *Id.*, 373.

† *Id.*, 376.

a number of mercenaries, Poles, Bohemians, Germans, and Hungarians, and entered into an alliance with the Livonian knights, whose master Walter de Plettemberg was a deadly enemy of Russia. Shortly after this, on the death of his brother Albert, Alexander was elected King of Poland. Ivan, nevertheless, determined to prosecute the war. Another victory was won by his troops near Mitislavl, in which 7,000 Lithuanians perished. The grand master of Livonia bravely did his part, he imprisoned two hundred Russian merchants at Dorpat, and with but 4,000 knights and an armed body of some thousands of peasants and foot soldiers he ravaged Pskof with fire and sword. An army of 40,000 Russians was terribly defeated near Izborsk, the German artillery, we are told, causing quite a panic among the Muscovites.

The Germans marched from one success to another, but their course was sharply stayed by the outbreak of a terrible pestilence among them, and they were forced to retreat precipitately. Ivan now sent his troops to exact vengeance; the environs of Dorpat, Neuhausen, and Marienburgh were devastated. In a combat near Helmet the Livonians suffered severely, the regiment of the bishop of Dorpat was destroyed. A Livonian chronicler tells us the Russians and Tartars did not trouble themselves to use their scimitars, but beat down the wretched inhabitants with clubs, as if they had been boars. The Russians returned home again after having had their fill of revenge.*

Ivan now prosecuted his pique against his daughter-in-law Helena and his grandson Dimitri. He deprived the latter of the title of Grand Prince, proclaimed Vasili as his successor, and threw mother and son into prison on a charge of conspiracy. Helena's father, Stephen of Moldavia, who had recently captured the Polish towns of Kolimia, Galitch, Sniatin, and Krasnoi on the Dniester, was much exasperated with the tzar, and persuaded Mengli Girai to complain on his behalf. Ivan returned the latter a very imperious answer :—" My good nature raised my grandson to the highest rank. My displeasure has deposed him because he has plotted with his mother to outrage me. We are kind to those who treat us well, but ought we to be so to those who act differently ?" Helena died of grief in 1505, and Dimitri was kept a close prisoner.† Stephen retaliated by seizing the Muscovite envoys and some Italian artists who were passing through Moldavia, whom he afterwards released. He would not come, however, to an open rupture with Russia. He died in 1504, and before doing so he counselled his son Bogdan to submit to the Turks, reminded him how much it had cost him to retain his independence, and that it was better to give gracefully that which it was impossible to keep. Bogdan accordingly acknowledged Bajazet as his suzerain, and the transient glory of Moldavia passed away.‡

Ivan in 1502 engaged again in war with the Lithuanians and

* *Id.*, 387. † *Id.*, 397. ‡ *Id.*, 398.

Livonians, but gained no marked success, and in fact suffered a serious check at the hands of the latter, under their leader Walter of Plettemberg. The next year, at the solicitation of the pope, who wished to arm Christian Europe to restrain the terrible advance of the Turks, and to induce the Christian princes to be at peace with one another, Ivan agreed to a six years' truce with Lithuania, and restored to his son-in-law some of the conquests he had made on the Dwina. A similar armistice was entered into between the lieutenants of Pskof and Novgorod, under which the bishop of Dorpat undertook to pay the Russians tribute.* In notifying this treaty to Mengli Girai, he told him that it was merely a truce, during which they could better prepare themselves for fresh efforts and strengthen the vantage they had gained, and that their offensive alliance against Lithuania still continued good.†

In 1503 Ivan lost his wife Sophia, an event which seems to have greatly affected him, and we now find him preparing for his own end by making his will. By it he nominated Vasili as his successor. Among the domains of the Russian crown disposed of we hear now for the first time of Lapland, and we are told further that Riazan and Perevitesk had been joined to Muscovy by the cession of their Prince Feodor, his nephew. The Princes of Chernigof, Starodub, Novgorod-Severski, and Rylsk are still named as independent, although feudally subordinate to himself. Otherwise all his conquests were treated as parts of the Muscovite empire. Several towns were given as appanages to his younger sons, who had their separate civil and military establishments, and appropriated the revenues of their appanages, but they had no claims on the Imperial exchequer, had not the right to coin money or to punish the crime of murder. Their property was made hereditary, but it was only as citizens and not as independent princes that they held it. The famous Jewish heresy still survived, and Ivan, who, now that he was nearing his grave, was becoming more a tool in the hands of the clergy, allowed a bitter persecution to be carried out against the heretics. Many fled to Germany and Lithuania. Several of its chiefs were burnt alive in cages or had their tongues torn out, and little pity was shown to penitents, Joseph of Volok, a fit companion of Spanish inquisitors, urging that repentance exacted by fear could not be sincere.‡

A simmering discontent still continued between Russia and Lithuania, and petty and vexatious complaints were made on either side. We also find the Emperor Maximilian, still harping upon his Hungarian claims, and trying to enter into an offensive alliance with Ivan, who was too cautious to be entangled in disputes that affected his interests so little. Vasili, the heir to the throne, was still unmarried although twenty-five years old. We are told that the old tzar, being very wishful to see him settled

* *Id.*, 405. † *Id.*, 406. ‡ *Id.*, 412.

before he died, and there being no time to find him a Royal partner, one thousand five hundred young Russian girls were passed in review, and the young prince's choice fell on Solomonia, the daughter of an obscure officer named Yuri Saburof, descended from a Tartar emigrant named Murzachet. Karamzin moralises on the dangers incident to princes intermarrying with their subjects, which nearly always leads to difficulties with the wife's relatives, who acquire a prestige not attainable by the other noble families. He thinks that it was in view of these dangers that the choice fell on an obscure person, but in the event the marriage proved how sound the principle is. The Godunofs, relations of Solomonia, caused great trouble to Russia in the future, and caused in fact the supplanting of Ivan's own family.*

Ivan died on the 27th of October, 1505, at the age of sixty-six, and after a reign of forty-three years, which is by far the most important in the Russian annals. We are told naïvely by Karamzin that the contemporary annalists do not mention that his people wept or showed much grief at his death, but content themselves with recounting his great deeds, and thanking heaven for having given such a monarch to Russia. His was not the character to attract love or sympathy; it was the calculating prudence of the lawyer, added to the unscrupulous and unbending iron will of the statesman. His was a great epoch, and he stands out in some measure as its type; everywhere feudalism was giving place to centralised autocracy, small states were being coalesced into great ones. It was a period, too, of great discoveries. Printing was invented at Nuremberg, Columbus discovered another world, and, what was more important to Russia and its neighbours, Vasco de Gama, by rounding the Cape of Good Hope, found a new road to India, and supplanted inevitably the trade routes by way of the Caspian and the Sea of Azof, which had so greatly enriched the masters of the Golden Horde. No less a discovery, perhaps, was that of Russia itself, which in Ivan's reign first became really known to the rest of Europe, and mainly through his efforts who was born the tributary and dependent of the Tartars and died when he was treated as an equal by the German Kaizer and the Turkish Sultan. Although he was no warrior himself, the army was greatly reformed during his reign by the creation of bodies of mercenary troops, who lived in a special quarter beyond the Moskva, and also by the introduction of the boyard-followers, who, like the feudal chiefs of early Europe, received grants of land on condition of being ready to serve the prince when required. They formed, as Kelly says, a kind of spahis, such as were till lately seen in Turkey, having no gradations of rank and dependent solely on the throne. He exacted rigid discipline, and to him are traced the rozziadi or tactical rules for the troops, which were generally divided into five

* *Id.*, 420.

sections, the main body, the right and left wings, the advance and rear guards.* "He triumphs over his enemies," said Stephen, "while he sits tranquilly in his palace, and I, who am always on horseback and in the field, cannot defend my country."

With the instincts of a lawyer, he preferred a common-place treaty which secured him an advantage to risking his fortunes on the die of a battle. He introduced the pomp and ceremony of Western courts into his own, and by surrounding his person with a certain awe and grandeur, he began that policy which has created for the Russians an anthropomorphic deity in their tzar. Like most men of his type, he was imperious and exacting upon all around him, had a stubborn temper, and little pity or sensibility; the knout was unsparingly used upon the noblest in the land. He revised the taxes, which seem to have borne hardly upon the peasants, many of whom, we are told, paid a fourth and a fifth of the produce of their fields and flocks in this way. He also greatly encouraged commerce, and moved the ancient fair of Kholopi-Gorodok to Mologa.†

Ivan was also the author of new laws. It would seem that the deficiencies of the ancient code of Yaroslaf I. had been supplemented by that used at Byzantium.‡ In 1497 Ivan issued a new code. It is marked by a draconic and severe character, a tenth of the money recovered had to be paid to the judges and the sheriff, a certain way of inducing corruption. "In this barbarous code," says Kelly, "everything partakes of the keenness of the sword which is brought into action in every part of it. Single combat decides upon the majority of criminal offences; in cases of suspicion when reputation is not spotless, torture is called in to enlighten justice. A first theft (the spoliation of a church or the kidnapping of a slave excepted) was punished by the knout and confiscation of all the criminal's property, half of which went to the injured person. The poor culprit was given up to his accuser to be dealt with at discretion. A second robbery was punished with death without any formality, when five or six *honest* citizens deposed on oath that the offender was a known thief.§ In the judicial duels the officers of justice arranged the details, except in regard to arms, which the contending parties might choose for themselves, always excepting firearms and bows and arrows." Some of the clauses of the civil laws are curious. Articles bought *bonâ fide*, as attested by two or three witnesses, became the purchaser's although stolen, except in the case of horses. Those in possession of land as owners for three years were deemed its owners, except as against the crown, when the occupation must be for six years. A famous clause, which had important results afterwards, was the one forbidding the peasants to change their lord, except for ten days before and ten days after the feast of Saint George, and in doing so the peasant must pay a rouble for it if in the steppe, and a hundred dengas if in the

* *Id.*, 431. † *Id.*, 440. ‡ *Id.*, 442. § *Id.*, 443. Kelly, i. 131.

wooded districts. A man might sell himself, his wife, and children as slaves, but the children of a slave were free if they served another master or lived by their own exertions. A person marrying a slave became a slave. Slaves might form part of a dowry or be willed. When captured by the Tartars they became free on escaping. Ecclesiastics, male and female, were judged by the bishops and in the ecclesiastical court.* Ivan also regulated the police, the post stations, and the roads. A curious plan for insuring silence in the streets at night was putting chevaux de frise there so as to stop passengers from going quickly. His hand did not spare the high placed. The archbishop Gennadius was deposed for simony, and a decree of a council held in 1503 ordered that endowers should not be allowed to perform the services of the church. The Turks having trodden down the Eastern patriarchal sees, we find a bishop of Cæsarea going to Russia to be ordained. We are also told that Ivan greatly cherished the Russian monasteries on Mount Athos.

Having traced the story of Ivan's latter days, let us revert once more to that of the Great Horde. Its Tartars continued to be faithful friends to the Poles in their terrible struggle. About 1500 we are told that Sheikh Ahmed, with 20,000 cavalry and infantry, planted himself at the mouth of the Tikhaia Sosna, at the foot of the Dievichie mountains, and threatened the Krim Khan, who was posted on the opposite side of the Don with 25,000 men, and was waiting for the arrival of his Russian allies. "Send me," wrote the latter to Ivan, "by the Don some pieces of artillery, for form's sake merely, the enemy will fly directly he sees them." Ivan, although engaged at the time in a fierce struggle with both the Lithuanians and Livonians, sent the help asked for. Muhammed Amin, who commanded the Tartars in the Russian service, Prince Nozdrovati at the head of a body of Muscovites, and a contingent from Riazan, were ordered to the Don, and some artillery was told off to follow them; but Mengli Girai did not await these reinforcements, and, under the pretence that he was afraid of famine overtaking him, he retired, guaranteeing to the Grand Prince the approaching destruction of the Great Horde. "From this time," says Karamzin, "the troops of Krim pursued the Tartars of the Great Horde, summer and winter, without ceasing, and devastated their quarters."† In vain Sheikh Ahmed implored the assistance of the Lithuanians, who were engaged elsewhere. In vain he neared Rylsk in the hope of finding his allies. He only encountered the troops of Muscovy ready to repel him. He furiously accused Alexander of treachery. "It is for you," he wrote, "that we took up arms, for you we have suffered a thousand fatigues, borne famine in the midst of deserts, and now you abandon us a prey to famine, exposed to the attacks of Mengli Girai." Alexander sent some presents to his ally, but he was too busy celebrating his accession to the throne of

* Karamzin, vi. 445-448.　　† *Id.*, 388.

Poland, amidst great pomp at Cracow, to afford more useful succour. Meanwhile Sheikh Ahmed was deserted by numbers of his princes and hulans. His favourite wife even left him and sought shelter in the Taurida. He was further annoyed by his brother Seyid Ahmed, who had asked for shelter in Russia. This is the last mention we can find of Seyid Ahmed. From the account of Muhammed Riza, which is very confused, it may be that he was killed in a fight with Muhammed Girai, son of Mengli Girai.*

Sheikh Ahmed now determined to make overtures to Ivan, and at the end of 1501 he sent a murza to Moscow to propose an alliance with him against Lithuania, on condition that he ceased to protect Mengli Girai of Krim. "Politics," says Karamzin, "are never vindictive, and Ivan would probably have accepted these advances but for the clause about Mengli Girai, who was too useful an ally." He therefore replied, that no enemy of Mengli Girai could be a friend of the princes of Moscow. In 1502 Sheikh Ahmed's Tartars, when suffering from famine, were attacked by Mengli Girai and scattered or taken prisoners. The latter then wrote to the Grand Prince, "The country of our enemy is now in our possession, and I congratulate you as a friend and a brother."† Ivan was too politic not to attempt to utilise even an enemy who was prostrate. He made overtures to Sheikh Ahmed, and promised to give him the throne of Astrakhan on condition that he would aid him against the Lithuanians; but, followed by an evil genius, he left, we are told, with his two brothers Khosiak and Khalek, and sought refuge in Turkey. Thence, however, they were driven by order of the Sultan Bajazet, who said that Turkey was no harbour for the enemies of Mengli Girai. Pursued by the princes of Krim, they then fled to Kief, where, instead of meeting with a welcome, they were basely imprisoned by Alexander, who doubtless thought he could use Sheikh Ahmed as a bait to extract terms from the Krim Khan with. He wrote to the latter, saying, "Your enemy is in our power. If you refuse to make peace, I can at any moment release the sons of Ahmed."

Ivan counselled Mengli Girai to take no heed of these advances. "The Lithuanians," he said, "despite all honour, have thrown their ally, who has so long served them, into chains, and, like Seyid Ahmed in former days, this new victim of their treachery will perish in captivity. Do not fear, therefore, that they will give liberty to your enemy, for they have reason to dread his revenge." Ivan was right; for after having been the plaything of the Polish court for some years, at one time treated with great consideration and at another imprisoned, he was at length taken before the diet of Radoml, where he publicly addressed the king, saying, "Your seductive promises made me leave the recesses of Scythia. You have given me over into the hands of Mengli Girai. Deprived of my armies, robbed of my country, I came to seek shelter in that of a

* Vel. *Zern.*, i. 171. † Karamzin, vi. 390.

friend. The cruel man has treated me as an enemy, and has cast me into prison, but," he said, raising his hands aloft, "there is a God who will not leave your perfidy unpunished." Alexander in turn accused Sheikh Ahmed of having been the cause of his own ruin, charged his people with ravaging the environs of Kief, and, complained that instead of attacking the Russians and marching towards Staradub, he had, contrary to his advice, clung to the borders of Krim, there to lose his army, while his journey to Turkey was declared to be to arouse an enemy against Poland and Lithuania.*

The result was that Sheikh Ahmed was taken away to Troki in Lithuania, where he was imprisoned. Some time after there arrived at Troki a deputation from the Nogai Tartars, offering Seyid Ahmed (? Sheikh Ahmed) the throne and demanding his release. This having been refused, the Khan succeeded in escaping with some Nogais, but he was waylaid by a body of Polish cavalry, taken again to Troki, and thence removed to Kovno.†

Thus ended the Golden Horde, which had dominated over such a wide area and filled such a notable place in the history of Eastern Europe.

Before turning to the history of the fragments into which it was broken, it will not be inopportune to glance at some of the effects which the long servitude of Russia to the Tartars had produced, and at the influence which the Tartars had upon Russian institutions. This touches critical ground. The patriotism of Russian historians has made them minimise this influence as much as possible, and even almost deny it altogether. It is true the Tartars were never settled in Russia, and only had their agents there, but it is nevertheless true that no nation can be under the absolute yoke of another for two centuries without being greatly influenced by its suzerain, although he may govern the land from without. Karamzin confesses that the domination had considerable influence on the moral qualities of the Russians and their princes. Slaves seldom have much self-respect, and with them artifice and cunning take the place of courage and rectitude; and, as the same author says, "those who began by deceiving the Tartars ended by deceiving each other." Honour, glory, patriotism—the virtues of chivalry—cannot grow in a soil which is not free, and those who are themselves the objects of tyranny speedily seek compensation by tyrannising over others. Brutal manners and contempt for law are other natural fruits of servitude, and necessitate in turn cruel punishment and inhuman forms of repression. We are not surprised, therefore, to find Russian history in mediæval times remarkable for the meanness and smallness of many of its heroes, and to find also that sordid and corrupt motives were more natural than more ambitious ones. That those who had been under the heel of the oppressor for a long time lost their taste

* Karamzin, vi. 393. † Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 357. Note.

and love for liberty, which, as has been finely said, "is the heritage of the lion and not of the lamb;" nor are we surprised to find an exceedingly patriotic historian like Karamzin confessing that some of the more ignoble features in the Russian character of our own day may be traced to the circumstances surrounding the Tartar domination.

These, however, are mere general influences. We can specify others more definite and direct. Voltaire's sardonic epigram, that "if you scratch the Russian you will meet with the Tartar," has been construed literally by many people, who believe that a great deal of Tartar blood is to be found among the Russians, and this view has been as fiercely rebutted by native historians. The fact is, that among the peasants of Muscovy proper the amount of Tartar blood is almost nil, while in the provinces bordering the Volga it preponderates immensely. Among the upper classes, however, there has been a considerable infusion of Tartar blood. Many princely families among the Tartars accepted baptism and were adopted into the Russian body politic, and these have since intermarried considerably with the more purely Slavic families of Muscovy. In the notes at the end of the chapter will be found a list of such families, which I have extracted from Von Hammer's Golden Horde.

There are also a considerable number of Turkish words which have been adopted by the Russians. These were doubtless derived from the Tartars, who spoke Turkish, the Mongol element among them having been very small from early times. The long beards worn by the Russians have been assigned by Von Hammer* and others to a Tartar origin, but it was more probably an ancient habit of Muscovy, as may be seen on the figures of Scyths, &c., on coins and other remains. More probably of Tartar origin were the long boots with their seams decorated with beads, and the caps worn by the Russians, which among them bore the Turkish names of tafei or takiye and skufia (uskus).† The names artagha, altun, kopek, deng, and pul, used for various kinds of money among the Russians, were of Tartar origin; similarly the terms arshin, kile, and aghash, for various measures. The ancient custom called dershatna proweshe, in virtue of which the debtor had to stand at the gate of the judge, to be there beaten by the jailor in the pay of the creditor until he paid his debt, and also the barbarous punishment of the knout were perhaps of Tartar origin.‡

Millet, the favourite grain of the Tartars, was apparently introduced by them into Russia, as were also the drinks kumis and busa or kwas. Buckwheat was not improbably imported into Europe through their influence. The Bohemians call it pohanka, and the Hungarians tatarka.§ Formerly the Russian women were in the habit of riding on carts ornamented with red cloth and fastened on runners like those of the

* Golden Horde, 409. † Von Hammer, op. cit., 410. Note. ‡ Golden Horde, 410. § *Id.*, Note, 4.

Tartars. Among the officials of the old Russian court the karauls or masters of the ceremonies, postelniks (chamberlains), and kilijes were clearly of Tartar origin, as is proved by their names. In Turkish karaul means a sentry, kilig a sabre, and post the sheepskin upon which dervishes squat. The term yarligh (*i.e.*, diploma) is still in use in Turkey for a patent granted by the Sultan. These, as also the habit of wearing the cap in church like the Mussulmans, were only abolished by Ivan. The saddles and bridles were of the Tartar pattern, and we are told that Daniel of Galitch used Tartar weapons. It was formerly the custom in Russia to write kneeling, as the Turks do still. While according to Von Hammer the art of inlaying silver upon iron and steel, which is still largely practised in Russia, was of Tartar introduction. The Tartars were capital smiths.* It is probable that the old system of secluding women, which prevailed so largely in Russia, was copied from them. "Also the custom of the tzars choosing their consorts from among the collected daughters of the nobility, the reduction to slavery of prisoners of war, the long afternoon slumber, the taste for plumpness of person, the dead silence in the presence of the tzar, so dead that a foreigner tells us if the eyes were closed in the midst of the most numerous court the spectator might have supposed himself in a desert; the bazaars, the practice of boxing (the Russians were formerly famous as pugilists), and the hiring of mourners at funerals."†

I shall presently give a list of distinguished Russian families descended from Tartar ancestors, showing how very considerable a graft the upper classes of Russia received from this source; and we cannot fail, even after a cursory examination of Russian ways of thought and idiosyncrasies, to attribute them very largely to the masters who lorded it over them for so long. We must now complete our story.

KASIM KHAN.

Among the fragments of the Golden Horde, the Khanate of Astrakhan has every title to be considered as the right heir of that ancient power. It was in fact the Golden Horde with a much diminished territory, and limited roughly to the modern governments of Astrakhan and the Caucasus, but it was under princes of the same family, and it retained command apparently of the Caspian trade, and largely also retained the allegiance of the Nogais. It is not impossible that on the death of Kuchuk Muhammed his two sons, whose history I have related, Mahmud Khan and Ahmed Khan to some extent divided the horde between them, and that Mahmud Khan's portion was the Lower Volga. At all events the latter struck coins there.‡ And

* Golden Horde, 411. † Kelly's Russia, i. 148. ‡ Fræhn, Res., 393.

during the reign of Ahmed, as I have already mentioned, we find Astrakhan, according to the narrative of Contarini, ruled by three of his nephews, who could be no others than the sons of Mahmud, since he expressly says their father had formerly been Khan. The most prominent of these, and the only one mentioned by name by the Venetian traveller was Kasim, the Kassyda of Karamzin. The names of the other two brothers we can only guess at, but I would tentatively suggest that they were Janibeg, a prince whose origin Veliaminof Zernof could not trace,* but who was clearly a person of great consequence at this time, who was actually nominated as Khan of Krim (as we shall see in a future chapter) by Ahmed when the latter drove Mengli Girai away, and who was also a *protegé* of the tzar Ivan. The third brother, I believe, was Abdul Kerim, who was afterwards Khan of Astrakhan. The first mention of Kasim known to me was when he lay in wait in the neighbourhood of Astrakhan to waylay the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin, when on his way to India.† M. Veliaminof Zernof dates this journey in 1466, and Karamzin‡ in 1470. This traveller, in going down the Volga to Astrakhan, passed the Tartar towns of Uslan and Berekzan, which were doubtless subject to Kasim. Our next mention of the latter is in Contarini's travels, which I have already abstracted.§ He was then at issue with his uncle Ahmed. It would seem from the Sheibani Nahmeh that Kasim's amir el umera was Timur beg, a famous Nogai chief who has already been mentioned in the history of Ahmed. Kasim offered shelter to the two grandsons of Abulkhair when their father had been defeated by Ibak Khan, and we are told the latter, in alliance with Ahmed, marched against Kasim, who, finding himself too weak to oppose such a strong army, sought refuge in Astrakhan. There he was beleagured, and the two young princes who had taken refuge with him had to cut their way out at the head of forty attendants, after a fierce struggle.‖

Kasim afterwards made peace with his uncle, as I have mentioned, and in 1480, when Ahmed marched to the Ugra against Ivan III., one of the annalists says, "and with the tzar all the horde and his brother's son, the tzar Kasim and the tzar's sons, and an innumerable quantity of Tartars."¶ This is the last mention I can find of Kasim.

ABDUL KERIM KHAN.

Barbaro, in reporting the war between Mengli Girai and the sons of Ahmed, says the former marched against Astrakhan, which belonged to Murtaza Khan.** This seems to be a mistake. In 1490-1 we read that

* Op. cit., i. Note, 50. † Vel. Zern., ii. 235. ‡ vi. 456. § *Ante*, 316.
‖ Vel. Zern., ii. 235. ¶ *Id.* ** Op. cit., ed. Hack., 29, 30.

the sons of Ahmed, in alliance with Abdul Kerim, the tzar of Astrakan who if our contention be right was their cousin, made an irruption into the Krim, where they were defeated, and lost many of their herds. Idiku, the son of Ahmed, we are told, was there killed.*

In 1502, when the Golden Horde was finally dispersed, Yusuf and Shigavlei, tzarevitches of Astrakhan and nephews of Ahmed Khan, sought refuge in Russia.† The former, we are told, was the son of Yakub and the latter of Bakhtiar, brothers of Ahmed.‡ Sheikh Ahmed had been imprisoned in Lithuania, as I have described.§ According to Miechof, while he was a prisoner he attempted to escape, and a number of people, led by Kazak Sultan, a brother german (fratris germanus, ? his half-brother), were sent on ahead to the Volga to Abdul Kerim to solicit assistance, but the party were captured as they were traversing Lithuania, at the instance of Mengli Girai, and finally imprisoned at Kovno.

In the latter part of 1509, we are told that Abdul Kerim, in alliance with the Nogai Murzas Aguish, Akhmet Ali, and Shidiak, made an attack on Krim, but were defeated by the Khan.‖ This is the last mention I can find of Abdul Kerim.

HUSSEIN KHAN.

He was apparently succeeded by Hussein Khan, who is called the son of Janibeg. That is no doubt of the Janibeg already mentioned, and who was therefore probably Abdul Kerim's nephew. He was reigning at Astrakhan when Muhammed Girai, the Khan of Krim, who inherited his father's ambition and his father's hatred for the Great Horde, and had already put his son Sahib Girai on the throne at Kazan, now, in the year 1522, marched against Astrakhan. In alliance with Mamai, a prince of the Nogais, he drove Hussein away and captured the town, and thus momentarily reunited the Great Horde in his own hands. Hussein was in close alliance with the Russians, and it was a demonstration which he made the previous year when Muhammed Girai was attacking them which probably saved Muscovy from being trampled under by him. Hussein now sent envoys to lay the condition of his country before the Grand Prince. "But meanwhile," says Karamzin, "the grandeur of Muhammed Girai dissolved like a dream." The Nogais conspired against him, and, as I shall describe in a later chapter, assassinated him in his tent, while a large part of his army perished miserably in the steppes.¶

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* Karamzin, vi. 292. † *Id.*, 393. ‡ Vel. Zern., 38. Note, 75.
§ *Ante*, 347. ‖ Karamzin, vii. Note, 10. ¶ Karamzin, vii. 156-159.

This was followed by the reinstatement of Hussein as Khan of Astrakhan. He is so called in a letter of Saadet Girai to the Grand Prince, written in 1523, in which he calls Hussein his friend.*

KASIM KHAN.

We have no definite information about Astrakhan for some years. When we again hear of it in 1532, Kasim was its ruler. He is called Kasai in the Russian chronicles, which is a mere Tartar corruption of the Arabic name Kasim. He was the son of Seyid Ahmed, as we learn from the Russian Synodal Register.† This shows that Astrakhan was now ruled by the descendants of Ahmed Khan of the Golden Horde, and not by those of Mahmud Khan, his brother. In 1532 Kasim sent an envoy named Zloba to the Grand Prince proposing an alliance, but scarcely had the envoys arrived, when news came that the Circassians had fallen on Astrakhan, carried off the Khan, killed many princes and people, plundered their corpses, and put Ak Kubek on the throne.‡ Kasim apparently died the same year.§

AK KUBEK KHAN.

Ak Kubek was the son of Murtaza Khan, and therefore the first cousin of Kasim.‖ He had a brother called Berdibeg or Berdibek, and was apparently on good terms with the Russians.¶ He only occupied the throne for a few months. It seems he was dethroned by the Nogais.**

ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN.

Ak Kubek was succeeded by Abdul Rahman, who was doubtless a descendant of Mahmud Khan, as he does not occur among the descendants of Ahmed Khan in the Synodal Register.†† He was perhaps a son of Abdul Kerim. He was already on the throne in 1533, and undertook to be on friendly terms with the Grand Prince Vasili.‡‡ About 1537 we read that the council of regency, who controlled matters

* Karamzin, vii. 160.
† Vel. Zern., i. Note, 135.
‡ *Id.* Note, 99. Karamzin, vii. 199, 200.
§ Vel. Zern., i. Note, 135.
‖ *Id.* Notes, 21 and 148.
¶ *Id.*
** *Id.* Note, 148.
†† *Id.* Note, 21.
‡‡ *Id.* Note, 148. Karamzin, vii. 200.

during the minority of Ivan the Terrible, sent envoys to Abdul Rahman, who was threatened by the Krim Tartars and the Nogais,* and in that year, according to the Russian annals, the Nogais drove him away from the throne and put Dervish Ali in his place.†

DERVISH KHAN.

Dervish Khan was, according to some and perhaps the best of the Russian authorities, the son of Sheikh Haidar, the son of Sheikh Ahmed Khan. One author makes him the son of Sheikh Ahmed.‡ At all events it is clear he was a descendant of Ahmed Khan. He was not on the throne long.

ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN (SECOND REIGN).

Dervish was apparently displaced by Abdul Rahman, for on the 20th of September, 1539, we find the Grand Prince Ivan the Terrible sending Powadin, the son of Andrew Stephanof, with a letter to Abdul Rahman to Astrakhan, inquiring after his health. He also sent back to him one of his people named Epboldu, with his companions.§ The next year Kudaliar returned as Abdul Rahman's envoy to the Grand Prince.‖ In July, 1541, there arrived from Astrakhan an envoy named Feodor Neweshin, who reported to the Grand Prince that the Astrakhan tzarevitch Yadigar was on his way, that he wished to enter the service of the Grand Prince, and was then staying at Kasimof with Shah Ali. With Feodor there went Ishim, the envoy of Abdul Rahman, with a friendly letter, and a week later Yadigar arrived and entered the Russian service.¶ The Yadijar or Yadigar Muhammed, just named, was the son of the Astrakhan Khan Kasim.** We do not hear of Astrakhan for some years, and when it is mentioned again Abdul Rahman was no longer Khan. He had been replaced by Yamgurchi.

YAMGURCHI KHAN.

Yamgurchi was the son of Berdibeg and the nephew of Ak Kubek Khan.†† Like his uncle, he owed his throne to the Circassians.‡‡ We first read of him about 1549, when Sahib Girai, the Khan of Krim,

* Karamzin, vii. 313. † Vel. Zern., i. Note, 131. ‡ *Id.* Note, 131. § *Id.* ‖ *Id.* Note, 148. ¶ *Id.* Note, 115. ** *Id.* Note, 135. †† *Id.* Note, 21. ‡‡ *Id.*, Note, 131.

marched against Astrakhan, when we are told Yagmanji, no doubt a corruption of Yamgurchi, was Khan. On this occasion the Krim Khan completely defeated the Tartars of Astrakhan, which town he destroyed, and carried off the inhabitants with their women and wealth to the Krim.* He apparently nominated his nephew Devlet Girai as Khan of Astrakhan.

The situation of Astrakhan as an entrepôt of trade was too good, however, for it to be completely eradicated. It was absolutely indispensable for the eastern trade, and however weak in soldiers, its merchants were rich enough, and we are told that Suliman, the Turkish Sultan, ordered the Krim Khan to send back its inhabitants to Astrakhan, which had meanwhile been raised from its ruins, and where Yamgurchi was still Khan.† In August, 1551, Ishim went as his envoy to the Grand Prince Ivan Vasilivitch, and on behalf of Yamgurchi submitted himself and his yurt to the suzerainty of Russia, on the same terms that Shah Ali of Kazan and the other tzars had done.‡

In May, 1552, Kaibula, otherwise called Abdulla, the son of Ak Kubek Khan, and therefore cousin of Yamgurchi, went to live in Russia. The Grand Prince married him to a daughter of Jan Ali, brother of Shah Ali, the former Khan of Kazan, and gave him the town of Yurief as an appanage.§ Abdulla had a sister, who was married to Ak Murza, the son of the Nogai chief Yusuf.

Ishim was well received by the Grand Prince, and on his return the following year he was accompanied by a Russian envoy named Sebastian. This probably aroused the Khan's suspicions, for we are told he was only treated with scant courtesy. In the following year complaints arrived at Moscow from Ismael and other Nogai princes against Yamgurchi.‖ In 1554 we are told that Yamgurchi, seduced by the promises of the Sultan of Constantinople, allied himself with Devlet Girai of the Krim, and with Yusuf, the Nogai chief, who was vexed that his daughter Shumbeka should have been carried off by the Russians as a prisoner. The tzar upon this determined to conquer the Khanate. With him were allied Ismael and other murzas of the Nogais, who were opposed to Dervish. They asked that Ivan would reinstate Dervish as Khan.

DERVISH KHAN (Second Reign).

After his deposition from the throne, and during the reigns of Abdul Rahman and Yamgurchi, Dervish had been a wanderer.

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 367. Karamzin, viii. 98.
† Karamzin, viii. 129, 130.
‡ Vel. Zern., i. Note, 131.
§ Karamzin, viii. 129, 130.
‖ S. G. Gmelin's Travels, ii. 45.

Thus in 1548 he was in Russia, but the next year, at the invitation of the Nogais, he went to live among them. In 1551 he once more returned to Russia.* He received Zuenigorod as an appanage, and lived there till 1554,† when the Nogai request came, as I have mentioned. The tzar sent for Dervish and ordered his troops to march. They went in three divisions, under Yuria Ivanovitch Pronskoi, Ignatius Vishniakof, Stephen Sidorof, and other commanders. Besides them was a contingent of Cossacks, under the hetman Theodore Paulof, with the *élite* of the boyard-followers and the Strelitzes. They reached Zaritzin on the 19th of May. An advance body of light troops was sent forward to reconnoitre, who met a body of Tartars opposite the Black Island, defeated them, and captured some prisoners. From their prisoners they learnt that Yamgurchi had retired from the city and had occupied a position eight versts from it, while the inhabitants of Astrakhan had deserted it through fear, and had taken shelter on the islands. On hearing this the Russian commanders transported these soldiers from the heavy boats in which they had come to Zaritzin into lighter ones, and then going on again anchored at Kamenskoi Yar, the site of the older Serai, which, says Gmelin, was called Zarefpody by the Tartars and Bolskoi Serai by the Russians.‡ Dividing their troops, one body went on and anchored opposite Astrakhan. This was on the 29th of May. The gates were open, and the terrified remnant of the inhabitants fled, but the greater part were captured by the Christians. Meanwhile another Russian division, under Vasenskoi, marched against Yamgurchi, who was defeated after an obstinate resistance, and a large quantity of cannon and muskets were found in the camp. This camp is fixed with some probability by Gmelin on the branch of the Volga called Kutum, where in his day there was still a fortification called Gorodok Yamgurchi (*i.e.*, the fort of Yamgurchi). The Khan had put his treasures and seraglio on board ship, so that they might escape to the Caspian, and had himself fled. Dervish was now installed as Khan, and the Tartars who remained behind or had been captured swore fealty to their new lord and to the Russians. The latter divided their forces into various contingents, which followed the several arms of the Volga in the Delta, and captured a great number of Tartars who were either in boats or on the shore, and released many Russians who had been slaves. Yamgurchi, with a large body of followers, had retreated by the branch of the Volga called Mochak, which runs through the steppe of Kislar, and thence to the lake Beloe, whence he fled to Tiumen. He was sharply pursued, and a great number of his people with their money, treasures, and weapons were captured. They reported that his wives had fled to Syshmoshag. The Russians marched day and night for this spot, which they at length

* Vel. Zern., i. Note, 131. † *Id.* Note, 148. ‡ Gmelin, ii. 46, 47.

reached, cut down the guards, and captured the harem and treasure. In the former were four princesses, named Tevkel, Kanbusa, Erthuana, and Girinna. The last was *enceinte*, and gave birth to a son, whom she called Yarshith. With these four wives were also captured the sons of Yamgurchi's senior wife Mergivana and his granddaughter Babich. Meanwhile Yamgurchi, with the principal grandees of Astrakhan and a considerable army, escaped by the Mochagish swamps to Karabulat. The Russians, having collected their scattered troops, arrived on the 7th of June at Karabulat, and utterly defeated him. He fled, first to lake Beloe, where he was again beaten, and afterwards with but twenty followers to Azof. The rest of his followers were either slain or made prisoners. On news of this arriving, all the remaining Tartars collected together and sent envoys to the Russian generals, asking for clemency and to be treated as their brothers who had already submitted had been treated. The Russians fixed a day when all who wanted to submit should go to Astrakhan. There accordingly went Prince Iraklesh, who was the most eminent of their deputies, and who with the Princes Ishim and Ali collected their relatives and subjects. There went Enhuvath Asey with 3,000 armed warriors, 500 murzas and princes, and 7,000 Black Tartars (*i.e.*, of the commonalty). They swore that they and their descendants would become subjects of Russia, and that in case Dervish died they would ask a new ruler at the hands of the Russian tzar.* Karamzin adds that they also promised to pay the Russians a tribute of 40,000 altins and 3,000 stock fish, while the Russians were granted the free right of fishing on the Volga from Kazan to the sea. Having ordered the grandees to take up their residence in the town, and the other Tartars to repair to the country round, and having released the many Russians who were in captivity, and left a body of Cossacks behind to protect Dervish from his new subjects, and probably also to act as a salutary check on him, the Russian generals returned home.†

The news of the capture of Astrakhan arrived at Moscow on the tzar's birthday, and was received with great rejoicings. A solemn Te Deum was sung, and the generals were handsomely rewarded. The tzar went out to meet the princesses who had been made prisoners, whom he treated very kindly, and on the prayer of Dervish sent them back to Astrakhan, except the youngest, who had given birth to a boy, as I have mentioned. The mother and son were both baptized at Moscow, the former receiving the name of Julienne and the latter of Peter. She was afterwards married to a distinguished Russian named Zacharias Plecheief. Yamgurchi was not content to be quietly dispossessed. With the assistance of the sons of Yusuf the Nogai chief, he made an attempt to capture Astrakhan, but was defeated by Dervish with the assistance of the Cossacks. Dervish himself was not long quiet, the Russian yoke

* Gmelin, op. cit., 47-50.

† Karamzin, viii. 245-247.

was not congenial, he began to enter into treasonable correspondence with the Krim Khan Devlet Girai, and appointed Kasbulat, a tzarevitch of Krim, his kalga.* He allowed the sons of Yusuf murza, who were at issue with Russia, to cross the Volga, where they defeated Ismael murza and killed Kasai murza, allies of the latter. On the approach of a force of Strelitzes he took refuge in Astrakhan, where the Krim Khan sent some troops and artillery to his assistance. Kaftiref, one of the Russian officers, meanwhile, we are told, succeeded in restoring peace, and promised him the tzar's assistance. Dervish, however, continued his intrigues with the ruler of Krim, and allied himself with the Nogai Yusuf against Ismael, and then broke out into open revolt. Having put to death such of the murzas as sided with Russia, he sought refuge with five hundred men in a small town near the Volga. There he was attacked by the Russians, and then retired to Kazan. The tzar now sent Ivan Cheremisinof at the head of the Strelitzes to occupy Astrakhan. Dervish retired, and still supported by the Krim Tarters refused to make peace with Russia. But the Nogais, having put an end to their cruel strife, united their forces to attack him, and captured the artillery which had been supplied by the Krim Khan, whereupon he fled to Azof, and thence went to Mecca.†

Thus ended the Khanate of Astrakhan. The tzar appointed Ivan Cheremisinof its governor, who conciliated the inhabitants by his generosity and justice. He restored them the arable lands and the islands in the Delta, and contented himself with imposing a small tribute upon them. Although the Khanate was at an end, the Imperial race of the Golden Horde was not extinct. Abdulla and Izak, princes of Astrakhan, entered the service of Russia, while, as we shall show in a future chapter, the Royal race descended from Kuchuk Muhammed revived again in the person of Yar Muhammed, the Khan of Bokhara.

The Astrakhan Tartars have been described in some detail by the younger Gmelin, who lived a long time among them. He tells us they are known as Yassakniye Tartars from paying Yassak or tribute, which they agreed to do when Ivan the Terrible captured their city. They are divided into three classes. Yurtowishe, those who live in the town; Aulnie, those who live in neighbouring villages; and Kochefnieshe, those who are still nomades. The latter have almost disappeared, having on the invasion of the Kalmuks in the seventeenth century either amalgamated with them or joined the Krim and Kuban Tartars, the Kirghiz Kazaks, and Bashkirs. A few are still found in the Nogai steppe towards Kislar. The rapid diminution in the number of the Astrakhan Tartars may be gathered from the following figures. In the time of the tzar Boris, Yassak was paid for 25,000 bows. In 1715, when the Krim Tartars attacked Astrakhan, they still numbered 12,000 men, while when

* *Id.*, 248. † De Guignes, ii. 385, 386.

Gmelin wrote, in 1774, they barely numbered 2,000 men. They were divided into Tabuns or villages, over each of which was a Tabunoi Golowa or Starost, who acted as judge.* After their conquest by the Russians the Tartars continued to pay them the same tribute they paid their former masters, and were permitted to retain their old lands. There were, however, very largely deserted by their fugitive inhabitants, as I have mentioned, and many of them were sold by their Tabuns to Russians, Armenians, Bukharians, &c.† Several of the murzas with their retainers were baptised, and founded the families of the Shadiakofs, Urussofs, Bashkarofs, &c. The retainers of the murzas, who were in effect slaves, were known as Yamiaki or Gemeki. All the Yurtuwishi Tartars lived, when Gmelin wrote, either in the suburbs of Tzaref, or in six villages near Astrakhan; three of these were situated on the western branch of the Volga, called the Boshmakofka, two in the east, and one in the south; the first, called Kargalik, was a verst in circumference, and contained twenty families; the second, called Kysan, contained two hundred families and five mosques; the third, called Mailegul, had but twenty families and a circuit of two versts. The two former were eight versts and the latter ten versts from Astrakhan. In the east was the village of Busdankul on the Bolda, which was larger than all the rest, and a second village near the church of Prokofskish containing fifty families. It was called Kazi by the Tartars, because their most distinguished priests lived there. The Russians called it Mashaik. The southern village was situated on the banks of the Kutum, seven versts from Astrakhan, and was called Jamenel by the Tartars and Tri Protoki by the Russians.‡ The manners and customs of these Tartars, which are doubtless the same as those of their ancestors of the Golden Horde, are described by Gmelin in the work already cited,§ but they do not form part of our present subject.

Note 1.—I will now devote a few lines to the two chief towns of the Khanate of Astrakhan. Astrakhan, called Citra Khan by some of the older travellers, is a corruption of Haji Terkhan, the name which it bears on numerous coins of the Golden Horde, and by which it is called in the account of the journey of Sidi Ali Ibn Hussein, the admiral of Sultan Suliman the Great.‖ The Russians call it Astorokan and Khazitorokan, and the Kalmuks Aiderhan.¶ It apparently took the place of the town called Sumerkent by Rubruquis.**

The first mention of Astrakhan known to me is in the travels of Ibn Batuta, who calls it Haj tarkhan, and tells us it was so called from a devout Haj or pilgrim who settled there, in consequence of which the prince exempted the place from all duties. "Tarkhan," he says, "among the Mongols denoted a

* Gmelin, ii. 120-122. † *Id.*, 122. ‡ *Id.*, 123, 124.
§ Op. cit., ii. 124-144. ‖ Muller, Ugrische Volkstamm, 579. ¶ *Id.* ** *Vide ante*, 101.

place free from all duties."* The famous traveller apparently identified the name with Terkhan, a title in use among the Mongols and denoting, as Colonel Yule says, the member of an order enjoying high privileges, such as freedom from all exactions, the right to enter the sovereign's presence unsummoned, &c.† It was a title in use among the Turks from early days, and probably passed from them to the Mongols. It may be compared with that of Tmutorokan, the city of Tuman, a famous site occupied by a Russian colony in early days, and identified with great probability with the modern Phanagona. I may add that Pallas mentions a place in the Krim called Tarkhon-Dip, which seems to contain the same element. The first part of the name is probably derived from Haji, a pilgrim. It is curious that, according to Count Potocki, the ruins at Selitrennoi Gorodok, which I have identified with the older Serai, are known as Jid Haji, pronounced Jigit Haji by the Kalmuks, which is probably the name of some saintly person who formerly lived among them.‡ The next time the name occurs is apparently in the account of the ravages caused by the plague in Southern Russia in 1346, when Astrakhan is named among the towns which suffered from it.§ About the same time Pegollotti mentions it in his notices of the land route to Cathay. He calls it Gintarchan and also Gittarchan, both doubtless corruptions of Haji Tarkhan. He tells us it was twenty-five days' journey with an ox waggon and from ten to twelve days with a horse waggon from Tana, and one day from Serai by river. He recommends people who make the journey there from Tana to take twenty-five days' supply of flour and salt fish. Of meat they would find enough, he says, at all the places on the way.‖ In the Carta Catalana of 1375 and in the Portulano Mediceo it is called Agitarchan, while in Fra Mauro's map it is called Azetrechan.¶ Coins struck there first occur in the year 1374-5, under Cherkes bek, and on them it is called Hajiterchan.** We next read of it in the accounts of Timur's campaigns in the Kipchak, when, as I have mentioned,†† it was captured and destroyed, and its inhabitants put to the sword.‡‡ Muller argues that on its restoration the site of the town was moved some distance away to within the Delta,§§ and this is confirmed by a fact apparently unknown to him, that on the coins of the Golden Horde we meet with coins of "New Astrakhan" as well as Astrakhan. These occur under Shadibeg in the year 805 (*i.e.*, 1402 and 1403), while the coins of the older city range from 1375 to 1427 and 1428.

Our next author is Josafa Barbaro, who wrote about the middle of the fifteenth century, and who tells us Cithercan stood on the river Itil (*i.e.*, the Volga), and that it was then a little town in a manner destroyed, although in time past it had been great and of great fame. "For before it was destroyed by Tamerlane," he says, "the spices and silk that pass now through Syria came to Cithercan, and from thence to Tana." The Itil, he says, fell into the sea of Bachu (*i.e.*, the Caspian), about twenty-five miles from Cithercan.‖‖ When the Venetian envoy Contarini passed through the Kipchak in 1471, he visited Astrakhan,

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* Cathay and the Way Thither; 287. Note, 1. † *Id.*
‡ Voyage dans les Steppes d'Astrakan, &c., ii. 38.
§ Muller, op. cit., ii. 579. Karamzin, iv. 339. ‖ Cathay and the Way Thither, 287 and 292.
¶ *Id.*, 287. Note, 1. ** Fræhn, Res., 300. †† *Ante*, 257.
‡‡ Sherifuddin, ii. 379-381. §§ *Id.*, 581, 582. ‖‖ Op. cit., ed. Hack., 31.

which he calls Citracan. He tells us it was a small town surrounded by a low wall. The few houses it contained were built of bricks, but it was evident that it had possessed several edifices at no distant date. "It is said," he adds, "to have been in ancient times a place of considerable trade, the spices which came to Venice by way of Tana having passed through it. Tana was eight days' journey distant.*

The destruction of Serai in 1472 by the Russians† no doubt gave an immense impetus to the growth of Astrakhan, and we find Herberstein a few years later speaking of it as a wealthy city and the great emporium of the Tartars. He tells us it lay on the Volga, near its mouth, and ten days' journey below Kazan. He calls the place Astrakhan, and adds there are some who call it Citrahan.‡ His contemporary Paul Centurione, who was sent by the Venetians to the tzar Vasili to ask him to allow Indian merchandise from Astrakhan to pass freely through his territory, speaks of it as a principal entrepôt of the Indian trade.

Astrakhan was conquered by the Russians, as we have shown, in 1554. In 1558 the English traveller Jenkinson, in going down the Volga, tells us that "On the 14th of July he passed by an old castle, which was Old Astrakhan, and leaving it upon the right hand he arrived at New Astrakhan, which the Emperor of Russia conquered six years past (? four).§ The later history of Astrakhan forms no part of my subject.

Gamba, who spent some time at Astrakhan about 1820, says the Tartars then numbered about 10,000, who were mainly descended from the old inhabitants of the Khanate. They were chiefly engaged in horse and cattle breeding, as carriers, and merchants, and had a great reputation for honesty. They were Sunni Muhammedans, and had a beautiful mosque.‖ Such are the peaceful remnants of the once terrible Golden Horde. Astrakhan is now in effect a cosmopolitan place, with a population of Russians, Armenians, Jews, Persians, Bokharians, Turkomans, and until lately a considerable colony also of Hindoos, all attracted to the spot by the magnet of trade.

Seraichuk, which is a contraction of Serai Kuchuk, means "Little Serai," and was an important town of the Golden Horde, situated on the Yaik or Ural, about fifty-eight versts from its mouth. Near it was the burial place of the Khans of the horde. This is called Caminazar in the early map of this region, known at the Fabrica del Mondo by Lorenzo Agnari, while in the Pizziganian map the royal cemetery is called Torcel.¶ Seraichuk is first mentioned by Abulghazi in describing the reign of Bereke Khan. He says it was founded by Batu.** As it was near the royal cemetery of the horde, it is not improbable that it was the same place as the Kok Orda, where Juchi is said to have had his camp.†† Abulghazi tells us Toktaghu Khan was buried at Seraichuk.‡‡ This was in 1313. A few years later it is mentioned by Ibn Batuta, who passed through it on his way to Urgenj. It first occurs as a mint place in the year 775 (*i.e.*, 1373-4), on the coins of Ilban, while its last occurrence is on the coins of Dervish Khan in the fifteenth century. At the beginning of the sixteenth

* Contarini, ed. Hack., 149-151. † *Vide ante*, 312. ‡ Op. cit., Hack. ed., ii. 76.
§ Muller, op. cit., 586. Note, 7. ‖ Gamba, Voyage dans la Russie Meridionale, ii. 400.
¶ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 11. Note, 5. 280. Note, 3. ** Op. cit., 181.
†† *Ante*, 97. ‡‡ Op. cit., 183.

century it was occupied by the Nogais, and is mentioned by Herberstein as belonging to one of their chiefs named Shidak.* About the same time it is named in the narrative of the journey of Sidi Ali, son of Hussein, the admiral of Suliman.† The English traveller Jenkinson mentions it as occupied by a Nogai prince whom he calls Smille (*i.e.*, Ismael). In 1580 it was captured by the Cossacks of the Ural, when we are told by Levchine they destroyed it and killed its inhabitants, without sparing age or sex, and even plundered the graves of their contents.‡

The ruins of Seraichuk were visited by Pallas, who thus describes them. He tells us the ancient town was situated some distance to the west of the present station of Sarachikofskoi. The ditch is the only part of it which remains perfect. The rampart can still, however, be easily traced, and is four or five versts in circumference. On two sides it runs along the Yaik and a small stream called the Seraichuk, and it is cut through by a canal which is now dry. Within the enclosure are remains of houses and domes built of stone. The tiles or bricks are long and wide, and there are fragments of brown stone filled with fossil shells. This stone is unlike any seen by Pallas in the neighbourhood. There are few potsherds among the ruins except some made of a kind of porcelain, having a good enamel glaze on them, and coloured white, yellow, and blue, and others painted in different colours. The damp and efflorescence are so great that objects in iron found there are much corroded, as are the coins in silver and copper which sometimes occur. Among the Cossacks Pallas met with glass beads and with pieces of coral and topaz, which were very well worked, and had come from these ruins. The place is filled with tombs, which are lined with tiles. Pallas describes the site as most depressing and barren, surrounded by reeds and marsh plants, and encrusted with salt, and argues that it was only chosen for purposes of safety when the power of the Golden Horde was waning.§

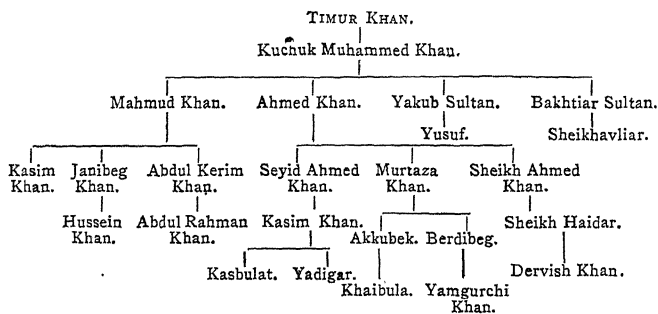
In Jenkinson's map there is a place called Shakashik, which is put half a degree further north than Seraichuk.‖ Of this town I know nothing.

I may here add that Yanghikent, the town on the lower Jaxartes mentioned in an earlier note,¶ is very probably the mint place which occurs on certain coins of Abdulla Khan in 766 (*i.e.*, 1363-4), under the form of Yanghi Shehr and Shehr el Jedid.**

Note 2.—Vitut, the Lithuanian king, who was such an important figure in the history of the latter part of the fourteenth century, about the years 1496-7, crossed the Don, and having surrounded a horde of Tartars, transported them to Lithuania, and planted them as colonists between Vilna and Troki.†† Their descendants still live there,‡‡ and are apparently known as Likani.§§ They are thus enumerated by Latham, who has drawn his information apparently from the Russian census tables. In Esthonia 12, Kovno 415, Grodno 849, Vilna 1,874, Minsk 2,120, Podolia 46; altogether 5,316.‖‖

* Op. cit., ii., Hack. ed., 73, 74. † Journ. Asiat., 1st ser., ix. 282.
‡ *Id.*, xi. 268. § Pallas Voyages, &c., i. 656-658. ‖ Muller, Saml. Russ. Gesh., vii. 439.
¶ *Ante*, 290. ** Fræhn, Catalogue of Fuch's Collection.
†† Bohucz Histoire de la Tauride, 347. ‡‡ Karamzin, v. 196. §§ Golden Horde, 364.
‖‖ Latham, Native Races of the Russian Empire, 148.

Note 3.—Von Hammer enumerates the following Russian families as of Tartar origin:—Bebikof, Birkin, Blokhin, Boltin, Busolef, Vekentef, Veliaminof, Verderefski, Vislukhon, Gaiturof, Glinski, Glebof, Godunof, Golovin, Gotowzof, Davudof, Dashkof, Dershawin, Dobrinski, Duvanof, Dunilof, Durnof, Elisarof, Elchin, Shdanof, Shemailof, Zagoskin, Zagrashki, Zaitzof-Birdiokin, Zernof, Zlohin, Ismailof, Isupof, Kamunin, Karandeef, Karaulof, Kasturef, Klementef, Klushin, Knatof, Kokoshkin, Koltofsk, Korobiin, Koshkarof, Kremenetzki, Kriokof, Kutumof, Laptef, Leontef, Lopushin, Lupandin, Liobafski, Mansurof, Massalof, Matioshkin, Merlin, Mestsherski, Molvianinof, Narbekof, Narushkin, Qbesyaninof, Obinyakof, Obyedof, Ogaref, Oknisof, Opraxin, Orinkin, Ostafief, Paulof, Petrof-Solowogs, Peshkof, Pilfiemof, Plemeannikof, Poshegin, Podolski, Polivanof, Porowat, Prokudin, Radilof, Rataef, Rostopchin, Rtischef, Saburof, Safonof, Sverchkof, Svishof, Selivanof, Seliverstof, Simski, Sovin, Somonof, Sonin, Sorokumof, Sutin, Talusin, Taptukof, Tarbeyef, Tewashef, Tegleyef, Teryaef, Timiryasef, Tretiakof, Turgenef, Uvarof, Urusof, Fustof, Khabarof, Khitru, Khofrin, Khoduref, Khomakof, Kohakof-Yazukof, Khonukof, Khotyaintsof, Chefkin, Cherimisof, Chirikof, Shishmatof, Sheidakof, Yarief, Yushkof, Yasikof, Yakoftsef, Yakutin.* This list of names contains some of the best known in Russian history, and proves what a strong and vigorous graft the Russian race received from its former masters the Tartars.

Note 4.—Genealogy of the later Khans of the Golden Horde and the Khans of Astrakhan.

* Golden Horde, 523-529.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KHANS OF KAZAN AND KASIMOF.

KAZAN.

ULUGH MUHAMMED KHAN AND HIS PREDECESSORS.

I HAVE mentioned that when the patrimony of Juchi Khan was distributed among his sons each one seems to have inherited a certain number of clans and a separate camping ground. The main horde in the west under Batu pastured the country watered by the Volga and the Don. This pasture ground of the Golden Horde on the Volga was limited apparently on the south by the Caspian, near which were Batu's winter quarters, and on the north by the town of Ukek, which, according to more than one testimony,* marked the limit of the actual country of the Golden Horde on the north. It was probably an old frontier, and was the previous boundary of the Comans or Poloutzi. North of this and extending over the modern province of Kazan was the ancient Bulgaria, formerly a flourishing kingdom. At the time of Batu's invasion it was occupied apparently by the Chuvashes (who, according to the best modern Russian inquirers, are the descendants of the ancient Bulgarians), by the Cheremisses, Votiaks, and Mordvins. The so-called Tartars of Kazan, who now form such an imposing element in the population of this district, were originally no doubt a part of the Golden Horde, and migrated there after the great Mongol invasion. When and under whom they migrated is not an easy matter to settle. Bolghari occurs as a mint place of the Golden Horde as early as the days of Arikbugha,† but this may not mean that any Tartars were then living there, but merely that the town was subject to their control. In regard to the princes who first founded a quasi independent authority in this district we have but the faintest light. It is generally assumed that Ulugh Muhammed was the first to do so, but this is a mistake. Let us follow his pedigree somewhat. Barbaro, who was a first-rate authority since he was a contemporary, says he was the son of Hassan Oghli.‡ He also describes him as having a grandson grown up in 1437, proving he was then an old man. Abulghazi tells us he was the son of Hassan Oghli, surnamed Ichkili Hassan.§ In a genealogy of the tzars of

* *Vide ante*, 100. † *Id.*, 113. ‡ Golden Horde, 390. Note, 3. § Op. cit., 187.

Krim and Kazan, quoted by M. Vel. Zernof,* he is called the son of Zekil Assan Ulan. In the register of the Synodal Library, quoted by the same author, Ulu Ahmet (as he is there called) is made the son of Seche Assan Ulan. In the register of the Archives he is also made the son of Segen Assan Ulan.† There is in fact no difference of opinion, and this being so and remembering his future history, it is very curious that none of the authors who have discussed the origin of the Kazan Khans have seen that he was not only the son of Hassan Oghli, but also that his father was the chief of Bulgaria before him. It is at all events a more than remarkable coincidence that Muhammed should have been the son of a Hassan, that a Hassan who was chief of Bulgaria at the time when Muhammed's father must have lived had a son called Muhammed Sultan ;‡ that Ulugh Muhammed himself should have become ruler of Bulgaria, and that there should be no evidence of any kind to militate against the position. I therefore conclude without hesitation that the Hassan whose history I have related,§ and one of whose coins struck in 1372 is extant, was the father of Ulugh Muhammed. He was not improbably also the brother of Azis Khan. I have argued that Hassan's father was called Ali Beg.‖ Abulghazi makes Hassan the son of a person whose name is read doubtfully by Des Maisons as Habiné, which is perhaps a corruption of Ali Beg.¶ M. Vel. Zernof reads the name Hina,** while he says that the Russian genealogical tables agree with Abulghazi in deducing Ulugh Muhammed from Tuka Timur.†† I do not see any reason whatever for doubting this conclusion, and it is very probable that Bulgaria was assigned to Tuka Timur as an appanage, and that Mangu Timur enlarged it by granting his son Ureng, Krim and Kaffa, as I have mentioned.‡‡ At all events, both the royal stems of Krim and Kazan seem to have been descended from this Tuka Timur.

Tuka Timur had a son Oreng, or Uz Timur, as he is called by Abulghazi. Uz Timur had a son Saricha Kunchak Oghlan,§§ who had two sons, Tokul Khoja and Tulek Timur.‖‖ Habiné, we are told, was the son of Tulek Timur, and Hassan Oghlan the son of Habiné. Habiné or Ali Beg was probably ruling in Bulgaria when it was attacked and appropriated by Pulad Timur the Sheibanid, as I have mentioned.¶¶ Pulad was driven away by the Russians in 1367, and killed by Azis Khan.*** We next meet with an enigmatical sentence in Von Hammer, which I cannot quite understand. He tells us that in 1370 Prince Dimitri Constantinovitch of Suzdal sent his brother Boris and his son Vasili with a great army against the Khan of Bulgar, Hassan (? Haidar), who

* Op. cit. † *Id.*, i. Note, 21. ‡ *Ante*, 207.
§ *Ante*, 206, 207. ‖ *Id.* ¶ Abulghazi, op. cit., 187. ** Op. cit., i. Note, 80.
†† *Id.* ‡‡ *Ante*, 199. §§ *Id.* ‖‖ *Id.*, 201. Abulghazi, 187.
¶¶ *Ante*, 204. *** *Id.*

on the break up of the kingdom of Janibeg and Berdibeg had seized upon that district, as Taghai had upon the land of the Mordvins. With this expedition went the Tartar envoy Haji Khoja. They displaced *Haidar* from the throne of Bulgar, and put upon it the son of the Bak.* This sentence as it stands is contradictory and unintelligible, and I formerly was disposed to think that what was meant is, that when Pulad Timur was driven away from Bulgaria it was occupied by Haidar (whose origin I don't know unless he was the brother of Mengli Girai of Krim, which is not improbable), who was replaced by the son of the Beg (*i.e.*, according to my reading by Hassan); but it would seem from Karamzin, who calls Hassan the enemy of Dimitri of Suzdal, that it was Hassan who was then displaced and Haidar seated on the throne.† Hassan is said to have captured Serai in 768 of the hej. (*i.e.*, 1369), and, as I have said, we have a coin of his struck in 1372.‡

In 1376 we find the Grand Prince Dimitri sending an army under the command of Prince Dimitri Michaelovitch to conquer Bulgaria. He was joined by the sons of the Prince of Suzdal. The people of the country marched to meet them on camels and making ferocious cries, hoping thus to frighten the horses of the Russian cavalry, but it was of no avail. The Russians burnt the villages, the winter quarters, and boats of the Tartars, and forced their two rulers, *Hassan* and *Muhammed Sultan* (*i.e.*, Ulugh Muhammed), to submit to the Grand Prince. They also paid him a sum of 2,000 roubles, a part of which went to Dimitri of Suzdal, and gave 3,000 roubles to be distributed among the soldiers ; and as a proof that they consented to become tributaries of Russia, they received into their town a Muscovite customs-officer.§ If Hassan was displaced, therefore, from the throne of Kazan, it was only very temporarily. The expedition last mentioned was followed by the invasion of Bulgaria and Russia by the Sheibanid Prince Arabshah, as I have mentioned,‖ and this again by the rule of Toktamish, whose father, according to my reading of the authorities, was the cousin of the father of Hassan.¶ During his reign it would seem that Bulgaria was subject to him, though probably mediately, and Hassan or his son Muhammed doubtless continued to rule there.

About the year 1375 a band of buccaneers from Novgorod plundered the banks of the Volga as far as Astrakhan, where they were destroyed by the Tartar Prince Salchei, and in 1378 another band of them was destroyed near Kazan by the Viatkans.**

In the campaign of Toktamish against Timur in 1397, the contingent of Bulgaria is mentioned as if under a separate jurisdiction.†† It was during the same year that the buccaneers from Novgorod made another

* Golden Horde, 321. † Op. cit., v. 49. ‡ *Vide ante*, 207. § Karamzin, v. 49-51. ‖ *Ante*, 212. ¶ *Vide* table at the end of this chapter. ** *Ante*, 229. †† *Id.*, 244.

raid upon the Bulgarian towns of Yukotin, Kazan, &c., and ravaged them mercilessly.*

In 1395 Timur made his second attack upon the Golden Horde, in which he laid the power of Toktamish in the dust, and four years later we find the Grand Prince Vasili sending his brother Yuri at the head of a large army, which captured Bolghari, Yukotin, Kazan, and Kremenchug. For three months the Russian troops ravaged the land, and returned laden with a rich booty. Never had the Russians penetrated so far into the Tartar country, and from this time Vasili styled himself Prince of Bulgaria.†

The invasion of Timur, although it apparently did not overflow Bulgaria, caused a revolution in its government. Its extent and nature we cannot quite follow. It would seem at all events that Hassan and his son Ulugh Muhammed were ejected, for in one account we read of a chief called Abdul Khan, who is even said to have ruled there when Timur arrived, and who had two sons named Altun Bek Khan and Alim Bek Khan, who are made in the saga to be the founders of Kazan.‡ In another account Timur is made to destroy Kazan, which is said to have been rebuilt by a chief named Ilkhan Khan.§ Alim Bek, it is suggested by M. Vel. Zernof, is the same person as the Ali Beg to be named presently.

In the year 1411, we are told by Karamzin that Daniel Borisovitch, one of the princes of Nijni Novgorod, at the head of the guard of *the Bulgarian Princes*, defeated Peter Dimitrovitch, brother of the Grand Prince Vasili, at Liskof, while Talich, the voivode of Daniel, assisted by the tzarevitch of Kazan, with less than five hundred men, Russians and Tartars, pillaged the ancient city of Vladimir, but after these successes Daniel was abandoned by his allies, the Tartars of Kazan, who returned home with their booty.‖

A few years later Ulugh Muhammed displaced Chekre, the Khan who ruled at Serai, and until 1437 he was constantly mixed up with the history of the Golden Horde, as I have related in a previous chapter.¶ In that year he was defeated and driven away by Kuchuk Muhammed. In order to understand his subsequent history, we must remember that he was Prince of Bulgaria or Khan of Kazan before he became chief of the Golden Horde.

I have mentioned how, when defeated and driven away by Kuchuk Muhammed, Ulugh Muhammed sought refuge at Bielef in Lithuania, relying on the friendship of the Grand Prince Vasili, to whom he had proved a faithful patron, but he calculated without his host. Vasili allowed him to settle for a while on the banks of the Oka, in the district of Bielef, and within the modern province of Tula, but either through

* *Id.*, 250. † Karamzin, v. 197, 198. ‡ Vel. Zern., i. Note, 3. § *Id.*
‖ Karamzin, v. 244 and 248. ¶ *Vide ante*, 275-283.

jealousy or through fear of the new Khan of Serai, against whom no doubt Muhammed was plotting, he at length ordered him to leave. The latter was hurt by the ingratitude, and he wrote a letter to the Grand Prince, which has been preserved in the Russian archives. It is thus translated by Tornirelli. "My liege and brother,—Do not refuse me the short space of time necessary to prepare for my departure. I will soon quit your territories, where you are unwilling to grant me an asylum. I have never done you evil nor meditated doing so; why, therefore, do you seek to dissolve a friendship which on my part shall continue to the grave? If God restores me my kingdom, I will then prove the sincerity of my present manifestations; but if you still doubt my integrity and friendship, take one of my dear sons as a hostage. Nay, more, accept in writing an assurance on my part with my seal and signature, containing a solemn oath that I will never disturb the goodwill which has hitherto existed between us, either by dissension or war; and I here conjure your God and mine to destroy me as a perjurer, and to strike me even by the death of my children if ever I infringe upon my solemn oath."*

We are told that in his extremity he also prostrated himself at the door of a Russian church and uttered the following prayer. "God of the Russians, who regardest not the faces of men but their hearts, thou knowest how just is my cause. Thou seest the frightful situation to which my enemies have reduced me, and the ungrateful manner in which the Grand Duke repays the love I bore him and the benefits I have rendered him, and yet the latter seeks to deprive me of life. God of the Christians, be therefore a just judge between us, protect the innocent and punish the guilty."

The letter I have mentioned Ulugh Muhammed sent off with an embassy of three princes, named Ediberdei, the Beg Hussein of Serai, and Hussein Khoja.†

Meanwhile the Grand Prince had despatched an army of 40,000 men, commanded by his cousins Shemiaka and Dimitri the Red, who beleagured Bielef. They were obdurate and refused to listen to Muhammed's entreaties, but were brought to their senses by a sudden panic which seized their troops, and in consequence of which they broke up and hastily retired, pursued by the Tartars. Muhammed, however, was too prudent to miscalculate his real power, and having left Bielef, he, according to Karamzin, who is followed by Von Hammer, traversed the country of the Mordvins and settled down at Kazan.‡ These writers make him the founder of the Khanate of Kazan, which we have seen was practically founded long before; his father having in fact reigned there. My learned friend M. Vel. Zernof even goes further than this, and assigns the foundation of the Khanate to Muhammed's son,§ a view in which I cannot concur. In 1439 Ulugh Muhammed marched

* Tornirelli, i. 76. † Golden Horde, 386. ‡ Karamzin, v. 327. Golden Horde, 387.
§ Op. cit., i. Note, 3.

upon Moscow, which was abandoned by the weak-kneed Vasili, who retired beyond the Volga, and left its defence to the Lithuanian Prince Yuri Patrikiévitch. The Tartars were not strong enough to take the town, but contented themselves with plundering the neighbourhood and burning Kolomna, and afterwards returned with their booty.* We do not hear of Ulugh Muhammed again for five years, when we find him in possession of Nijni Novgorod, where he passed the winter of 1444-5. In the spring of 1445 he marched upon Murom, and thence sent on an army commanded by his sons Mahmudek and Yakub, to attack the Muscovites.

The Grand Prince in turn collected an army, and his cousins Shemiaka, Ivan of Moyaisk, Michael, his brother, Prince of Vereia, and Vasili of Borosk, grandson of Vladimir the Brave, ranged their forces under his banner. Muhammed thereupon retired, and some of his people were beaten by the advance guard of the Russians, but Vasili, afraid of exposing his men to a winter campaign, ordered them to retire. In the following year he heard that Muhammed's forces had made a fresh invasion. His own troops had been meanwhile disbanded. He hastily collected the forces of Moscow, and was joined by the voivodes of Nijni Novgorod, who had been forced by famine to escape from their fortress after burning it, and soon after they were joined by the princes of Moyaisk, Vereia, and Borosk, with a small contingent. The treacherous Shemiaka stayed away. On the other hand, he found an ally in the Tartar tzarevitch Berdata. With these forces he set out and encamped near Suzdal, on the borders of the Kamenka, but his whole force, we are told by the authorities, only numbered 1,500 men, which is assuredly more a patriotic than a grave statement. Notwithstanding their inferiority, they attacked the enemy in the open, near the monastery of Saint Euphemius. The Tartars at first gave way, upon which the Muscovites broke their ranks and proceeded to plunder the dead and to loot. Their enemy's retreat was but a ruse; he turned upon them when they were scattered and overwhelmed them. The Grand Prince had his hand pierced by an arrow, lost several of his fingers, and received numerous wounds, thirteen of them on his head. He at length surrendered himself as a prisoner, together with Michael, Prince of Vereia, and his principal boyards. The two Tartar princes rested two days after their victory at the monastery of Saint Euphemius, and having taken off the golden cross Vasili wore about his neck, they sent it to his wife and mother as a witness of their victory, while their troops proceeded to ravage the neighbourhood.† The honest Russian chronicler in reporting these events remarks on the defeat, "that the God of the Christians aids even the infidel when his cause is just."‡ The citizens of Moscow, who

* Karamzin, v. 327, 328. Vel. Zern., 137. † Karamzin, v. 369-373.
‡ Tornirelli, op. cit., i. 78.

momentarily expected the arrival of the victorious army, had further to deplore the destruction of all the wooden buildings in the Kremlin, which were destroyed by fire.* The city was now deserted by the mother and wife of the Grand Prince, with the chief boyards, who retired to Rostof, and Boris, Prince of Tuer, seized the opportunity for making a raid upon Torjek. The citizens of the capital drew themselves together and prepared to fight, but the prudent Tartars, content with their brilliant victory, retired with their booty and their illustrious prisoner to Kurmuish.

Ulugh Muhammed now sent an envoy named Biguich to Shemiaka, the cousin and bitter enemy of Vasili, who had failed to assist his relative in the late struggle. Shemiaka received the envoy with great honour, and then sent Theodore Dubenski, his principal secretary, to negotiate a treaty with Muhammed, by which Vasili was to be kept in perpetual durance and Shemiaka was to be created Grand Prince, dependent on the Khan; but Muhammed, who was nervous about the delay of his ambassador returning, and whose capital had been attacked by a Bulgarian Prince, agreed to allow Vasili to return on the payment of a small ransom, and hastened homewards. Vasili was met at Pereislavl by a large *cortége* of people, whose enthusiasm was a reminiscence of the glorious reception accorded to his grandfather Dimitri Donskoi on his triumphant return.†

I mentioned how Ulugh Muhammed had sent his envoy Biguich to Shemiaka. We are told that the two descended the Oka from Murom to Nijni Novgorod, whence they returned again on hearing of the release of Vasili. There Biguich was arrested by Prince Obolenski. I shall not repeat how Shemiaka captured his cousin the Grand Prince and blinded him, how he afterwards released him, and how his partisans assembled an army to reinstate him.‡ We are told that as the latter marched towards Moscow they met a body of Tartars and were about to attack them, when they discovered they were allies, and were commanded by Mahmudek and Yakub, the sons of Ulugh Muhammed. They said they had heard of the sorry plight to which the Grand Prince had been reduced, and had accordingly marched to his assistance. They were cordially received and joined the main army.§ This was in the autumn of 1446. Let us now revert once more to Ulugh Muhammed.

The prince who had usurped authority at Kazan is called Libey,‖ which name, as M. Vel. Zernof says, is clearly a corruption of Ali beg or Ali bek. He is elsewhere called Asyi, which the same learned author considers a corruption of the Arabic Gazi (*i.e.*, conqueror of the unbelievers), a title adopted by Muhammedan princes after victories over infidels, as will be remembered by those who were interested in the recent capture of Sukhum Kaleh by the Turks and its consequences. He was doubtless the

* Karamzin, v. 373. † *Id.*, 377, 378. ‡ *Vide ante*, 301, 302. § *Id.*, 393, 394. ‖ *Id.*, 376. Vel. Zern., i. Note, 3.

Ali beg already mentioned.* Muhammed, it would seem, never returned to his ancient capital, but was assassinated by his son Mahmudek at Kurmuish.† Mahmudek on this occasion also killed his younger brother Yusuf.‡ This was apparently in the autumn of 1445. Thus passed away, at no doubt an extreme old age, one of the most enterprising of the Tartar princes, whose life was full of romantic adventures, and who had felt many changes of fortune.

MAHMUDEK KHAN.

It is not improbable that the murder of Ulugh Muhammed was connected in some way with the strife between the Grand Prince Vasili and Shemiaka. We at all events find the latter intriguing with the people of Viatka and those of Kazan,§ and in the famous protest made by the Russian bishops against the conduct of Shemiaka he is accused of having instigated Mahmudek, the tzarevitch of Kazan, to imprison the Muscovite envoy,‖ and we are told that in 1446 (that is, in the very year of his accession), seven hundred of his troops attacked Ustiuge, and compelled it to pay a tribute of furs, but many of them were drowned in the Vetluga on their return. The first important act of Mahmudek's reign was to march against Ali beg (who had usurped authority at Kazan), and to kill him. He then occupied the town. In 1448 Ivan, the eldest son of the Grand Prince Vasili, marched at the head of an army to drive the Kazan Tartars from the district of Murom and Vladimir.¶ During the latter years of Vasili these Tartars were tolerably quiet. We are told indeed that the Grand Prince meditated an attack upon them, but on their Khan sending him envoys he made peace with them. The date of Mahmudek's death is apparently not known. He left two sons behind him, Khalil and Ibrahim.

KHALIL KHAN.

Khalil succeeded his father. We know nothing of him except that he married Nursaltan, the daughter of the Nogai Timur, and only occupied the throne for a very short time,** when he was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim.

IBRAHIM KHAN.

Ibrahim married his brother's widow. His uncle Kasim, who, as I have mentioned, had taken refuge in Russia, had married his mother, the

* *Ante*, 366. † Vel. Zern., i. Note, 3. ‡ *Id.* § Karamzin, v. 402. ‖ *Id.*, 405. ¶ *Id.*, 410. Golden Horde, 394. ** Vel. Zern., i. Note, 21.

widow of Mahmudek.* Kasim was ambitious of possessing himself of the throne of Kazan, of which he was in fact the rightful heir, and he entered into secret negotiations with Abdul Mamun and other grandees of the principality to depose the young Khan Ibrahim, his stepson, and at the same time asked assistance from the Grand Prince Ivan III. The latter eagerly seized the opportunity, and in September, 1467, sent an army against Kazan, under the orders of Kasim and the voivodes Prince Ivan Jurgivitch and Ivan Obolenski Striga. The season proved very severe, and the invaders were forced to retire. In the retreat the Russians suffered badly, and were driven to the necessity of eating meat in a season of fasting, which Karamzin names as a most unusual occurrence.† The Tartars contented themselves with sending a detachment as far as Galitch, which did not do much damage. In the early spring of the next year the Russians sent another army, under Simeon Romanovitch, to ravage the country of the Cheremisses, a northern dependency of Kazan. We are told they marched for a month through forests shrouded in snow, along the then uninhabited banks of the Vetluga, the Usta, and the Kama. They at length reached the Cheremis country, rich in cattle and very fertile, which was governed by its own princes. There they murdered the inhabitants, and ravaged the land in the cruel fashion then universally prevalent, which justified all crimes committed against an enemy. They advanced to the environs of Kazan, and then retired gorged with booty. "Simeon returned," says Karamzin, "with the title of victor, gained by slaughtering several thousand people without a fight." Meanwhile another corps of Russians drove the Tartars from Kostroma and the neighbourhood of Murom. The Cheremisses became Russian subjects, but had to change their allegiance very shortly, when the Kazan Khan sent an army into their country.‡ The Grand Prince also ordered the voivodes of Moscow, Galitch, Vologda, Ustiuge, and Kichmenga to concentrate a large force on the Kama. Having met at Kotelnich, in the district of Viatka, they traversed the country of the Cheremisses as far as Tamluga, and then followed the Kama to Bela-Voloyka, everywhere devastating the country and slaughtering or making prisoners of the inhabitants as they went. The only Tartars they encountered were a small body of two hundred, whose fortress they captured, slaughtered the garrison, and carried off the two leaders. On the Kama they secured a great quantity of merchants' barques richly laden, and returned home through Great Russia. Another body of Russians, under Prince Riapolofski, the voivode of Nijni Novgorod, defeated a party of Kazan Tartars on the Volga, and captured the Tartar Prince Khosum Berdei, who was sent on to the Grand Prince.

In the spring of 1469 Ivan determined to strike a more serious blow against the Khanate. The boyard-followers of the various

* *Id.* † Karamzin, vi. 13. Vel. Zern., i. Note, 22. ‡ Karamzin, vi. 14.

towns, the merchants and other inhabitants of the capital took up arms under Prince Obolenski, and Constantine Bezzubtzef was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces. They were ordered to rendezvous at Nijni Novgorod. Boats were armed at Moscow, Vladimir, Kolomna, Suzdal, and Murom, and the people of Dimitrof, Moyaisk, Uglitch, Rostof, Yaroslavl, and Kostroma went down the Volga. Those from the other towns went by the Oka, the whole joining at the meeting of the two rivers. This lordly naval display was a new event in Russian history, but barely had the plans of campaign been arranged when the Grand Prince ordered the commander to halt at Nijni Novgorod, and only to send some small bodies of volunteers down the river. This change of policy is accounted for by Karamzin on the ground that Kasim, the Khan of Kasimof, had died, and that Ivan probably hoped to gain his ends through the influence of his widow, who was Ibrahim's mother.* In vain the commander told his troops of the wishes of the tzar, they would punish the infidels and win glory in fighting. They spread their sails and raised their anchors accordingly. They went on to old Nijni, leaving their commander behind, and elected Ivan Runo their leader. They were not long in appearing before Kazan, whose outskirts they surprised in the night. The Russians entered the streets without meeting with any resistance, and killed and robbed all who opposed them. They released many prisoners from Moscow, Riazan, Lithuania, Viatka, Ustiuge, and Perm, and set fire to the houses, and the Tartars who had shut themselves up therein with their treasures were burnt to death. Having gorged themselves with booty and destroyed what they could, the Russians remounted their vessels and descended the river as far as the island of Korovnichy, where they remained for a week quite inactive. This aroused suspicions against Runo, and it was asked why he did not proceed to storm the town of Kasan itself, and he was accused of having received a large bribe from the Khan.†

The latter was not likely to remain with folded arms while his capital was surrounded with flames. He collected the troops of Kazan and those of the Kama, the Viatkans and the Bashkirs, and an escaped prisoner brought the Russians word that they might expect an attack the following day. They accordingly determined to forstal matters. They placed a body of troops on some barges, and ordered them to rendezvous at the island of Irikhof, while with another body they went along the banks. The Tartars were badly beaten, and their boats were compelled to take shelter within the city. Having assembled at the island of Irikhof, they were joined by their former commander, the voivode of Nijni Novgorod, who, having sent off couriers to Moscow to announce what had happened, determined to prosecute the war, and sent orders to the people of Viatka to join him before Kazan. The Viatkans gave a

* *Id.*, 18. † *Id.*, 18-20.

judicious answer, having determined to remain neutral between the two combatants, and Bezzubtzef having in vain awaited their arrival for a month, and beginning to suffer from famine, determined to retire once more to Nijni Novgorod. On the way he met Ibrahim's mother, who told him her son had agreed to accept terms from the Grand Prince, and that the war was at an end. The Russians were leisurely enjoying themselves when they were suddenly attacked by the cavalry and the war boats of the Kazanese. A violent interchange of missiles took place between them, after which the Russians continued their retreat.*

Meanwhile the Grand Prince had sent another division, under the command of Prince Daniel of Yaroslavl, by water to Viatka, to impress such of the Viatkans as he could meet with into the service, and to march with them against Kazan. His solicitations were as ineffective as those of the agent of Bezzubtzef. Notwithstanding this he determined to march with such troops as he had upon Kazan. Ibrahim having heard of his advance, planted his war boats on the Volga and his cavalry on its banks to intercept him, and a fierce struggle ensued. The Russians were badly beaten and lost most of their men. The contingent from Ustiuge with Prince Vasili Ukhtomski alone cut their way through and reached Nijni Novgorod. He is said to have jumped from boat to boat belonging to the enemy, and dealt many a death-blow with his mace.†

Ivan determined to repair this disaster, and accordingly despatched an army under his brothers Yuri and Andrew, with all his guard and the princes in his service. While a large contingent marched overland, a complementary flotilla went by way of the Volga. They laid siege to Kazan, and having defeated the Tartars in a fight, Ibrahim was constrained to make terms and to set at liberty forty years' accumulations of prisoners, which had been captured from the Russians in many struggles.‡

Notwithstanding his promises Ibrahim, in 1478, having heard a false rumour that Ivan had been defeated by the people of Novgorod and had had to retire to his capital wounded, invaded the province of Viatka, laid siege to several towns, desolated some villages, and carried off a body of prisoners to make into slaves. The following spring the Grand Prince had his revenge. The people of Ustiuge and the Viatkans burnt the villages on the Kama, while Vasili Obrasetz did the same on the Volga. He advanced from Nijni Novgorod against Kazan, which he besieged, and from which he was forced to withdraw by a storm. Ibrahim again asked for peace, which was granted to him, and he died directly afterwards, leaving a great number of children by different wives.§

During the reign of Ibrahim there occurs a person who has hitherto been a puzzle. He was called Murtasi, and in one account is called the son of Mustapha tzar of Kazan, but no such person as Mustapha occurs

* Karamzin, vi. 20-23. † *Id.*, 24. ‡ *Id.*, 25. § *Id.*, 227, 228.

among the recorded Khans of Kazan. M. Vel. Zernof suggests that he was the Mustapha mentioned as having been killed in a fight on the Listari against the Grand Prince Vasili.* Mustapha is there simply called tzarevitch of the horde. Fortunately a coin has survived to our day struck by him, on which he is called the "Just Sultan Mustapha Khan, son of Ghayas ud din Khan."† This shows he was a son of the Khan of the Golden Horde. Murtasi occurs for the first time in 1471, when he was summoned to Moscow by the Grand Prince. He took part in 1472 in the war against Ahmed Khan, and in 1473 the Grand Prince gave him the new town (Gorodok) on the Oka with several domains. He was still in Russia in 1480.‡

ALI OR ILHAM KHAN.

A general anarchy now arose in the horde. As I have said, the two brothers Khalil and Ibrahim had successively married Nursaltan, the daughter of the Nogai chief Timur, who now married for her third husband Mengli Girai, the Khan of Krim. She was an ambitious and restless woman, and it would seem intrigued to have her own son Muhammed Amin nominated as Khan of Kazan, to the prejudice of Ibrahim's elder son Ali or Ilham, whose mother was called Batmassa Solta,§ and who was supported by a party within the horde, and also by the Nogais. The stepson of Mengli Girai received the countenance of the Muscovite tzar, who probably dreaded a close alliance between the Khan of Kazan and the Nogais.

Ali eventually seized the throne, and his rival Muhammed Amin fled for refuge to Moscow, where he seems to have appealed to the Grand Prince. Ivan in 1482 sent an army from Nijni Novgorod, which advanced as far as Kazan, when at the request of the Khan peace was made.‖ Muhammed Amin was granted Koshira as an appanage by the Russians. The accounts of what happened in the next few years at Kazan are very confused. They have been analysed at some length by M. Vel. Zernof.¶ It would seem that Ivan, who was indifferent as to which brother was Khan of Kazan so long as he was obedient to himself, first supported one and then the other. In 1484 he sent an army against Kazan, which captured Ali and put Muhammed Amin in his place.**

Herberstein describes his deposition thus. He says that, "not being entirely obedient to the Grand Prince, he was on a certain occasion made drunk at a festival by some of the councillors of the Prince of

* *Vide ante*, 360. † Soret, Lettre a M. le Capitaine Kossikofski.
‡ Vel. Zern., i. Note, 38. § Herberstein, ii. 58. ‖ Vel. Zern., i. Note, 61.
¶ Op. cit., i. Note, 62. ** Vel. Zern. Note, 62, p. 190.

Muscovy, whom he had sent thither to watch the disposition of the king, and who in that state placed him in a carriage as if with the intention of conveying him home, but the same night they took him towards Moscow.* The same author confuses the events which followed.

It would seem he was immediately replaced by Muhammed Amin, but the next year an army was again sent against Kazan by the Russians, which displaced the latter and reinstated Ali.† Shortly after another revolution of the same kind seems to have occurred. A large army, under the command of the famous Princes Daniel Dimitrivitch Kholmskoi, Alexander Vasilivitch Obolenskoi, and others set out on the 24th of April, 1487, and arrived before Kazan on the 24th of May. A hard struggle took place outside the town, which ended in the defeat of the Tartars. Ali took refuge in the town of Kazan, but another Tartar named Alighazi, who remained outside with his contingent, caused the Russians some loss. He was eventually driven over the Kama.‡ After a siege of three weeks Ali was forced to give in, and together with his wife and mother, two of his brothers, and many other grandees, was carried off prisoner to Russia.§ Ali and his wife were sent to Vologda, while his mother and the rest were sent to Kargol, near Bielosero.‖ The victory was celebrated with great rejoicings at Moscow, the bells were rung and thanksgivings said.¶ Ali's two brothers, who were taken prisoners with him, were doubtless Melik Tahir and Khudaikul.** The latter was baptised on the 21st of December, 1505, under the name of Peter, and a month later married Eudoxia, the sister of the Grand Prince Vasili. Surely a strange wedding, and one proving how important the Tartars were in Muscovite eyes. The ceremony was performed in the cathedral by the archbishop of Spass,†† and the convert was given the town of Klin and some villages near Moscow as an appanage. Melik Tahir remained a Mussulman. On his death, according to Herberstein, he left many children, who together with their mother were baptised. Two of them, named Vasili and Feodor, are mentioned in the Russian registers.‡‡ It is not known when Melik Tahir died, but his son Feodor is mentioned as governor of Novgorod in 1531. This also shows how the Tartars were adopted into the Muscovite body politic. Khudaikul or Peter apparently died about the year 1523.§§ By his marriage with the princess Eudoxia he had two daughters, Anastasia, who married Prince Feodor Michaelovitch Mitislafski, the other daughter, whose name we don't know, married Prince Vasili Vasilivitch Shuisky.‖‖ As Karamzin says, the Muscovites had not at this time a sufficient regular force to garrison and hold such a wide district as the Khanate of Kazan, occupied by a hostile race, Ivan therefore contented himself with taking the title of Prince of Bulgaria.¶¶

* Herberstein, ii. 58, 59. † Vel. Zern., i. Note, 62. ‡ *Id.* § *Id.* ‖ *Id.* Page 30. ¶ *Id.* Note, 62. ** *Id.* Note, 63. †† *Id.* ‡‡ *Id.* §§ *Id.* ‖‖ *Id.* ¶¶ Karamzin, vi. 229.

According to Herberstein, Ali was immediately succeeded by his half-brother Abdul Latif, whose reign, however, was a very short one, and he almost directly gave place to Muhammed Amin.*

MUHAMMED AMIN KHAN.

Muhammed Amin reigned as the *protegé* of the Grand Prince, and we are in fact told that the crown was put on his head by Prince Kholmski, who punished several turbulent ughlans or princes with death.† In 1489 the Grand Prince received envoys from the Khan of Tiumen and the Nogais demanding the release of Ali. To these he replied with some firmness that, if they wished for his goodwill, they must not address him thus, but return the fugitives that had taken refuge with them. Muhammed Amin was married to a daughter of Musa, nephew of Timur and grandson of Idiku. Meanwhile the Grand Prince used the opportunity of his supremacy over Kazan to thoroughly subdue the turbulent republic of Viatka. When Ivan marched against Klinof, the chief town of Viatka, its citizens drove away his representative. He accordingly sent a large army against them, which compelled them to submit. Their liberties were taken from them, they were given, says Karamzin, a new civil constitution conformable with the laws of autocracy, and all the notables, citizens, and merchants were conducted to Moscow, with their wives and children. The citizens were transported to Borosk and Kremenetz, and the merchants to Dimitrof.‡ Thus did that most Machiavellan prince stamp out the germs and seeds of liberty by transporting the classes among whom it mainly thrives. The Viatkans were colonists from Novgorod, who had first settled among the Finnish Votiaks in the thirteenth century, and eventually appropriated the whole country between the Kama and the Yug, and between the mouth of the Viatka and the Syssola. They traded with the Permians and Bulgarians of Kazan, and furnished Novgorod and Moscow with great stores of furs, while their piratical raids on the Kama and the Volga caused much harass to the people of Vologda, Ustiuge, the country of the Dwina, and Bulgaria.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century their towns were ravaged by Toktamish, and they were gradually subjected by the Grand Princes. The conquest of Viatka by Ivan was speedily followed by that of Arsk, a small principality forming part of the ancient Bulgaria. Its princes were transported to Moscow, where they took the oath of allegiance to the Grand Prince, and were then set at liberty.§

In 1492, to please the Krim Khan, the tzar sent Abdul Latif, covered with honours to his brother Muhammed Amin at Kazan, but he refused

* Op. cit., ii. 59. † Karamzin, vi. 229. ‡ *Id.*, 238. § *Id.*, 240.

to comply with Mengli Girai's request that he should make over Koshira to the tzarevitch Mahmudek, the son of Mustapha.*

Muhammed Amin seems to have been of a truculent disposition, and so ill-treated and oppressed the grandees that they sent an invitation to Mamuk, a prince of the horde of Sheiban, to go and deliver them from his yoke. He appealed to the Russians for help. Thereupon Prince Riapolofski marched at the head of a powerful army to his aid. This repressed the rebellion, and Mamuk was driven away. The Russians returned home again, but they had hardly been gone a month when news arrived at Moscow that Mamuk had returned and had driven Muhammed Amin away again.† This was in 1496.‡

MAMUK KHAN.

Mamuk, we are told, only knew how to pillage, and was devoured with avarice. He took their goods from the merchants, and their riches from the grandees, and he went so far as to imprison those partisans to whom he owed his crown. He tried to capture Arsk, but he failed in doing so; nor could he re-enter Kazan on his return thence, for the citizens manned the walls and called out that they had no need of a robber king. He accordingly went home again to his own country.§

ABDUL LATIF KHAN.

The people of Kazan now appealed to the Grand Prince. They complained of the misconduct of Muhammed Amin, and then said, "We want another tzar of your choice. If, lord and Grand Prince, you would do us a great favour, do not send Muhammed Amin to Kazan again as Khan, who committed many outrages against our khatuns (*i.e.*, wives), which was the reason we appealed to Mamuk." They asked him instead to send them Abdul Latif, the brother of Muhammed Amin. This he agreed to do. He arrived at Kazan in May, 1497, and was duly installed by the Russian princes Simeon Kholmski and Feodor Palitski, who exacted from the people an oath of fidelity to the Russians. Muhammed Amin received Koshira, Serpukhof, and Khotum as a fief, where by his cupidity and baseness he speedily created great mischief.‖

The Grand Prince sent word to the Khatun Nursaltan of what had occurred, and promised her that Kazan should always remain in her family. She wrote to thank him, and told him she meditated a

* *Id.*, 293. † Karamzin, vi. 339. ‡ Vel. *Zern.*, i. 31. § Karamzin, vi. 339.
‖ Karamzin, vi. 339, 340. Vel. *Zern.*, 31. Note, 64.

pilgrimage to Mecca, and on her return intended to pass through Russia to visit her sons.*

About the year 1499 Agalak, who is called the tzarevitch of Sheiban, and the brother of Mamuk, took up arms against Abdul Latif. The Grand Prince thereupon sent an army under Feodor Belski to the rescue. He returned after driving Agalak away, and left behind him Michael and Loban Riapolofski to protect the Khan. Some months later they defeated the Nogai chiefs Yamgurchi and Musa, who had attacked Abdul Latif.† These attacks were probably made in support of the Khans of Astrakhan, who had claims to be considered as the masters of the Golden Horde. The deposed Khan, Abdul Latif's brother, Muhammed Amin, meanwhile had a high command in the Russian army in the campaign against Lithuania in the year 1500.‡

Two years later, in January, 1502, the Grand Prince, under the plea that Abdul Latif had committed much injustice, ordered Prince Vasili Nozdrovati to seize him and conduct him to Moscow, whence he was removed to Bieloozero, where he was confined.§ One author says the order to arrest Abdul Latif was sent to and performed by Kalamet or Kel Ahmed.‖

MUHAMMED AMIN (RESTORED).

The real motive for the deposition of Abdul Latif was probably a wish on the part of the Grand Prince to reward Muhammed Amin. The latter was at all events sent to Kazan as Khan, and was married to the widow of his brother Ali, the former Khan. He proceeded to put to death Kel Ahmed, who had filled an important *rôle* in the affairs of Kazan.¶ Mengli Girai, the Krim Khan, was not pleased at the deposition of Abdul Latif, and to appease him the Grand Prince gave the deposed Khan an establishment befitting his rank.** Muhammed Amin was not long in showing his true colours. He divided his attentions between his money and his wife, the widow of Ali. Her former husband's grievances and her own exile at Vologda had apparently embittered her against the Russians. She exerted every means in her power to induce her husband to throw off his allegiance to the tzar. She bitterly reproached Muhammed with being nothing better than a slave, decorated with the title of monarch. "The Mussulmans," said she, "should give laws to the Christians, and yet you scruple not to obey the Giaour. What are you but a slave of the Prince of Moscow? To-day on a throne, to-morrow in a dungeon; you will finish your days in fetters,

* Karamzin, vi. 340. † *Id.*, 360. ‡ *Id.*, 372. § *Id.*, 394. Vel. Zern., 31.
‖ Vel. Zern., i. Note, 65. ¶ *Id.*, i. Note, 65. ** Karamzin, vi. 395.

as did your ancestor Ali Khan. An object of universal contempt at present, you have it in your power to raise yourself to the highest pinnacle of glory. Throw off, therefore, a degrading yoke, or die the death of a hero!"

Muhammed loved his wife passionately, and her eloquence and caresses at last effected her purpose. In compliance with her counsels, the Khan resolved to massacre all the Russians who inhabited his dominions. The festival of John the Baptist was the day appointed for this horrible act of barbarity. On that day a celebrated fair annually took place in Kazan, at which merchants from all the Muscovite provinces were wont to assemble in great numbers. The latter came, as usual, little expecting the dreadful fate which awaited them. A great number fell a prey to the blade of the assassin—men, women, and children—while others were driven to the Nogai steppes and their goods confiscated. The chronicles inform us that the Khan ordered the treasures and merchandise belonging to the victims of his cruelty to be brought to his palace, and the floor of a vast saloon is said to have been entirely covered with gold and silver and other precious objects.* He disdained to eat any more out of copper vessels, and only appeared at his feasts, which were brilliant with precious stones, in very costly garments. Even the poorest inhabitants of the town were enriched. Those who hitherto had only worn sheep's skin clothes, both in winter and summer, were now dressed in silk, and like peacocks promenaded in front of their houses to display their garments of various colours.† The Kazan Khan had also imprisoned a Russian envoy named Michael Kliapka. Knowing that the Russian tzar would not be long in taking a terrible vengeance, he collected his troops, 40,000 from Kazan and 20,000 Nogais, crossed the frontiers of the districts of Nijni Novgorod and Murom, and laid siege to Nijni, whose suburbs he burnt. When news of this reached the tzar in August, 1505, he sent Prince Ivan Ivanovitch Gorbati and the boyard Simeon Ivanovitch Voronzof to the relief of Murom. Khabar Zimski, the governor of Nijni Novgorod, having but a feeble garrison in the place, released three hundred Lithuanian prisoners, who had been captured on the Vedrosha, supplied them with arms, and promised them their liberty on condition that they behaved themselves like men. They saved the fortress. Being skilful archers, they killed a great number of the enemy, including the prince of the Nogais, who was Muhammed Amin's brother-in-law. The Nogais thereupon refused to fight, and a violent quarrel arose between them and the troops of Kazan, and after trying in vain to appease them, the Khan raised the siege and returned home. The Lithuanian prisoners were released and rewarded with presents, &c. The Russian commanders, although at the head of 100,000 men, did not advance beyond Murom, and pusillanimously

* Tornirelli, op. cit., i. 82-84. Karamzin, vi. 420, 421.

† Karamzin, vi. 422.

allowed the Tartars to withdraw with their booty.* A few months after this, namely, in October, 1505, the Grand Prince Ivan III. (whose reign we have considered in detail in the previous chapter) died, and was succeeded by his son Vasili. We must now take up the thread of Russian history once more.

The new tzar in 1506 sent a new army against the contumacious people of Kazan. He prepared two divisions. One of these went by water, under command of his brother Dimitri, with the voivodes Feodor Belski and Shein, and the princes Alexander, Rostofski, Paletski, and Kurbski. With the advanced guard of the right wing went the tzarevitch Janai, with the Tartars of Gorodetz, the murza Kanbur, &c. On the 22nd of May the infantry of this division had already disembarked at Kazan. Notwithstanding the heat of the weather and their own fatigue, they engaged the enemy and drove him towards the walls of the town, but the Tartar cavalry having attacked them in rear, cut off their retreat and threw them into confusion; many of them were killed, others were drowned in the lake Paganoi, or were made prisoners; the rest retreated to their boats and awaited the cavalry, which presently arrived.† This disaster was caused largely by the impetuosity of Dimitri, who had been ordered not to attack the town until the arrival of reinforcements, which had been despatched under the command of Prince Kurbski.

Meanwhile, on the 22nd of June, the day of the great Kazan fair, Muhammed Amin, fancying the Russians had finally withdrawn, was holding high festival on the plain of Arsk, which was dotted with a thousand tents. The foreign merchants were busy exposing their wares, when suddenly the Russians fell on them, "as if from the clouds," says the chronicler, perpetrated a terrible butchery, and forced the miserable Tartars to retire to the town, where many of them trampled one another to death in their haste to escape.‡

It would have been an easy task to have taken possession of Kazan at that moment of disorder, but, by a singular fatality, the Russians pursued the very conduct which had been the ruin of their enemies. Finding the plain strewn with objects of value and covered with choice viands, and that most inebriating of all beverages, kwas or hydromel, they rushed with avidity on the tempting fare, and, drinking to a state of intoxication, fell asleep. The Tartars, informed of this, made a furious sortie with 20,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry. They rushed, sword in hand, on their unresisting foes. So great was the slaughter that out of a hundred thousand men, seven thousand alone are said to have escaped from the blade of the Muhammedans.

The Princes Kurbski and Paletski were killed, the voivode Shein was made prisoner, and the terrified fugitives, when they had reached the

* Karamzin, vi. 422, 423. Vel. *Zern.*, i. 32, 33. Note, 66. † Karamzin, vii. 5, 6. ‡ *Id.*, 7.

river, cut the cables of the boats. The Muscovite cavalry commanded by Feodor, Kisselef, and the tzarevitch Zadenai, son of Nur Daulat, alone showed any spirit, and in retreating towards Murom defeated a body of Tartars which attacked it near Sura.

Herberstein describes these events somewhat differently. He says that when the people of Kazan heard of the terrible preparations made by the Grand Prince against them, and saw that they were unequal to contend with the enemy in an engagement hand to hand, reasoned how they might circumvent him by stratagem. After having therefore openly pitched their camp in front of the enemy, they placed the flower of their forces in ambush in convenient spots, and then assuming the appearance of being struck by panic, suddenly deserted their camp and betook themselves to flight. The Russians, who were at no great distance, becoming aware of the flight of the Tartars, broke their ranks and rushed precipitately upon the camp of the enemy, and while they were engaged in plunder, and trusting in their own security, the Tartars came forth from their ambush, together with the Cheremissian archers, and carried such slaughter among them that the Russians were compelled to leave their artillery and flee.

In that fight two bombardiers left their guns and fled, but were kindly received by the prince upon their return to Moscow. One of them named Bartholomew, who was an Italian by birth, afterwards conformed to the Russian ritual, and received large presents, together with great authority and favour from the prince. A third bombardier returned from the slaughter with the gun under his charge, and hoped to receive great and substantial favour from the prince for the care with which he had preserved and brought back his piece. But the latter, addressing him with reproaches, said: "In thus exposing me and thyself to so great danger, thou hast shown a wish either readily to take to flight or else to surrender both thyself and thy gun to the enemy. Why this preposterous diligence in preserving thy gun? I make no account of thy boasting. I have still men remaining who know not only how to found artillery, but also how to use them."* This was assuredly a strange encouragement to deeds of valour.

Thus the reign of Vasili, like that of his father, commenced with an unfortunate expedition against Kazan. It was necessary to recover his prestige that something should now be done. Daniel Schenia was ordered to march towards the Volga, but hardly had this famous voivode set out when Muhammed Amin, either through fear or the advice of the Krim Khan, wrote Vasili a humble letter in which he asked for pardon and peace. He agreed to give up the Russian merchants and prisoners he had taken, and swore to be a firm friend to Vasili.† Vasili continued his father's policy towards Lithuania, and his

* Herberstein, ed. Hack., ii. 59, 60.

† Karamzin, vii. 9.

intercourse with his brother-in-law Alexander was a mixture of querulous carping and frigid politeness. The latter died in 1506, and Vasili sent off two envoys to his sister Helena, Alexander's widow suggesting that the Polish grandees should elect him their king, and thus unite the crowns of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland. If this plan had succeeded, as Karamzin says, the results would indeed have been important, and the terrible strife of three centuries between Poles and Russians would perhaps have been avoided; but it was not to be, the Polish nobles elected Sigismund, brother of Alexander, to be their king, and Vasili, under the pretext that the Lithuanians had made raids on his borders, attacked them. At this time we read of a double treachery, Constantine Ostroyski, whom we have already mentioned as having received an appanage from Ivan, broke his oath and joined Casimir. On the other hand, Michael Glinski, a very powerful and rich Lithuanian noble, who was sprung from a Tartar stock, and who had while Alexander was on his death-bed defeated the Krim Tartars, who had made an invasion, quarrelled with Sigismund, and with his friends went over to Alexander, and promised him his services if he would obtain for him the principality of Kief. A war now followed, in which there was no important result gained, and peace was signed on the basis of the *status quo*, Sigismund resigning to his rival the conquests of Ivan, and Vasili giving up his claims upon Kief and Smolensk.* On the part of the Russians this treaty seems to have been a hollow one. Vasili wished first to secure the hearty co-operation of Mengli Girai of Krim, whose zeal for Russia seems to have been very cool latterly.

We now find Vasili crushing the community of Pskof, which had preserved its municipal liberties under the rule of Ivan. It was a famous and ancient city, with a history reaching back six hundred years, another Novgorod, of which it called itself the younger sister, and with which it formed one eparchy. Its wealth was due to its trade with the Germans, and its warlike spirit had been nurtured by its almost heroic struggles with the knights of Livonia. It had a special class of possadniks who managed the merchants, and were hereditary, otherwise its constitution was very similar to that of Novgorod. It had its general assembly and the right of electing its own minor judges. But these democratic institutions were incompatible with the growing autocracy of the government, and were accordingly doomed. As in most similarly constituted societies of mercantile oligarchs, there was much jealousy and intrigue, and much persecution of the peasant class. This was apparently fanned by the authorities at Moscow, whose deputy was very unpopular. An appeal was made to Vasili, and he went in person with a grand *cortège* towards the city. Complaints were invited. Thereupon the chief possadniks and merchants repaired to the tzar to lay their case before

* Karamzin, vii. 23.

him. Having heard it, he sided with the deputy and arrested the deputation, which comprised the chief men in the place. The heads of the tallest poppies were absolutely in his grasp, and how could the rest resist the hurricane. It was decreed that the popular assembly should cease, and that the bell by which it had been summoned should be taken away, while the tzar claimed the appointment of the judicial authorities. Three hundred of the principal families were transported to Moscow. The lands of the exiles were confiscated and given to Muscovite boyards. A tariff was fixed for merchandise where goods had been hitherto bought and sold quite freely, and a crowd of functionaries entered the place and robbed and plundered the inhabitants terribly. "It is thus," says the native annalist, "that the glory of Pskof was eclipsed; taken, not by unbelievers but by the Christians. Oh, city! once so powerful, now but a vast solitude; an eagle with many wings and sharp talons has descended on thee, and has torn out of thee three cedars of Libanus; thy beauty, thy riches, and thy citizens; has covered thy markets with ordure; has dragged away our brothers and sisters to distant lands where none of their ancestors lived."* Thus passed away another centre of light in those grey northern climates, and, like their contemporaries "the most Catholic kings of Spain" who drove out the Moors, it seems as if the Russian princes were determined to root out all the foreign influences which the German merchants of Livonia and the Hanse imported into Russia, and to girdle it round with that self-contained isolation which has been the great drag-chain on the progress of its people.

In 1510 Nursultana, the wife of Mengli Girai of Krim and the mother of Muhammed Amin and Abdul Latif, went to Moscow with her son Sahib Girai and three envoys, to ask permission to visit Kazan. She was received very hospitably by the Grand Prince, who allowed her to proceed, after a stay of a month at Moscow. She spent nearly a year at Kazan, during which she urged upon the Khan the policy of being on friendly terms with the Russians. In this she succeeded, and Muhammed Amin wrote a letter to the Grand Prince, promising in future to be always faithful to him, and asking him to send an envoy. Ivan Cheladnin accordingly went, and to him the Khan described the reason for his late duplicity, and accused his wife of having seduced him from his allegiance. Nursaltana spent six months at Moscow on her return journey.†

The quarrel between Sigismund of Poland and the Grand Prince will be better told in the next chapter.

Vasili now entered into a treaty with the Hanse towns, in the vain hope of reinstating the prosperity of Novgorod, but its trade had in fact taken its final departure, and, after a suspension of twenty-five years, had found a fresh route and outlet for itself. We now read of mutual embassies between the Russian tzar and Selim, the new Sultan of Turkey.

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* Karamzin, vii. 50. † *Id.*, 58, 59.

contumely, and Shah Ali never failed to reply to these remonstrances otherwise than by putting the murmurers to death. This severity only served to render him more and more odious to the nation he governed, and a conspiracy was soon formed against him. The inhabitants of Kazan secretly despatched an embassy to Muhammed Girai, soliciting him to send his brother, Sahib Girai, to be their sovereign. The ambassadors returned some time after to Kazan, bringing with them the young prince.*

He entered the town without encountering any resistance, and was proclaimed tzar there. He arrested Shah Ali, Karpof a Muscovite voivode, and Vasili Yurief, the envoy of the Grand Prince, while the Russian merchants were pillaged and imprisoned. No one, however, was put to death, and to show his moderation, Sahib Girai took the deposed Khan under his protection, and allowed him to go to Moscow with his wife, horses, and a guide. He also released Karpof. On his way Shah Ali suffered great distress. He met some Russian fishermen who generally spent the summer on the Volga, and were escaping towards Moscow on account of the troubles at Kazan. He was obliged to share their diet of roots and herbs, and went through great privations before he reached the Russian frontiers. Thence onwards to Moscow was a royal progress. Everywhere the grandees went to meet him, and showed him marked attention, while all the boyards of the council went out to meet him. He was received by Vasili at the foot of the palace staircase. "God be praised," said the politic Russian tzar, "you are alive, that is enough." The two sovereigns embraced shedding tears. Vasili thanked his *protegé* for his faithfulness to Russia, gave him presents, and promised him satisfaction.†

SAHIB GIRAI KHAN.

The Krim Khan knew well enough that the forcible revolution which he had caused at Kazan would bring him into conflict with the Russians, and he determined to forestall the vengeance of the Grand Prince. He summoned the Krim Tartars, the Nogais, and the Cossacks of the Dnieper to his standards, while Sahib Girai set out from Kazan along the Volga, and met him at Kolomna. They marched upon the Russian frontier. This was in 1521. I shall describe this campaign in the next chapter. Here it will suffice to say that the Tartars won a very important victory. Such a savage invasion had not been witnessed in Russia for many years, and troops of Russian slaves, the product of the campaign, were sold at Kaffa and Astrakhan.‡ The Grand Prince speedily recovered his spirits, and we now find him completing the

* Tornirelli, 86, 87. † Karamzin, vii. 133. ‡ *Id.*, 139.

work of the consolidation of his empire by absorbing the principality of Riazan.

Ivan, its young prince, had been a minor and under the tutelage of Vasili. He was now anxious to be independent, and began to correspond with the Krim Khan, and proposed in fact to marry the latter's daughter. He was summoned to Moscow, and when he arrived there was arrested, and his principality, which had had a separate history for four hundred years, was annexed. It is one of the richest parts of Russia. "Each grain of wheat there," says Herberstein, "produces sometimes two or more ears, and the stalks grow so thick that horses cannot easily pass through it, nor the quails fly out of it. It abounds in honey, fish, birds, and wild beasts."* Its situation on the route to Azof and Kaffa was also very important as an outlet to Russian trade. Its people were warlike, and Vasili, to prevent future troubles, scattered them in various parts.† The fate of Ivan of Riazan was speedily followed by a similar one which overtook his brothers Vasili Shemiakin, prince of Severski, and Feodor of Starodub, and thus the last of the independent principalities of Russia perished.

In 1522 Muhammed Girai of Krim captured Astrakhan, and almost directly afterwards was killed by the Nogais there. When Sahib Girai of Kazan heard of his brother's success, he proceeded to put to death such of the Russian merchants as he could lay his hands upon, as well as Vasili Yurief, the Grand Prince's envoy,‡ and, according to the chronicler, "he spilt blood like water." The Grand Prince determined to punish this atrocity, and set out with his army for Nijni Novgorod, where he arrived in August, 1523. Thence he despatched two armaments. One under the command of Shah Ali went by water, while a second army marched by land, ravaging the country and making prisoners the inhabitants. They went as far as the outfall of the Sura, where a wooden fortress was built, which was given the name of Vasili-Gorod. The Grand Prince returned to Moscow shortly after, and Shah Ali and the Russian generals performed their parts successfully.§ Sahib Girai, knowing that the strife would recommence the following year, now declared himself a vassal of Suliman, the famous Sultan of Turkey, and asked him to revenge him against Vasili. The prince of Mankub, who was then at Moscow as the Turkish envoy, told the boyards there that Kazan had become a Turkish province. They replied that this could not be, as Sahib Girai was a mere rebel who had no right to dispose of it.||

In the spring of 1524 the war was again renewed, and the Russian forces were again divided into two divisions, that which went by the Volga being again commanded by Shah Ali, while Khabar Simski commanded the cavalry which marched by land. The whole army

* Op. cit., ii. 9, 10. † *Id.*, 11. ‡ Karamzin, vii. 157.
Vel. *Zern.*, i. 52. Karamzin, vii. 161. || Karamzin, vii. 162.

numbered 150,000 men. Sahib Girai, on hearing of the approach of this armament, sent for his nephew Safa Girai, the son of Feth Girai* (who was only thireen years old) from Krim, while he himself fled for protection to the Turkish Sultan.

SAFA GIRAI KHAN.

The Tartars of Kazan, who feared and hated the Russians, ashamed of the flight of their Khan, put Safa Girai in his place, swore to die for him, and, uniting with the Chuvashes and Cheremisses, prepared for a vigorous resistance.† We are told that on his journey to Kazan, Safa Girai stopped at the island of Gostinoi (*i.e.*, the island of merchants), near Kazan, where he was received with honour by the princes of the country.

Seyid, the chief priest of the district, was held in such estimation that even kings in meeting him would stand, and bowing the head, take his hand as he sat on horseback, an honour otherwise granted only to sovereigns. Dukes did not salute even his hands but his knees, simple nobles merely saluted his feet, while plebians were content if they could only touch his garments or his horse with their hand. He secretly favoured Vasili, and took measures to seize Safa Girai, that he might send him bound to Moscow, but when the boy was captured he (doubtless Seyid is meant though the phrase is ambiguous) was publicly put to death with the knife.‡

Meanwhile the Russians continued their advance, and we are told the Volga seemed covered with their boats. They arrived at the island of Gostinoi on the 7th of July, and stayed there twenty days awaiting the arrival of the cavalry. Petty skirmishes ensued, and Shah Ali, who despised his youthful antagonist, recommended him to return home and not be responsible for the blood that would be shed; but the young prince replied, "The throne will be the prize of victory. To arms!"§ Meanwhile the wooden ramparts of Kazan were fired by some Russians, who had been bribed for the purpose, and were burnt to the ground. Instead of taking advantage of this piece of good fortune, the Russian generals merely stood by as spectators, and allowed the citizens to restore them, and on the 28th of July transferred their camp from the banks of the Volga to those of the Kazanka, where they again awaited a favourable opportunity for twenty days, while the Cheremisses harassed their camp, wasted the country round, and intercepted their communications. "Two governors," says Herberstein, "had been appointed to look after the commissariat. One of these, Ivan Paletzki, after loading his vessels with provisions from Novgorod, had to descend the river to

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* Vel. Zern., i. Note, 90. † Karamzin, vii. 163. ‡ Herberstein, ii. 68. § Karamzin, vii. 163.

join the army, but after depositing his provisions he returned home rather precipitately. The other had been sent for the same purpose with five hundred soldiers overland, but was slaughtered with his men by the Cheremisses, scarcely nine of them escaping in the confusion. The commander himself fell into their hands badly wounded and died. When the rumour of this slaughter reached the army, so great a consternation arose in the camp, increased by a groundless report that the whole of the cavalry were slain to a man, that nothing was thought of but flight."* The only question was whether they should go up the stream or down. Meanwhile Paletzki again ventured to make his way to the distressed army, but his armament was surprised in a fog on the Volga by the Cheremisses, who also barricaded the river at the point where its stream is divided by many islands with trunks of trees and stones. This caused such terror that he abandoned ninety of his largest barges, each manned by thirty men, and loosing the anchor of his own boat, reached the camp in great distress.† The disaster gave rise to an old Russian proverb, "Beware when the Cheremis is beside you." "The Volga," says the chroniclers of Kazan, "became for the barbarians like the Tigris, a river filled with gold, for besides cannons and ammunition, they also drew out of the river some precious Russian armour and much money."‡ Paletzki suffered another defeat on his return, and not only lost his boats, but only escaped with a very few men.

Meanwhile a body of horse, which had been sent to the rescue by Vasili, had two engagements with the Tartars and Cheremisses in crossing the Viega, which falls into the Volga, but succeeded in defeating the Tartars and in joining the main army. Thus reinforced the Russians proceeded to besiege the town. This was on the 15th of August. They pursued a pusillanimous policy, and when six Tartars advanced near their camp and bearded them, Shah Ali was ordered not to attack them, although he had 2,000 men under his command. The enemy adopted Fabian tactics, and when the Russians pursued hotly they turned suddenly round and laid many of them low with a shower of arrows. Meanwhile the bombardment of the town commenced, and a lucky Russian cannon ball killed the only skilled gunner in the place. Some of the Lithuanian and German mercenaries now wished to make an assault, but were rebuked by the weak-kneed general, who, knowing the straits his army was reduced to for want of food, and perhaps also gained over by Tartar bribes, entered into negotiations with the garrison for a truce, which were gladly seconded by the Tartars. The siege was accordingly raised. Herberstein says that the report of bribery was strengthened by the fact that a Savoyard was caught in the attempt to escape to the enemy with the gun which had been intrusted to him, and acknowledged upon close

* Op. cit., ii. 70. † Herberstein, ii. 70. ‡ Karamzin, vii. 165, 166.

examination that he had received from the enemy silver money and Tartar goblets, that he might induce many to desert with him, and although taken in so manifest a crime, a heavy punishment was not inflicted on him.* The Russian army carried home with it the seeds of disease by which its numbers were reduced to one-half. Ivan Belski, the principal Russian commander, was disgraced, but afterwards pardoned, on the solicitation of the metropolitan; and the Kazan envoys went on to Moscow to treat for peace.

The great entrepôt of trade at this time between Russia and the East was at the Isle of Merchants already named, where great fairs were held. Vasili forbade his merchants to repair there, hoping that the Tartars, who bought much salt from the Russians, would be greatly inconvenienced. He fixed a new site for the fair at Makharief, in the government of Nijni Novgorod, a sterile place where there had been an old monastery, founded by Macarius of Unya, which had been destroyed by the Tartars in the reign of Vasili the Blind. But trade is a fickle mistress, the merchants refused to repair thither, and the effect of the removal was to inflict great loss on the Russians themselves; "for," says Herberstein, "it produced a scarcity and dearness in many articles which it had been the custom to import through the Caspian Sea from Persia and Armenia, by the Volga from the emporium at Astrakhan, and especially of the finer kinds of fish, among which was the belluga, which is taken in the Volga both above and below Kazan."† The fair of Makharief lived on, however, and eventually became one of the most famous marts in the world, and the mother of the modern fair of Nijni Novgorod. Let us now turn once more to Russia.

Solomonia, for many years the wife of Vasili, had borne him no children, and on the advice of his boyards he determined "to cut down the sterile fig tree and to plant another in its place." She was compelled by force to take the veil in a monastery at Suzdal. She declared confidently that God would avenge her, and her part was taken by many of the notables and clergy. Although his wife had taken the veil, Vasili was still married in the eyes of the church, and it was only by the pliant aid of the metropolitan Daniel that the difficulty was got over, and he proceeded to marry Helena, the daughter of the refugee Vasili Glinski.‡ And we are told that to give himself the airs of youth he had his beard shaved, and was otherwise rejuvenated. We now find Vasili in communication with the pope, who tried to tempt him by the offer of the kingly dignity (which it was the pope's prerogative to confer), to join in a crusade against the Turks, and to aid in the union of the Eastern and Western churches, but Vasili replied to the advance with courteous phrases and nothing more.

Meanwhile the Emperor Maximilian had died and been succeeded by

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* Op. cit., 72. † *Id.*, 72, 73. ‡ *Id.*, 173.

Charles V., and we read how embassies passed between the youthful kaizer and the Grand Prince. Russia was also in close communication with the Archduke of Austria, whose envoy was the well known Baron Herberstein, the author of the famous description of Muscovy, from which I shall quote largely presently. A more or less hollow truce was continued with Sigismund of Poland, which was varied by perpetual treacheries, jealousies, and border raids. In this period of great deeds Sweden was also rising from the state of chaos in which it had long rested. This was under the famous Gustavus Vasa, who freed his country from the Danish yoke and was on terms of amity with Vasili. The latter was also on terms of cold and platonic friendship with the Porte, whose merchants made their way to Moscow.

After the campaign in 1524 the envoys of Kazan went to Moscow, and a hollow peace was entered into which lasted for a few years. Safa Girai bore the Russian yoke very uneasily, and went the length of insulting the envoy of the Grand Prince. The latter probably only too pleased to have a pretext for revenging his former ill success, in the spring of 1530 sent an army against Kazan. This was as before divided into two portions, one went by the Volga, and the other, commanded by the Princes Ivan Belski, Michael Glinski, &c., by land. Safa Girai on his part prepared for a brave resistance. He was joined by 30,000 Nogais, sent by his father-in-law Mamai, and also summoned the Cheremisses to his assistance. To protect his capital he constructed a wooden palisade and a deep ditch, which crossed the plain of Arsk from the Bulak to the Kazanka, while he enclosed the town with a new rampart of earth and stones. After five or six ineffectual attacks, the Russian cavalry was joined by the infantry, which had gone by water. A continuous struggle followed, but the Tartars, who fought bravely enough during the day time, became very lax at night, and some of the young Russian warriors having noticed by the moonlight that the sentinels were asleep, advanced cautiously to the palisades, which they smeared with resin and sulphur, and then set fire to them. The town was soon girdled with flame, and the Russians rushed to the assault amidst the smoke and confusion. They speedily won the environs, and plied their torches and swords with effect. Without counting those who perished in the flames, 60,000 Tartar soldiers and citizens thus perished. Among the former was a famous Kazan champion called Atalik, who had laid many a Russian low. Safa Girai retired to the town of Arsk, but meanwhile the Russian commanders showed so little vigilance that the Cheremisses succeeded in capturing their baggage, sixty-six cannons, and a great quantity of ammunition, and in killing the princes Obolenski and Dorogobuiski, and other persons of distinction. The Russians proceeded to lay siege to Kazan, which had barely 12,000 defenders, but Prince Belski, whose integrity was suspected, consented to make peace. He was Vasili's nephew on his mother's side, and returned to Moscow, where his

uncle, much irritated at his pusillanimity, ordered him to be put to death. He was only saved by the prayers of the metropolitan. He was, however, imprisoned, and three years later he is again found in command of the Russian armies.*

The people of Kazan now sent the princes Tagai, Tevkel, and Ibrahim to Moscow to offer their most abject submission and ask for pardon. Vasili who was anxious for peace, granted them terms on condition that they liberated the Russian prisoners and restored the guns and ammunition which had been captured by the Cheremisses, but Safa Girai seized the Russian envoy and refused to sign the treaty unless the prisoners and cannon captured by Prince Belski were also restored. The boyards having communicated this news to the Kazan deputies, Prince Tagai replied, "We have already heard what the Khan has done, but we are neither liars nor perjurers. The will of heaven and of the Grand Prince will assuredly be accomplished. The most distinguished of our countrymen have perished in fighting or are overcome with stupor, Safa Girai rules as he likes with his Krim Tartars and Nogais. He arouses excitement by raising the rumours that Russian troops are on the march, and his perfidy covers us with confusion. We will collect our people and drive him away, and the Grand Prince shall give us a new tzar." The boyards replied that they were indifferent who ruled at Kazan, if he was only faithful to Russia. "Well then," said Tagai, "recall the innocent Shah Ali, victim of his enemies, and let him return with us to the town of Vasili. Thence we will proclaim to the Tartars of Kazan, to the Cheremisses of the mountains and the plain, as well as to the princes of Arsk, that the Grand Prince has pardoned us. We will tell them the tzar has killed us, but the Grand Prince has restored us to life again. The Tartar prisoners who languish in the dungeons of Kazan, brave relatives, brothers, and friends will aid us, and we shall secure eternal peace." Vasili consented accordingly to Shah Ali returning with the envoys. Tagai kept his word faithfully. He wrote a letter to his co-citizens, aroused a rebellion, and deposed Safa Girai, who in a transport of rage had ordered all the Russians imprisoned at Kazan to be put to death. He was told to withdraw without delay. His wife was sent back to her father Mamai, and in the tumult which ensued, several Nogais and Krim Tartars, favourites of Safa Girai, were killed. The Princess Gorkhanda, sister of Muhammed Amin, was one of the principal movers in the revolution, and the chief priest, the ughlans, princes, and murzas hastened to acquaint Vasili with the banishment of Safa Girai, and asked him to nominate in his place not Shah Ali, whose vengeance they feared, but Jan Ali, his brother, who was then lord of Meschersk (*i.e.*, Khan of Kasimof), a request to which Vasili acceded.†

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* Karamzin, vii. 190-192.

† Karamzin, vii. 192-194.

JAN ALI KHAN.

Jan Ali set out for Kazan, accompanied by a numerous suite, and he was duly installed on the throne by the Russian deputy Morozof, amidst the apparent rejoicings of the murzas and people, who duly swore allegiance to their new ruler. Vasili was so pleased with their behaviour that he ceded to them the cannons, &c., which they had captured in the former campaign.*

In the spring of 1533 Appai Ughlan, and Kadush, brothers of Prince Otushef, Kutlugh Pulad, Prince of Gorodetz, and Evdek Bakshi, went to Ivan soliciting on behalf of Jan Ali, the Prince Taba, the ughlans, the princes, the karachis, and the people, permission for Jan Ali to marry the daughter of the Nogai Prince Yusuf, "who would secure him peace with this powerful horde." Vasili gave his consent to the match.† Shah Ali did not acquiesce willingly in his brother's good fortune. Since his own deposition in 1521 he had lived in Russia, and probably at Moscow. On the promotion of Jan Ali to Kazan, he was given the towns of Koshira and Serpukhof as an appanage, where he had a retinue of ughlans, princes, murzas, &c., drawn from his old Khanate of Kazan.‡ He seems to have intrigued with the Kazan Tartars to displace his brother, and was thereupon deprived of his appanage and banished to Bielozersk.§ Let us turn once more to Russia.

The year 1531 was marked as an epoch in Russian history by the birth of the famous tzar Ivan Vasilivitch, otherwise known as Ivan IV. or the Terrible. Popular tradition says that his birth was attended by thunder and lightning, an omen which was favourably interpreted by the priesthood, who here filled the office of the augurs at Rome. The news was received with great joy throughout Russia, and an amnesty was granted to distinguished political prisoners. The various towns sent deputations to congratulate the Grand Prince. Hermits issued from their cells to give the little stranger their blessing, and were admitted to the royal table, and Vasili had some magnificent reliquaries made in honour of Saint Peter and Saint Andrew, the two patrons of Moscow. At this time he received embassies from Peter, the voivode of Moldavia, who showed such a bold front to the Poles, Lithuanians, and Tauridans, all enemies of Russia, from the princes of Astrakhan, and the murzas of the Nogais. The most interesting of the envoys came, however, from Baber, the founder of the Mongol empire in Hindostan, who sent Khese Husein to arrange that his envoys and merchants with their wares might have access to Muscovy, and *vice versâ.* Vasili responded favourably to these advances, but the chronicler says he did not give Baber the style of

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* *Id.*, vii. 195. † Vel. Zern., i. Note, 93. Karamzin, vii. 195.
‡ Vel. Zern., i. 56, 57. Notes, 95, 96. § *Id.* Note, 97. Karamzin, vii. 196.

brother, not knowing whether he was an independent sovereign or only the administrator of the Indian realms.*

Soon after this Vasili fell ill, and having appointed his son Ivan, who was but three years old, his heir, with Helena as his guardian till he was fifteen years old, and having donned the habit of a monk and adopted the monkish name of Varlam, he died on the 3rd of November, 1533.

He was a prudent sovereign, who enlarged the power and resources of Russia very considerably, and although not a genius he did not, on the other hand, leave his successors either the duty or glory of remedying his mistakes.† His hand was heavy on those who committed offences, either verbal or in act, against the throne. "For," as Karamzin says, "in that age, clemency was interpreted as weakness, and a pardoned fault easily became no fault at all in the eyes of the people." Among the illustrious men at Vasili's court was a famous monk of Mount Athos, known as Maximus the Greek, who was widely known for his learning. He became the centre of literary culture in Russia, but thereby incurred the jealousy of the clergy, and eventually won the displeasure of Vasili by disapproving of his divorce. He was imprisoned in a monastery at Tuer, on a charge of having falsely interpreted the Scriptures.‡ Vasili increased the pomp of his court, and was fond of magnificent display; and in his intercourse with foreign princes he styled himself Tzar and sovereign of all the Russias, Grand Prince of Vladimir, Moscow, Novgorod, Pskof, Smolensk, Tuer, Yugoria, Permia, Viatka, Bulgaria, &c., Monarch and Grand Prince of Novgorod-Severski, Chernigof, Riazan, Volok, Kief, Belsk, Rostof, Yaroslavl, Bielozersk, Udoria, Obdoria, Condia, &c.§ He was the first to summon German doctors to Russia, and otherwise encouraged scientific men to settle there, and published some judicious laws and ordinances. *Inter alia* having received many complaints about the ill deeds of his judges at Novgorod, he appointed that forty-eight sworn assessors should be elected and sit with them; "a privilege," Karamzin says, "which was obtained by the free citizens of Novgorod on account of their iterated complaints, while the inhabitants of other parts of Russia, who were too much accustomed to this kind of injustice, remained silent."‖ Vasili had the wooden ramparts of several towns replaced by brick walls. Those at Nijni Novgorod still remains, as does the church of Saint Nicholas Gostimski in the Kremlin, which was his work.

His reign was also marked by various ecclesiastical reforms. Community of goods was introduced into the monasteries of Novgorod, and it was appointed that nunneries should be presided over by women and not by male abbots. The Laps of the Neva and the Kandalagian gulf, as well as those of Kola, were baptised at their own request, and became in

* Karamzin, vii. 200. † *Id.*, 218. ‡ *Id.*, 225. § *Id.*, 232. ‖ *Id.*, 234.

name at least Christians.* On another side we find the Greek church of Byzantium oppressed and down-trodden by the Turks, and leaning for sympathy and succour on Moscow, whence monetary aid was forwarded to it. We ought not to forget, while making our somewhat limited survey, that the reign of Vasili was a famous epoch in history, marked elsewhere by such renowned sovereigns as Leo X. at Rome, Maximilian and Charles V. in Germany, Louis XII. and Francis I. in France, Selim and Suliman in Turkey, Henry VIII. in England, Gustavus Vasa in Sweden, and Sigismund in Poland. Lastly, it was the age of Luther, whose position and arguments were not favourably received in Russia, where Maximus the Greek wrote a discourse on "The Heresy of Luther."†

The church, like the other institutions of the empire, was becoming more and more a department of the State. The metropolitan, instead of being elected as formerly by an assembly of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, was chosen by the tzar himself. The metropolitan Bartholomew resigned his office rather than submit to be dragged at his heels, and was replaced by a young ecclesiastic named Daniel, whose character may be gathered from a story told by Herberstein, "that being corpulent and having a red face, he used to expose himself to the fumes of sulphur, and thus make himself pale before appearing in public, so that he might simulate at least the appearance of austerity.‡ Under the metropolitan were the archbishops of Magrici (?) and Rostof, and the bishops of Tuer, Riazan, Smolensk, Permia, Suzdal, Kolomna, Chernigof, and Serai.§ No one could become a deacon, and *a fortiori* a priest in Russia unless he was married, and they were often married and ordained deacons at the same time. When the wife of a priest died he was suspended from his functions, while he lived in chastity he might serve in the choir; but no widower could administer the sacraments unless he entered a monastery and lived according to rule. If he married again he ceased to have anything in common with the clergy. A priest could not administer the sacrament, or baptise, or perform any other duty unless a deacon were present. For secular offences, such as theft and drunkenness, the priests were punished by the secular arm, and Herberstein says he saw some priests at Moscow publicly whipped, whose only complaint was that they were beaten by slaves and not by gentlemen.‖ Except the bishoprics and monasteries, the church was badly endowed, and the priests had but a scanty income. There was only one altar in each church, nor was service performed at it more than once a day. The priests were only bound to perform three services weekly. They wore the same dress as the laity, except a small skull cap to cover the tonsure and a broad hat to keep off the heat and rain, or else an

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* *Id.*, 238, 239. † *Id.*, 247. ‡ Op. cit., i. 54. § *Id.*, 55. ‖ *Id.*, 56.

oblong beaver hat of a grey colour, and they carried staves called possoch. The heads of monasteries were styled archimandrites (abbots) and hegumens (*i.e.*, abbots). The life in the monasteries was an austere one; no harps or musical instruments were allowed there, and the inmates abstained entirely from meat. There were also many hermits, who, like St. Simeon Stilites, raised their small cells on columns, and were called stolpinki, from stolp, a column. The archbishops, bishops, and abbots wore round black mitres. The bishop of Novgorod, however, used a white two-horned one after the Roman fashion. Their dress was like that of the monks, except that it was sometimes made of silk, especially the black pallium, with three stripes waving like the flowing of a river, from the breast in every direction, to signify that from their mouth and heart flowed streams of the doctrine of faith and good works.* The bishop of Novgorod wore a white pallium.

The policy of the previous few reigns had concentrated a terrible power in the hands of the Grand Prince. The lives and fortunes of laymen and clerics, of lords and commonalty, were equally at his command, says Herberstein. He was ignorant of contradiction, and everything he did seemed right and just, for the Russians believed the Grand Prince to be the executor of the divine will, and called him God's key-bearer and chamberlain. "God and the Great Prince know" was a common phrase with them, and he adds, "It is matter of doubt whether the brutality of the people has made the prince a tyrant, or whether the people themselves have become thus brutal and cruel through the tyranny of their prince."† It was not only a moral force he could command, but he also had probably the most imposing army in Europe, consisting of 300,000 boyard-followers and 60,000 peasant soldiers, who marched under a banner on which was represented Joshua staying the course of the sun. The armature of this force is interesting, and I will take the description from Herberstein. He says :—"They have small gelded horses, unshod and with very light bridles, and their saddles are so adapted that they may turn round in any direction without impediment and draw the bow. They sit on horseback with the feet so drawn up that they cannot sustain any more than a commonly severe shock from a spear or javelin. Very few use spurs, but most use the whip, which always hangs from the little finger of the right hand, so that they may lay hold of it and use it as often as they need, and if they have occasion to use their arms they let it fall again, so as to hang from the hand. Their ordinary arms are a bow, a javelin, a hatchet, a stick like a cæstus, which is called in Russian kesteni, in Polish bassalich. The more noble and wealthy men use a lance. They have also suspended from their arm oblong poignards like knives, which are so buried in the scabbard that they can scarcely touch the tip of the hilt or lay hold of them in the

* *Id.*, 58, 59. † *Id.*, 32.

moment of necessity. They have also a long bridle, perforated at the end, which they attach to a finger on the left hand, so that they may hold it at the same time as they use the bow. Moreover, although they hold the bridle, the bow, the short sword, and the javelin in their hands at the same time, yet they know how to use them skilfully without feeling any inconvenience.

"Some of the higher classes use a coat of mail, beautifully worked on the breast with a sort of scales and with rings; some few use a helmet of a peak form, like a pyramid; some a dress stuffed with wool, to enable them to sustain any blows. They also use pikes."

Herberstein tells us "the Russians employed cavalry almost exclusively in their fights. In this and their tactics they clearly imitated the Tartars, among whom sudden rushes and surprises formed the main element of warfare. They employed cannon in sieges, but had no field pieces. They were very impetuous in the first charge, but their valour did not hold out long, for they seem," he says, "as if they would give a hint to the enemy as much as to say, 'if you don't flee, we must.' They seldom," he adds, "take a city by storm or by a sudden assault, but prefer a long siege and to reduce the people to surrender by hunger or by treachery."* In contrasting the Russian soldier with the Tartar, he says, "The Russian when he once takes to flight thinks there is no safety but what flight may secure him, and if captured neither defends himself nor asks for quarter. The Tartar, on the contrary, if he be thrown from his horse and stripped of all his weapons, and be even very severely wounded, will generally defend himself with his hands, feet, and teeth, when and how he can, as long as he has any breath in his body."† The Russian camps were very large. The chief officers alone had tents. The soldiers made themselves huts of wattles and wrappers. Nor did they fortify their camps with either ditches or an array of chariots. The fare of the soldiers was very poor. Each man carried his own provisions, consisting of ground millet, salt pork, some salt, and occasionally a little pork. This was eked out with fruits, onions, garlick, and other herbs. They relied more on numbers than personal bravery, and avoided close encounters if possible, endeavouring either to circumvent or surround their enemy. They had a great many trumpeters, and used another kind of musical instrument called surun, which they blew for an hour incessantly. They wore short boots of a reddish colour, with the soles protected by iron nails, while their shirts were ornamented round the neck with various colours, fastened with necklaces or with silver or copper gilt beads with clasps. Like the Tartars, they were fond of wrestling and boxing matches, in which the feet as well as the hands were freely used and very great violence displayed. The Russian punishments were of a cruel and barbarous kind. Thieves when caught

* *Id.*, 97. † *Id.*, 98.

had their heels broken; they were then allowed to rest for two or three days until they swelled, when they were made to walk again." As among most barbarous nations, the women were badly treated. "They consider no woman virtuous," says Herberstein, "unless she live shut up at home and be so closely guarded that she go out nowhere. At home the women did nothing but spin and sew, and had no authority in the house, all the domestic work being done by servants. They held unclean all animals strangled by a woman's hands. Women were seldom admitted to churches, and still more seldom to friendly meetings, unless they were very old and free from suspicion; on certain holidays, however, they were allowed, as a special gratification, to meet in very pleasant meadows, where they sat themselves on a kind of wheel of fortune and were moved alternately up and down, or sat in swings, and otherwise made merry with clapping of hands and singing, but no dancing." Surely a very ingenuous way of amusing themselves, which would hardly be appreciated by our blasé beauties. Herberstein has a well known story of a German blacksmith who had married in Russia, and whose wife asked him one day why he did not love her. The husband replied that he did so passionately. She said in reply she had not had any proofs of it since he had never beaten her. He promised he would not in future fail in this respect, and not long after he beat her most unmercifully, and confessed to Herberstein that in consequence his wife loved him much more than formerly. So he repeated the exercise frequently, and finally, while the envoy was still at Moscow, he cut off her head and legs !!!*

Marriages were arranged between the parents, and the young people did not see one another before they were united. "Learn what she is from others who have known her," was the reply of parents to inquisitive bridegrooms. All the gifts presented to the pair at the wedding, or their value duly appraised, had to be returned to the givers, sworn appraisers being actually employed in disputed cases, so that marriage presents were purely a conventional form of civility and cost nothing. The whole country was cankered with that corrupt bureaucracy which is still its bane, and the poor and the helpless had everywhere to go to the wall, while the meekness of the suffering class was only relieved by servility and meanness. It is no bad proof of degradation that the term Krestianes, by which the proud Mussulmans designated the despised Christians, should have been the generic name given by the Russian grandees themselves to the humble classes. Surely an astounding perversion of the name Christian. Justice was then as now bartered to the richest. As a judge once told Vasili, "Sire, I always believe a rich man rather than a poor one."†

Torture was applied with great cruelty to extract confessions; splinters were driven under the nails, or frozen water allowed to fall drop by drop

* *Id.*, 94, 95. † Karamzin, vii. 253.

on the head and other parts of the body. These, as well as the knout, the patriotic Karamzin assigns to the influence of the Tartars.* Commerce was flourishing. The Poles and Lithuanians trafficked at Moscow, the Swedes, Danes, and Germans at Novgorod, the Turks and other Asiatics at the famous fair formerly held at Kholop.† Furs and honey were the chief Russian products exported, while the silks and spices of the East were cheaper there than in Germany. Kaluga was famous for its wooden articles, Murom for its fish, Pereislavl for its herrings, and Salovski for its salt; but the enterprise of the merchants was crippled by having no outlet into the ocean; the White Sea being the only exit they had, and this had a very dangerous and uncertain navigation. Silver money was struck at Moscow, Novgorod, Tuer, and Pskof. The money of Moscow, Herberstein says, was not round but of an oval form, and called deng. On one side was an inscription, on the other formerly a rose, but when he wrote a man on horseback. A hundred of these dengas made a Hungarian gold piece, six dengs made an altin, twenty a grifna, a hundred a poltin, and two hundred a rouble. The coin of Novgorod was double that of Moscow in value. They also had copper coins called polani, sixty of these went to a deng. They had no gold money. They exported furs and wax to Germany; leather and narwhal teeth to Lithuania and Turkey; saddles, bridles, cloth, and leather into Tartary.‡ Arms or iron were only exported to places on the east and north by stealth. The posts were well regulated. This was doubtless a Tartar heritage, and notwithstanding the very bad roads, we are told that the journey from Novgorod to Moscow, of 542 versts, was performed in sixty-two hours, while travellers paid six dengas for each ten versts.§

Moscow was a very large place for those days. In 1520 it contained 41,500 houses. The Kremlin was alone called the city; round it were grouped the large wooden palaces of the greater clergy and the nobles. Most of the churches were also built of wood. The shops were arranged in bazaars or Gostinoi dvor, as they are to this day. In winter corn, meat, hay, wood, &c., were sold on the ice on the frozen Moskwa. The ancient Russian proverb, that a man buys with open eyes (*i.e*, "caveat emptor") shows that chicane and over-reaching were then as now the laws of commerce, while usury was rampant, and twenty per cent. was deemed moderate. Slavery was general in Russia, says Herberstein, and the lords styled themselves slaves of the monarch.‖ These serfs were chiefly debtors, prisoners of war, men who had been bought, and their descendants. Karamzin tells us the condition of the free peasants was much worse than that of the serfs, and the latter when manumitted often sold themselves again. They farmed the lands of the gentry, giving labour in lieu of money for rent; and so exacting were the

* *Id.*, 254. † *Id.*, 255. ‡ Herberstein, 112. § *Id.*, 108. ‖ Karamzin, vii. 264.

latter that the peasants had only two days a week left for their own use. They were terribly oppressed and poor. The old man had to work for his bread like the young. Thus the class of serfs was largely recruited; for thus only could the poor secure attention when ill or old, with a provision for their families.

The peasants, Karamzin says, had no rights in the land; they enjoyed personal liberty and their own chattels, but the land belonged from time immemorial to the princes, boyards, warriors, and merchants, who farmed it out to the free peasants.

Having thus given a picture of Russia at the period of its emancipation from Tartar influences, we must on with our story.

On the death of Vasili he was succeeded by his eldest son, the famous Ivan IV., better known as Ivan the Terrible, during whose infancy the affairs of the State was controlled by a council of regency. One of the first acts of the new reign was to enter into a fresh treaty with Kazan, by which Jan Ali and his people recognised the suzerainty of Russia.* This good feeling was, however, of very short duration. The Tartars were naturally irritated at their dependence on the Russians, whom they looked upon as infidels, and Sahib Girai used this feeling for furthering his intrigues. They no doubt also thought the minority of the Grand Prince a good opportunity to further their ends. Headed by the tzarina Kofgorshad, Prince Pulad, and the various ughlans and princes, they rose in rebellion against Jan Ali, and having dethroned him, put him to death on the banks of the Kazanka. This was in September, 1535.†

SAFA GIRAI KHAN (SECOND REIGN).

The conspirators recalled Safa Girai from the Krim, and he married the widow of Jan Ali, the daughter of the Nogai Prince Yusuf. This revolution was apparently not joined in by all the Kazan Tartars. A considerable number of them, representing no doubt the partizans of Russia, were opposed to it. News arrived that some of this section, numbering about five hundred, had repaired to the Volga, and sent to ask the Grand Prince to support them and to nominate Shah Ali, who was still in confinement at Bielozersk, as Khan of Kazan. He was accordingly summoned to Moscow, where he had a very stately reception. He went with his wife Fatima, and on being presented to the Grand Prince, who was then but six years old, and was seated on his throne, he fell on his knees and addressed him amidst tears:—

"Your father, the Grand Prince Vasili Ivanovitch, showed me great kindness when I was but a boy, treated me as a father treats his son, gave me Kazan, made me a tzar, and otherwise showed me his goodwill.

* Karamzin, vii. 316.

† Vel. Zern., i. Note, 99. Karamzin, vii. 328.

Through my fault strife arose at Kazan between the princes and the people, and I had to return again to your father at Moscow. He again supported me and gave me towns as an appanage, when through pride and perfidy I again behaved ill to him. God did not pardon my fault, and your father sent me into banishment. Now you, my liege, remembering your father's goodwill towards me, have overlooked my ill-doing, and God has put it into your heart to again befriend me." On hearing these words Ivan raised Shah Ali from the floor, kissed him and offered him a seat beside him, robed him in a rich pelisse, and then dismissed him to his lodgings. The Khan requested permission to be presented to Ivan's mother Helena, who granted him an audience at the palace of St. Lazarus, where she received him very graciously, surrounded by the principal boyards and court officials and their wives. Ivan went to meet him in the vestibule, and presented him to his mother. Shah Ali prostrated himself with his head on the floor, and repeated his self-accusation, and his gratitude for the princesses' favour, and protested his own faithfulness in future. He envied the fate of Jan Ali, his brother, who had died for the Grand Prince, and hoped that a similar fate for himself might efface the traces of his crime. Feodor Karpof, one of the great officials, answered for his mistress, and said: "Tzar Shah Ali, the Grand Prince Vasili banished you. We and our son Ivan have absolved and pardoned you your fault. Be worthy of this high favour. We will forget the past in the presence of your oath of fidelity." After this Shah Ali withdrew. His wife Fatima was afterwards received in state, the ladies of the court assisting her to descend from her sledge. Helena welcomed her at the vestibule, and the Grand Prince saluted her in the Tartar fashion. She afterwards dined at the same table with the regent Helena, while Ivan and the boyards ate in another apartment. The chronicles give the names of the various noble ladies who took part in the banquet. The grandees of the court acted as waiters, and Prince Repnin filled the office of cup-bearer to Fatima. At the close of the banquet, as was usual, Helena presented the tzarina with a cup. Never, according to the annalists, had there ever been such a great feast at Moscow.*

The section of Tartars who disapproved of Safa Girai were not successful in their conspiracy, and the Russians, having received an insolent letter from him, the princes Gundurof and Zamuizki were ordered to march against them; but they retired at the sight of the Tartars, while the latter overran and plundered the province of Nijni Novgorod, and defeated the people of Balakhna who opposed them. The Russian generals came face to face with the Tartars near Liskof, but neither side seemed anxious to come to blows, and both sides at nightfall retired in opposite directions. The two Russian generals were super-

* Vel. Zern., i. 60-63. Karamzin, vii. 329-331.

seded and imprisoned, and their successors defeated a body of Tartars and Cheremisses near Koriakof. The prisoners were sent to Moscow, and there condemned as traitors and rebels, and were all put to death.* Safa Girai was also supported by his uncle Sahib Girai, the Khan of Krim, who, in a letter written in 1538, menaced the Russians with his vengeance if they should dare to interfere with the affairs of Kazan.†

The Tartars of Kazan continued to molest the Russian frontiers. The Russian general Zassekin was killed in a fight with them between Galitch and Kostroma, and in January, 1537, Safa Girai in person approached Murof, whose environs he burnt, but he retired rapidly when the Russian standards came in sight. Peace was at length secured by Safa Girai acknowledging himself a Russian subject. This was in 1538.‡

In December, 1540, Safa Girai is again found marching upon the Russian borders, encouraged apparently by his uncle Sahib Girai. His army comprised Kazan and Krim Tartars and Nogais, and proceeded to attack Murom, which was bravely defended by its garrison. Prince Dimitri Belzki set out from Vladimir to its assistance, and was joined by Shah Ali with the Tartars of Kasimof. The latter attacked the Nogais who had plundered the neighbouring villages at Meshchera, and captured many of them, sending some as prisoners to Moscow.§ Safa Girai himself fled so hastily that the Russian commanders could not overtake him.

This failure seems to have caused great discontent at Kazan, where many of the chief men, headed by Pulad, began to correspond secretly with the Russians, promising to rise if the Grand Prince would send an army to assist them. They complained bitterly of the exactions they suffered from the Khan, who sent the booty he plundered from them to the Krim. The Russians received these advances cordially, but postponed action until matters were somewhat riper.‖ This was prudent, for the Tartars were very fickle, and in 1542 we find Pulad again at peace with Safa Girai, and the Tartars making advances for a more durable peace. We are told, however, that the Princess Gorshadna wrote to the Grand Prince foretelling the approaching downfall of Kazan.¶

Safa Girai postponed coming to definite terms. At length tired of his treacheries, the Russians in 1546 sent two armies against him, one from Viatka and the other from Moscow, which appeared before Kazan on the same day. Having burnt its environs, killed many Tartars there and on the banks of the Sviaga, and carried off several distinguished persons, they retired again without suffering any loss. The Khan, persuaded that this attack had been instigated by some of his grandees, put several of them to death, and drove others away. We learn from a letter from the Nogai princes to the Grand Prince Ivan, that Mamai Seyid, a tzarevitch

* Karamzin, vii. 332. † *Id.*, 340, 341. ‡ *Id.*, 341-343.
§ Vel. Zern., i. 63. Karamzin, viii. 19, 20. ‖ Karamzin, viii. 20. ¶ *Id.*, 40.

of Astrakhan, also made an attack on Kazan at this time.* These things only increased the Khan's unpopularity, and his people again appealed to the Grand Prince for assistance, promising if he would send them troops to hand over the Khan and thirty of his chief supporters to him; but he insisted that they must first seize and imprison Safa Girai. An outbreak now broke out at Kazan, and the latter fled, while several grandees were killed by the people.

SHAH ALI KHAN (SECOND REIGN).

The council, ughlans, and princes now met together, swore to be faithful to Russia, and recalled Shah Ali, who went accompanied by 3,000 Tartars of Kasimof, and was duly installed on the throne by the Princes Dimitri Belski and Paletski, amidst great rejoicings.

But these friendly demonstrations were but a mask for treachery and violence. A few weeks subsequent to his return the whole of his escort was cruelly massacred; several murzas, attached to his person, were thrown into prison; and a few Russian voivodes, who had accompanied him from Moscow, alone escaped, to bring back to Ivan an account of these proceedings.

"Shah Ali himself, a prisoner rather than a sovereign, and surrounded by subjects who hated and despised him, employed the only means in his power of diminishing the animosity which was testified against him; he concealed his anger, and strove to gain the goodwill of the Tartar grandees and people by banquets and presents, and other pretended marks of confidence and satisfaction. These affected and false caresses, which only served to show his pusillanimity and dissimulation, rendered him still more contemptible than before. His palace became his prison; there the grandees of his empire daily assembled, unwelcome and uninvited guests; its halls hourly rang with the noise of their revels, or the sound of their arms. At the banquet these audacious nobles drank from the royal cup, and, not content with similar outrages, they frequently stole the gold and silver vessels that stood on the Khan's table, in hopes of provoking his anger, and causing him to commit some act of violence which might give them a pretext for satisfying their resentment."†

Such were the indignities which Shah Ali was hourly forced to endure. He bore them patiently during the space of a month, without evincing any mark of dissatisfaction; at length, finding the throne he occupied a place of increasing danger, he resolved to fly from his audacious subjects. This was not, however, an easy task, for all his movements were strictly watched, and it was difficult to evade the vigilance of the thousand spies by whom he was surrounded. He imagined, however, an expedient

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* Vel. *Zern.*, i. Note, 118. † Tornirelli, i. 97, 98.

which was attended with success. He invited all the murzas, grandees, and principal merchants of Kazan to a sumptuous banquet; tables loaded with provisions and inebriating liquors were laid out for the people in the court of the palace; debauch and intoxication soon spread through the town, and in the midst of the disorder and riot, Shah Ali found means to effect his escape by a private door of the palace. Three days elapsed ere the inhabitants of Kazan were aware of his evasion. Enraged at the discovery, they put to death a prince of the name of Chura, and several other eminent personages, who had facilitated the flight of the Khan.*

This Chura, we learn from Karamzin, was one of the principal men in the country, and a partisan of the Russians, who, having in vain tried to bring the Tartars to their senses and to treat Shah Ali better, had advised the latter to fly, and supplied him with a boat on which he escaped by the Volga, and was afterwards provided with horses by the Tartars of Gorodetsk.†

SAFA GIRAI KHAN.

The Tartars now recalled Safa Girai. It seems that when he retired from Kazan he sought assistance from Yusuf the Nogai chief, his father-in-law, with whom he had been at issue. The Nogais were inclined to kill him, but he appealed pathetically to them, and, quoting the proverb that "the sword will not strike a repentant head," he said that many of the Tartars of Kazan were ready to go over to him if he only got some assistance from the Manguts or Nogais. He promised to make over to Yusuf the town of Arsk and the mountain district of the Cheremisses, and to otherwise reward his followers. "Thus spoke Safa Girai and his Krimean following," says the letter. Yusuf accordingly supplied him with an army; but it would seem that these treacherous allies had quite made up their minds to put Safa Girai to death, for the Nogais had ever been at deadly issue with the Girais, and were friendly to the descendants of Tughluk Timur, who reigned at Astrakhan, and of whose stock Shah Ali was a member. They intended in fact to support the latter and to give him Yusuf's daughter in marriage; but their plan was frustrated by his flight, and finding the land without a ruler, they saw no benefit in putting Safa Girai away, and having taken Kazan, they reinstated him there as Khan, and then returned homewards to Mangut.‡

Safa Girai now surrounded himself with Krim Tartars and Nogais, and ruled with a rod of iron. Seventy-six murzas and princes, who were attached to Shah Ali, fled and took refuge in Russia, and the Cheremisses sent to inform the Grand Prince that they were ready to

* Tornirelli, 98, 99. † Karamzin, viii. 54, 55. Vel. *Zern.*, i. Note, 118.
‡ Vel. *Zern.*, i. Note, 118.

march and join the Russians in attacking the usurper; but as it was winter it was necessary to postpone measures for a while. In order to encourage the Cheremisses, however, a body of troops was sent to the outfall of the Sviaga, under Prince Alexander Gorbaty, which devastated a portion of the country of Kazan, and then returned to Moscow.*

In December, 1547, the Russians had another campaign against Kazan. Ivan commanded the troops in person, and ordered them to rendezvous at Vladimir, while Shah Ali was told to repair to the mouth of the Zywili with his Tartars. The army was well prepared for a winter campaign, but instead of snow there was a deluge of rain, so that the carts and artillery could scarcely make their way along. On the 2nd of February the tzar, who had passed the night at Elna, fifteen versts from Nijni Novgorod, arrived at the island of Robotka. All at once the ice on the Volga, which was covered with water, gave way with a great noise, and the artillery was swallowed up in the river, while a large number of men perished. After waiting on the island for three days in the hopes of a frost arriving, and afraid of this presage, Ivan returned again to Moscow, but he ordered Prince Dimitri Belski to advance on Kazan. The latter was joined by Shah Ali with his contingent. Safa Girai, who awaited them in the plains of Arsk, was completely defeated by the advance guard under Prince Mikulinski. He lost several distinguished prisoners, and at length took refuge in the town. To revenge this defeat a body of Tartars ravaged the villages of Golitz, but they were overtaken by Yakoflef, the voivode of Kostroma, and destroyed, and their chief killed on the banks of the little river Egofka. After spending a week before the town the Russians retired.† Safa Girai did not long survive this campaign, and in March, 1549, news arrived at Moscow that he was dead. He had fallen against a pillar when drunk, and had thus killed himself.‡

UTAMISH GIRAI KHAN.

Two of Safa Girai's sons, named Bulak and Mobarek Girai, were at this time in the Krim, where they had been imprisoned by his uncle Sahib Girai. Of his widows one was sent home to Siberia to her father; another to Astrakhan; the third to her brother, the Shirin beg in the Krim; the fourth, a daughter of a Russian prince who had been made prisoner, afterwards died at Kazan. His favourite wife was Suyunbeka, the daughter of the Nogai murza Yusuf, already mentioned. By her he had an infant son named Utamish Girai, whom the grandees now placed on the throne. They at the same time sent a letter to the Krim Khan, asking him to send one of his sons to defend them against

* Karamzin, viii, 55, 56. † Karamzin, viii. 94, 95. ‡ Vel. *Zern.*, i. Note, 119.

the Russians. Sahib Girai remitted this matter to his suzerain at Constantinople, who appointed Devlet Girai, the son of Mubarek Girai, who was then living at the Porte, to the throne of Kazan. This was apparently displeasing to Sahib Girai, who determined to murder him *en route*, a policy which was the cause of his own overthrow, for when Devlet Girai reached the Krim he displaced him from the throne there.*

Ivan, the Russian Grand Prince, deemed the anarchy which prevailed at Kazan a good opportunity for attacking that restless and dangerous neighbour. A formidable army was prepared, of which the main body had its rendezvous at Suzdal, its advanced guard at Murom, its rear guard at Yurief, while the right and left wings respectively were at Kostroma and Yaroslavl. The Grand Prince left his capital on the 24th of November, 1549, and went to Vladimir, where he received the blessing of the metropolitan, who exhorted the voivodes to renounce their jealousy of one another and to serve the tzar faithfully. The army then went to Novgorod.† It was accompanied by Yadigar, the tzarevitch of Astrakhan, Shah Ali, the tzar of Kasimof, whom it was Ivan's intention to put on the throne of Kazan, and who the Nogai murza Yusuf wished to unite with his daughter, the widow of two Khans of Kazan.‡

They arrived before Kazan on the 14th of February. Ivan encamped on the lake Kaban, Shah Ali and the main army on the plain of Arsk, while Yadigar with the left wing posted himself on the river Sani, opposite the town, other divisions with the artillery were planted at the mouth of the Bulak and on lake Paganovo.§

The investing army was 60,000 strong, and the bombardment was very effective against the wooden ramparts of Kazan. A general assault was ordered, but it was not successful, although many were killed on both sides. Among others a tzarevitch, the son of the youngest tzarina, and the Krimean Prince Chelbak. Meanwhile a sudden thaw set in, the ice on the river broke up, and the roads became almost impassable. Fearful of a famine, the tzar ordered a retreat, which was only effected with difficulty.‖

Having arrived at the mouth of the river Sviaga, fourteen miles from Kazan, the tzar remarked a lofty and rugged eminence, then called the "Round mountain." Accompanied by Shah Ali and several of his nobles, he climbed up to its summit. The extensive view which it commanded, ranging over parts of Kazan, Viatka, Nijni Novgorod, and the deserts of Simbirsk, delighted Ivan, and the idea struck him of building on this spot a town, whose proximity to Kazan might facilitate its conquest. He is said to have exclaimed to those around him, "Here shall rise a Christian town; we will hem in Kazan, and God will deliver its capital into our hands."¶ The Russians were disappointed at the

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* Vel. Zern., i. Note, 120. Karamzin, viii. 99. † Karamzin, viii. 99.
‡ Vel. Zern., i. Note, 121. § *Id.* Note, 123. ‖ *Id.* ¶ Tornirelli, i. 102.

result of the campaign, and apparently blamed the voivode Belski, whose name had become an ill omen in regard to Kazan, and it was said that to reward his want of energy and of zeal the Tartars had spared his domains when they made a raid upon Russia. He died the same year with the reputation of a traitor. The Krim Tartars and Nogais both molested the Russian frontiers after the retreat of the army, probably by way of diverting them from Kazan. The Tartars of the latter place now sued for peace. Their request was supported by the Nogay Yusuf, who cited the Koran and the gospel in favour of peace, and pushed his plan of marrying Safa Girai's widow to Shah Ali, a plan which was agreeable to the Russians. The Grand Prince demanded that the Kazan Tartars should send him five or six distinguished men as envoys, and despatched Shah Ali and five or six hundred men to build the town at the mouth of the Sviaga already mentioned. This was in 1551.*

"There existed and still exist in Russia markets for the sale of wooden houses, ready constructed, and which take to pieces, like the models of castles, bridges, &c., which we see in toy shops. Entire streets of these houses were wont to be arranged in similar market places, so that an entire town might be bought in an hour and built in a week. Ivan availed himself of this circumstance, had embarked on the Volga numerous rafts containing the materials of a fortress, already prepared for the promptest construction, and a division of troops was sent to protect the workmen."† They seized the ferry boats on the Volga and Kama to prevent communication with the other side. It was on the evening of the 16th of May that Prince Obolenski first unfurled his standard on the Round mountain, and there said the evening prayer. Two days later, at daybreak he fell suddenly on the outskirts of Kazan, put to death a thousand Tartars and more than a hundred murzas and other chiefs who were asleep, and released a great number of Russian prisoners. He returned to the Round mountain on the 24th of May. It was then covered with a forest. This was speedily cleared, the circuit of the new town wall was then traversed with a cross and holy water, palisades were quickly driven in, and a church dedicated to the Virgin and Saint Sergius erected. In the course of a month the town of Sviask was put together. Many of the people round were frightened at these preparations and submitted to the Russians, especially the Chuvashes, Cheremisses, and Mordvins, who sent some of their grandees to Moscow to swear fealty to Russia. The tzar granted them a diploma sealed with a golden seal, attached them to the new town of Sviask, and granted them an exemption from tribute for three years. To test their zeal he ordered them to march upon Kazan. They dared but obey, assembled in large numbers, went on a fleet of Russian boats towards that city, and fought with the Tartars on the plain of Arsk. They fled at the report of

* Karamzin, viii. 105.

† Tornirelli, i. 102.

the enemy's artillery, but, as Karamzin says, "if they did not prove their courage they at least showed their fidelity." Their princes, murzas, and elders visited Moscow in some numbers, and received presents of pelisses, pieces of cloth, arms, horses, and money. They praised the tzar, and boasted loudly of their new masters. Ivan, well pleased with his success so far, sent a large number of medals to Shah Ali to be distributed among the soldiers.* Meanwhile the new fortress was not long in assuming an imposing appearance. A few months after its foundation it contained a cathedral, six churches, a monastery, and numerous habitations. By the desire of Ivan several nobles, tradesmen, and mechanics settled there, and built themselves houses, so that this new town soon presented a flourishing aspect.† Meanwhile confusion reigned at Kazan, whose garrison numbered about 20,000 warriors, but whose principal inhabitants entered into secret intrigues with Shah Ali. The Russians devastated the neighbouring villages, cut off the supplies of the town, and occupied the country from the mouth of the Sura to the Kama and the Viatka. The regent Suyunbeka, although she seems to have put the town in defence and to have shown some vigour, was devoted to pleasure and spent much of her time with Kochak, a Crimean ughlan, who was detested by the people. The grandees of Kazan wished to submit to Ivan, but this was opposed by the Crimean Tartars there, who, proud of Kochak and expecting succour from Krim, Astrakhan, and the Nogais, urged the tzarina to resist. Kochak doubtless intended to marry her, kill her son, and seize the throne; but a sedition having broke out in the town, three hundred of the principal Tartars from the Taurida fled; they were intercepted by the Russians. Many of them perished on the banks of the Viatka. Kochak, with forty-five of his countrymen, were captured and put to death at Moscow.‡ The grandees of Kazan now made overtures to the Russian generals, sent ambassadors to Ivan requesting him once more to appoint Shah Ali as their Khan, promising at the same time to liberate all the Russian prisoners that had fallen into their hands, and to yield up to him their Princess Suyunbeka and her infant son Utamish Girai. Ivan willingly consented to a proposition so favourable to his plans, and sent one of his chief boyards, Adashef, with a considerable force, in order to reinstate Shah Ali on the throne, and to enforce the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty. He exacted likewise that the mountainous portion of the Kazan territory, lying between Sviask and Kazan, should be accorded to the Russians, and should henceforth be reckoned as a part of the Muscovite dominions. This unexpected demand astonished the inhabitants of Kazan, and bitterly grieved even Shah Ali himself.

"What kind of a kingdom will be mine," said he, "and how can I claim or expect love from my subjects, when I am forced to surrender so

* Karamzin, viii. 108. † Tornirelli, i. 103. ‡ Karamzin, viii. 109.

important a portion of their territory?" Adashef and his voivodes to this complaint returned no other answer than that "such was the pleasure of their tzar." Too late the grandees repented that they had solicited the interference of Ivan. In vain they strove to retract their promise, and escape from its accomplishment by a thousand cunning pretences. Adashef would not allow himself to be imposed on, and demanded the immediate fulfilment of the treaty. "Either," said he (as report the Russian annalists), "Suyunbeka and her son must be placed immediately in our power, or our tzar will come in the autumn to ravage your country with fire and the sword, and punish the faithless grandees of Kazan." This menace produced the desired effect, and the Kazanians shortly after despatched a messenger to Shah Ali, still in the Russian camp, inviting him to enter the town, and informing Adashef that Suyunbeka and her child were on their way to the Muscovite camp at Sviask.* This painful departure from a town where she had reigned as sovereign has been touchingly described by the historian Karamzin. "Not only Suyunbeka," writes this historian, "but every inhabitant of Kazan shed tears, when it was known that the unfortunate princess was to be delivered up as a prisoner to the Muscovite tzar. Uttering no complaint against the grandees or the people, and accusing her destiny alone, in her despair she threw herself on the tomb of her youthful husband and envied the rest he enjoyed. The people stood by in sorrowful silence. The grandees endeavoured to console her; they told her that the Russian tzar was kind and generous, that many Mussulman princes were in his service, that he would doubtless choose among them a husband worthy of her, and would give her some sovereignty. The whole population of Kazan accompanied her to the banks of the Kazanka, where a magnificent barge was waiting for her. Suyunbeka, slowly drawn in a car, left the town, taking her infant son with her, who was still in the nurse's arms. Pale as death and almost inanimate, hardly could she find strength enough to descend to the port; on entering the bark, she tenderly saluted the people, who, prostrate before her, bitterly sobbed while they showered their blessings on their much-loved sovereign." Prince Obolensky received her on the banks of the Volga, complimented her in the name of the Russian tzar, and set sail with her towards Moscow, taking with him likewise the infant Utamish Girai, and some of the Crimean grandees.† Suyunbeka was married for the third time to Shah Ali, whose person was as odious and deformed as had been the character of her former husband Safa Girai. Utamish was baptised on the 8th of January, 1553. He died on the 11th of June, 1556, and was buried in the church of the Archangel at Moscow. The name of Suyunbeka still survives in the traditions of Kazan, and a tower there bears her name.‡

* Tornirelli, i. 104, 105. † Karamzin, viii. 111, 112. ‡ Vel. *Zern.*, i. Note, 125.

SHAH ALI KHAN (THIRD REIGN).

Having despatched the tzarina and her son to Moscow, the Russian generals now insisted on the surrender of the captives at Kazan and on an oath of fidelity from the Tartars. Shah Ali also sent some of his dignitaries (Shahbaz, his chamberlain, Bitikei, his equerry, &c.) into the town to prepare the palace. The following day the citizens and their leaders assembled in the open fields, and after listening to the form of oath, thanked Ivan for sending them Shah Ali; but they would not speak of the cession of part of their country. "Do you think," said the boyards, "that Ivan is as frivolous as you. Look towards the mouth of the Sviaga. You will there see a Christian town. The people in its neighbourhood have solemnly submitted to Russia, and have actually made war on Kazan. Can they after this submit to you? Forget the past, for you cannot recall it."* The treaty was accordingly duly signed by the principal inhabitants, and the tzar attached his seal to it. During three days crowds of people went to take the oath. After which, namely, on the 16th of August, Shah Ali, accompanied by three hundred princes, murzas, and Kazaks of Kasimof, and three hundred strelitzes, made his public entry into the town.†

The boyards Bulgakof and Khabarof installed him on the throne. The court of the Khan's palace, we are told, was at this time crowded with Russian prisoners, many of whom had been twenty years in slavery. Shah Ali announced their deliverance to them. They could scarcely believe it, and, with their eyes bathed in tears, they raised their hands aloft to thank heaven. "Ivan reigns in Russia," said the boyards to them, "return home, and do not fear that you will again fall into captivity." They were supplied with necessaries at Sviask and, without counting those who went another way towards Perm and Viatka, sixty thousand returned home by way of the Volga. "Never," says the annalist, "had Russia seen such a sight. It was like a second migration of the Israelites."

The Russian army now returned home, leaving a body of five hundred men behind, under Khabarof, to protect Shah Ali, while Prince Simeon Mikulinski was nominated commandant of Sviask.‡ Meanwhile the conditions under which Shah Ali took the throne were such as to prevent lasting tranquillity at Kazan. The Tartars resented the cession of the mountainous part of their country to the Russians, and the transfer to them of so many of their dependents, the Chuvashes, Cheremisses, and Mordvins, while the Russians, not satisfied with this, wished to treat the Khan as a mere dependent. They sent him and his wives rich presents, robes, precious cups, and money, but at the same time demanded that

* Karamzin, viii. 113. † Vel. Zern, i. 69. Note, 126.
‡ Karamzin, viii. 113, 114.

Kazan should deem itself like Kasimof, a dependence of the empire.* Placed in this way between his own subjects and the Russians, Shah Ali's place was by no means enviable. He asked in vain for the restoration of a portion only of the mountain district, and on his request being refused, he winked at the retention of many Russian prisoners in chains by the Tartars, and told the Russian officers he feared a sedition. Meanwhile a conspiracy did arise; some of his grandees plotted with the Nogais to kill him and all the Russians. He thereupon determined upon a terrible vengeance. He gave a grand feast in the palace, and ordered all the guests, both those convicted and those suspected of treachery, to be put to death. Some were killed in the dining saloon of the palace, and others in the court yard. Seventy princes, ughlans, and murzas perished in this massacre, where Ali's supporters and the Russian strelitzes acted as executioners. The massacre is said to have lasted two days, and three thousand people altogether perished. The frightened citizens hastened in large numbers to leave Kazan.† This state of anarchy caused considerable anxiety at Moscow, whence Adashef was sent to tell Shah Ali that it was impossible matters could go on in this way, and that it would be necessary for the Russians to enter the town to protect him and to restore order. Ali made a strange reply. "I see I cannot reign here. I am detested by the princes and the people. And why? If Ivan would restore the mountainous district he has appropriated, then I would answer for the fidelity of the Tartars; otherwise I must abdicate and return to his majesty, for I have no other asylum on earth; but I am a Mussulman, and I will never consent to admit Christians into Kazan. Nevertheless, I will promise that if the tzar will continue to be gracious to me, I will exterminate the remaining traitors and destroy their artillery, and thus prepare him an easy victory.'

Adashef returned with this answer to Moscow, where Kostrof and Alimerdi, envoys from Kazan, who were enemies of Shah Ali, had arrived. They represented Shah Ali as an assassin and robber, and that the Tartars dearly wished to put an end to his excesses, and they answered for the fidelity of the town if he were removed and a Muscovite governor placed there. They asked that the Russians should occupy the town while they retired to the suburbs and neighbouring villages.‡ Tornirelli says these arguments were used by a Kazan Tartar named Chabkun, who had settled for some time at Moscow and gained the confidence of Ivan, and had afterwards moved with his family to Kazan, where he formed the resolution of ruining Shah Ali.§

The result, at all events, was that Ivan despatched Adashef to Kazan with orders to depose the Khan, and told him to promise the latter a pension and his favour if he quietly allowed the Russians to enter. "I

* Vel. Zern., i. 70. Note, 128.
† Karamzin, viii. 116. Tornirelli, i. 106, 107.
‡ Karamzin, viii. 117, 118.
§ Op. cit., i. 107.

do not regret the throne. I have not been happy on it. My life here is in danger, and I consent to submit to my sovereign; but do not suppose I will break the law of the Prophet and surrender the town. You may take it by force or by stipulation, but do not expect me to open its gates for you." Neither the menaces nor entreaties of Adashef would induce him to hand over the principality, but meanwhile, to please the tzar, he caused several cannons to be destroyed, and sent some muskets and ammunition to Sviask, and then issuing from the place as on a fishing excursion, accompanied by many princes, ughlans, and a body of strelitzes, he ordered the Russians to surround them. "You sought to assassinate me, you have calumniated me at Moscow, and traitors to your tzar, you wished to replace him by a Russian governor. Very well, let us go and present ourselves before his tribunal." They accordingly went together to Sviask. Thus did Shah Ali, for the third and last time abandon Kazan.

YADIGAR KHAN.

On the withdrawal of Shah Ali, Prince Simeon Mikulinski informed the Tartars that their wish was accomplished, the Khan was deposed, and it only remained for them to swear allegiance to the Russians. This they agreed to do if he would send them from Sviask the Princes Shabkun and Burnak, who had submitted to Russia, to guarantee the good faith of the latter. These princes accordingly went to Kazan with the Russian officers, and the grandees, the citizens, and villagers duly took the oath of allegiance, and prepared lodgings for the governor and the occupying troops. The wife of Shah Ali was sent to Sviask, and Prince Mikulsinki was invited to go to Kazan. The people went out to meet him, and prostrated themselves before him with their faces to the ground, in token of their servitude. He was accompanied by some troops. He was about to enter when a sedition broke out in the place. Three grandees whom he had allowed to return excited the people against the Russians, and spread the report that they were come to exterminate them. The gates were accordingly closed, the Tartars took up arms. Nothing could pacify them. At this news Prince Mikulinski, leaving his army behind him, advanced with a small escort towards the town, where the principal gate, that of the tzars, had been closed, the walls being lined with troops.

In vain some of the Tartar leaders advised prudence; they would not allow the troops to enter, seized a number of boyard followers and Russian baggage waggons, and put Chabkun, who had turned traitor, at their head. The Russian generals thereupon returned to Sviask,

imprisoned all the dignitaries of Kazan they could lay their hands on, and reported the state of things to the authorities at Moscow.*

The news of what had happened at Kazan reached Moscow in March, 1552. Ivan at once ordered his brother-in-law, Daniel Romanovitch, to march towards Sviask and Shah Ali to go to Kasimof, and proclaimed in the council that the time had arrived for humbling the pride of Kazan. Levies of the various Russian troops were ordered to assemble at Nijni Novgorod, Murom, &c. Matters did not begin well, for a terrible attack of scurvy decimated the Russian ranks at Sviask, while the Tartars succeeded in reducing the Chuvashes, &c., who depended upon that town, and who made raids upon the Russian cattle, while they also defeated several detachments of Russians, and put such of them as they got hold of to death. They also offered the throne of Kazan to Yadigar, the son of Kasim Khan of Astrakhan.† He had taken part in Ivan's campaign against Kazan in 1549 and 1550,‡ and afterwards seems to have gone to live among the Nogais, whence he was now sent for.§ He went at the head of five hundred warriors to Kazan, where he mounted the throne and swore an implacable hatred against Russia.‖ Meanwhile the Russians made great preparations for the campaign. A vast Russian army, under the most distinguished commanders, was posted in the country between Koshir and Murom, while the Oka and the Volga were crowded with boats laden with artillery, munitions, &c., *en route* for Nijni Novgorod. Ivan had sent for Shah Ali, who, although from his obesity unfit for the profession of a soldier, was a man of sound judgment. He recommended the campaign to be prosecuted in the winter, urging that it would make a bridge for them over the forests and lakes and marshes, but Ivan was too impatient to start to wait for the winter.¶ "The army is ready, the munitions have been sent on, and with the help of God we will find a way to gain our end." His separation from his wife Anastasia, whom he loved so well, is touchingly recorded in the Russian annals. "Far advanced as she was in pregnancy, and on the eve of giving an heir to Ivan and the Russian throne, she wept bitterly and clung to the arms of her husband, as if resolved to prevent his departure. The young tzar evinced a firmness in that trying moment that struck and astonished the spectators of the scene; he endeavoured to console his weeping bride, he told her that he had to fulfil his duty as tzar, and that to die for his country would be his glory. Invoking the protection of the Most High on his suffering and despondent spouse, he is said to have exclaimed, 'Pray for me, Anastasia, in the midst of danger, and to prayer add good deeds that your prayers may be heard. In your hands I place my sovereign powers. Cherish the poor and unfortunate, open the prison gates, remove the chains even

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* Karamzin, viii. 120-122. † Vel. Zern., i. 72. Note, 134. ‡ *Id.*, 67, 68. Note, 123.
§ *Id.* Note, 134. ‖ Karamzin, viii. 131. ¶ *Id.*, 136.

from the criminal and the condemned, if you find it advisable to do this during my absence, and trust that God will protect me for your sake; nay that he will reward me for the sacrifices I am forced to make for the good of my country.' These words inspired Anastasia with an almost miraculous courage. She removed her arms from Ivan, whom she had hitherto held with an almost convulsive embrace, and flinging herself on her knees, she prayed aloud for the health, the victory, and the glory of her husband. Ivan, casting a farewell glance on Anastasia, bent his steps to a neighbouring church, where he prayed long and fervently, after which he rose and embraced the clergy, the nobles, and the people present, all of whom melted into tears. Quitting the church, he mounted his horse and rode to Kolomna, where his troops were assembled."*

Meanwhile the Krim Tartars made a diversion on the side of Kazan, and made an attack on Tula, whence they were speedily forced to retire.† Ivan devoted himself to the details of the campaign. One division of the army marched to Vladimir and Murom, under his own orders; another went by way of Riazan and Mechera, with orders to join him in the plains beyond Alatir. Murmurs began to break out among the soldiers, especially those from Novgorod and the boyard-followers, who complained of the continuous fatigues which they had undergone; but Ivan made a special appeal to their patriotism, and said he should count those only as his faithful friends who went on with him without wavering. This had the desired effect, and a general submission followed.

Ivan first went to pray before the image of the Virgin at Kolomna, which had accompanied Dimitri Donski on his victory against Mamai, and he also visited the tomb of Alexander Nevski. At Vladimir he learnt that the plague which had decimated the troops at Sviask had ceased, that the soldiers there were ardent for the war, and that the neighbouring mountaineers had been reduced to obedience. He also received encouraging messages from his wife and the clergy at Moscow. He himself showed great energy and vigour in regulating the details of the campaign.‡ At Murom he was joined by Shah Ali, who was sent on towards Kazan by the Volga, with Prince Peter Bulgakof and a body of strelitzes. The main army was transported over the Oka on bridges, and marched by the forest of Sakana on the banks of the Veletema, by the Shileksha and the town of Sakana, where a body of auxiliary Tartars and Mordvins joined it; on the 1st of August the waters of the Mana were blessed, and the river was crossed below Alatir, and soon after it was joined by another division. Though forced to penetrate through deserts and forests, the army seems to have been amply supplied by its hunters and fishermen, and by the wild fruits which grew there. "We took with us," says an eyewitness, "no provisions, nature spread an abundant table for us everywhere. We constantly encountered numerous herds of

* Tornirelli, i. 115. † *Vide* next chapter. ‡ Karamzin, vi. 143, 144.

elks, the rivers teemed with fish, and the birds fell at our feet.* At Burucheief envoys came from the Cheremisses to announce their entire submission, and that the right bank of the Volga was pacified. They undertook to prepare roads and to make bridges on the way, and the tzar invited their elders to his table. On the 6th of August Ivan arrived at the little river Kivata, where the troops of Sviask went to meet him under their several commanders. He gave them a grand feast on the plain of Beisa. The sight was a splendid one; the broad Volga with its wooded banks and islands on one side, the dark forest panelled with green pastures and round hills on the other, while beyond the river the plains stretched away interminably. Occasionally on the higher ground and in the hollows villages of the Chuvashes were passed, where hydromel and bread were presented, which were very welcome as it was a season of fasting; the soldiers drank pure water, but no one complained.

"On the 13th of August the army arrived at Sviask. With the liveliest satisfaction," says Tornirelli, "the young monarch made his entry into the stronghold, escorted by a detachment of light cavalry, and accompanied by the clergy of the town and the heads of his army. His first visit was to the cathedral, where he assisted at the performance of divine service; after which the priests and the boyards congratulated him as the conqueror and the master of the country of Sviask. He then traversed the town, examining attentively its fortifications, streets, and houses, and testifying his delight and approbation. Enchanted with the picturesque situation of the town, he is said to have remarked to his boyards that the whole of Russia could not afford a similar landscape. A house had been prepared for his reception. He refused, however, to inhabit it, exclaiming, 'We are on our march;' and mounting his steed he returned to his tent in the midst of his soldiers."

The Russian annalist reverts with pride to the singular and striking scene which this new citadel presented on this occasion. "A multitude of merchants with various species of merchandise had arrived thither from Moscow, Yaroslavl, and Nijni Novgorod; the port was crowded with barges loaded with provisions. The banks of the river Volga presented the appearance of a fair; all felt," as remarked the annalist, "as if at home, all had wherewith to eat well and drink well, regale their friends and make merry. Little wonder is there that the Russian soldiers, worn out with fatigue, should have wished as they did to take rest in the midst of this scene of plenty and pleasure, but Ivan resolved to push forward without delay to Kazan."†

A council was now called, which was attended by Shah Ali, Prince Vladimir the son of Andrew, and other boyards, where it was determined to send a summons to Kazan to surrender, and thus save bloodshed. Shah Ali himself was ordered to write to Yadigar, who was his relative

* *Id.*, 145. † Tornirelli, i. 118, 119.

(both belonged to the royal house of Astrakhan),* promising him the tzar's favour if he would submit. A letter was also sent to the Kul Sherif-Mollah, promising him similar clemency.† Ivan also released the Kazan Tesik.‡

The siege of Kazan, like the defeat of Mamai, is still fresh in the memory of the Russians, and is a subject of conversation as much in the peasant's hut as in the palace. "This," says Karamzin, "is chiefly because it was the first attempt made by the Russians to capture a strong fortress by strategic art, and partly because of the intrepidity and heroic defence of the Tartars, which made the victory such a costly one."§ To the Tartars it was a vital question. Not only was their independence menaced, but it was also a matter of religious duty not to allow a Mussulman State to be subjected by Christians. They boasted that it was not the first time that they had seen the Muscovites retire from their walls, and that their fruitless efforts had ever been crowned by retreat, which had afforded them a subject of amusement.‖

At the head of 150,000 warriors Ivan, on the 19th of August, encamped on the Volga, while Shah Ali set sail to occupy the "isle of strangers;" but continuous rains had converted the country into a marsh, and it was necessary to restore the roads. When they arrived on the Kazanka a message came from the Khan Yadigar breathing defiance, and saying that he was waiting for the banquet to commence.¶ Presently a murza named Kamai deserted to the Russians, and reported that Yadigar, the chief Imaum, and the Nogai princes Isenek, Chabkun, Atalik, Islam, Aliki Narikof, Kebek Tumenski, and Derbish had so inflamed the fanaticism of the people that no one was in favour of peace; that the fortress was well supplied with food and ammunition; that it was defended by 30,000 Tartars and 2,700 Nogais, and that Prince Yapancha had been detached with a body of cavalry towards the plains of Arsk to arouse the people there, and to continually harass the Russians. Kamai was well treated, and orders were given that one division should occupy the country of Arsk, another the banks of the Kazanka, a third be planted behind this, while Shah Ali was to post himself behind the Bulaka, near the cemetery, and the cavalry of the guard was to protect the district known as "the meadows of the tzar."

It was an early hour of the morning when Kazan with its lofty minarets and majestic mosques first presented itself, enveloped in a mist, to the sight of the Russian tzar. That moment was a solemn one. Upon a given signal the whole army suddenly suspended its march, then amidst the sound of trumpets and other martial instruments, a banner

* *Vide* Table at the end of the last chapter.

† A mosque bearing the latter's name still remains at Kazan.

‡ This is probably a corruption of Tajik (*i.e.*, a Persian from Mavera ul nehr). It stands here for merchant. (Vel. Zern., i. Note, 141. Karamzin, viii. 149.)

§ Karamzin, viii. 149, 150. ‖ *Id.*, 151. Vel. Zern. [Note, 143.] ¶ Karamzin, 152.

was seen to rise and to float proudly in the air. Sacred was that banner to the Russians, for it had waved in the hands of Dimitri Donski nearly two hundred years before, at the time when that prince vanquished the Tartars and saved his country from threatened destruction.

At the sight of this glorious memorial Ivan and his soldiers knelt upon the earth. The tzar, making religiously the sign of the cross, exclaimed aloud, "Almighty God! it is in thy name that we march against the infidel." Divine service was then performed. At the termination of this ceremony the tzar addressed a few words to his army—swore not to abandon the widows and orphans of those who should fall in the struggle, and made a solemn vow to sacrifice his life, if necessary, to insure the triumph of the Christians.

Ivan and his warriors then advanced beneath the walls of Kazan. A deep and inconceivable silence reigned throughout the town; its streets and habitations seemed abandoned, so profound was the tranquillity that existed at that moment, not even a sentinel was to be seen on the ramparts, and many of the Russian voivodes were of opinion that the Tartar Khan, terrified at the approach of the Muscovites, had fled with his army and the entire population of Kazan to the neighbouring forest.

But hardly had the Russian advanced guard crossed the canal called Bulak, from whence the palace of the Khan and the numerous mosques of the city became clearly evident, when a terrible noise succeeded the deep silence which had hitherto astonished the assailants. "The air," says Karamzin, "rang with yells, rage, and fury, the massive gates of the fortress rolled upon their hinges with a hissing noise, and fifteen thousand Tartar horse and foot rushed upon the Muscovite strelitzes, who, unable to resist this impetuous and unexpected shock, gave way and fled in disorder. Their complete destruction would have been inevitable, had not a fresh legion arrived in time to protect them. A bloody struggle then ensued, and continued to rage till the Tartars thought fit to retire within the walls of the fortress from which they had a few hours previous so fearlessly sallied."*

Kazan was now beleagured, and three canvas churches were erected in the camp. I will abstract a long passage from Tornirelli, who has well condensed Karamzin's account of the siege.

"The first night which the Russians passed under the ramparts of Kazan was both ominous and discouraging. A violent tempest broke out about midnight: the tents of the soldiers, and even that of the tzar, were torn to pieces by the wind; the barges which had been sent from Moscow with provisions all sank beneath the stormy waters of the Volga; consternation spread through the Russian army, and many of the voivodes believed that the tzar, in this critical emergency, would be

* Tornirelli, i. 121-123.

forced to make a precipitate and disgraceful retreat. Ivan, however, did not lose courage; he sent without delay to Sviask for provisions, and to Moscow for warm clothing for the soldiers, and openly declared his intention of establishing his winter quarters under the walls of Kazan, should the tempestuous weather prevent the continuation of the siege.

In the meantime the Tartars day and night continued to make furious and almost hourly sallies from the town. The Russians could scarcely enjoy a moment's rest. This ardour on the part of the besieged lasted several days; at length, however, their impetuosity appeared to have abated, not from a diminution of courage, but from total exhaustion. Every prisoner that was taken by the Russians affirmed the same fact, that the inhabitants of Kazan were prepared to die, but had resolved never to yield their native town to the invaders as long as there remained a single man capable of raising a sword in its defence.

Although these frequent sorties had caused the Tartars a considerable loss of men, the rage which animated them had by no means diminished, as the following circumstance will prove. The tzar, in hopes of inducing the inhabitants to surrender without a further effusion of blood, had ordered all the prisoners he had taken to be attached to stakes, near the trenches, in order that the latter, by their prayers and supplications, might induce their fellow-citizens to save them from threatened death by opening the gates of the city to the Russians. The Tartars, however, in answer to their entreaties, directed a volley of arrows against their unfortunate companions, exclaiming, "It is better that they should receive death from the hands of true believers, than from those of the accursed Giaours." This ferocious act of fanaticism filled the tzar and the whole of his army with horror, and proved to the invaders that they had to deal with enemies whose extermination alone could ensure victory.

One of the Tartar warriors who most distinguished himself during the siege was Prince Yapancha, who is reported in the Muscovite annals to have performed prodigies of valour. Concealed with a small band of followers in a neighbouring forest, he at every instant precipitated himself on the Russian camp, killing hundreds of his enemies, and spreading terror and panic at every fresh attack. By means of signals he had established a communication with the inhabitants of Kazan, and a banner, planted on a lofty tower, gave him to understand the most favourable moment for attacking the Russian troops. He found means to intercept every supply of provisions for the invading army, and so effectually that the latter began to suffer most cruelly from hunger. This terrible foe at length caused such an extreme discouragement among the Muscovite soldiers, that the tzar was forced to assemble his boyards in council, to take measures for the removal of the evil. A tolerable idea may be formed of the consideration in which Yapancha

and his followers were held, from the number of troops that went against him—no less than thirty thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot soldiers, under the command of a brave, experienced general, Prince Alexander Gorbaty Shuisky. This army marched to the forest of Arsk, in which our hero was concealed. Its leaders thought fit to employ a stratagem to insure success. Hardly had the Russians appeared upon the plain of Arsk, ere Yapancha, at the head of his gallant band, rushed upon them with his usual intrepidity. The Russians, pretending to be defeated, took to flight after a short struggle, while Yapancha, unable to restrain his impetuosity, and considering his enemies routed, pursued them vigorously towards the town. In the meantime a fresh corps had arranged itself on the borders of the forest, and having intercepted all communication with this place of refuge, the entire army of the Muscovites fell upon Yapancha and his deluded band. Overwhelmed by numbers, surrounded on every side by relentless foes, there remained for this brave prince no other alternative save that of yielding himself a prisoner or dying sword in hand; he chose the latter, and, fighting resolutely to the last, fell bravely with his gallant companions, all of whom, even without one single exception, were exterminated.

This formidable enemy once removed, the Russians regained their former ardour, and proceeded to attack a stronghold erected by the Tartars in the neighbourhood of the forest of Arsk, and situated between two marshes; this fort was surrounded by a double palisade, a rampart of earth, and a deep trench; its position rendered it almost impregnable. The assault took place; both the assailants and the assailed performed prodigies of valour, but the Russians succeeded in getting possession of the place. The whole of the garrison died at their post of duty, and the earth was covered with heaps of mutilated bodies. On the following day the victors advanced to the town of Arsk, situated in a pleasant and wonderfully fertile locality, where the grandees of Kazan possessed their country seats and rich villas. The citizens of Arsk abandoned their dwellings on the approach of the Russians, who found in the deserted town abundance of provisions, consisting of cattle, poultry, bread, honey, &c., as well as divers kinds of furs, and numerous objects of great value. "The Russians," say the chronicles, "lived in the midst of abundance, took what they wished, burnt the neighbouring villages, massacred the inhabitants, sparing the women and children alone." Having likewise rescued many Christians, whom the Tartar nobles had employed as slaves, the Russian army returned to the camp of Ivan, bringing with them such a profusion of cattle and other articles of food, that from that moment, the annalists inform us, "provisions became so cheap, that a cow might be bought for ten dengas (a Russian farthing), and an ox for twenty." The tzar and his followers were full of joy.

But this success was soon followed by evils that converted this joy

into sorrow. The weather suddenly changed; heavy rain, unusual at this period of the year, fell incessantly; the winds became so boisterous that nothing could resist their violence; and this fury of the elements at last became so awful and irresistible as to induce the Muscovites to attribute the evils to supernatural influence. Prince Andrew Kurbsky, who distinguished himself for his valour during this siege, and who wrote an historical work about Europe at this period, assures us, as a solemn fact, "that the magicians of Kazan every morning at sunrise betook themselves regularly to the ramparts of the fortress, that there they uttered frightful cries, placing themselves in the most hideous and contorted attitudes, agitating their robes, and exciting, by means of infernal spells and sorcery, tempests, gusts of wind, and torrents of rain, so that in a short space of time the driest spots were converted into marshes, the tents flooded with water, and the soldiers were wet from morn till night." This firm belief in the supernatural agency which the Tartars employed became so strong in the minds, not only of the soldiers, but even in that of the tzar and his boyards, that Ivan was forced to hold a council, in which it was resolved that measures should be taken without delay to destroy the diabolical influence. All were unanimously of opinion that, to thwart the powers of hell and its demons, it was advisable to employ the powers of heaven—at least those which its ministers had at their disposal, and could turn to account in this critical emergency. Accordingly messengers were despatched to Moscow, with orders to bring from thence the miraculous cross of the tzars. On its arrival at Kazan a grand ceremony took place: the whole camp was asperged with holy water, after which Prince Kurbsky assures us "fine weather returned, the army recovered from its panic, and from that moment the Tartar enchanters, abandoned by the devils, their allies and coadjutors, lost their former power."

Convinced that they had no longer to contend with demons as well as men, the Russian troops recommenced operations with redoubled activity. Ivan had in his suite a foreign engineer, a Scotchman by birth, who rendered the tzar no small service during the siege. By his advice, a huge tower of wood was erected opposite the principal entrance of the fortress called the "Royal Gate;" and on its summit were placed sixty pieces of cannon, ten of which were of a considerable magnitude. This terrible battery, raised high above the fortifications, kept up a continued fire against the fortress. The defenders of Kazan still, however, stood firm, and replied from the ramparts by an unceasing discharge of musketry, which caused great ravage among the Russian troops. On this occasion, Ivan once more repeated his former propositions of peace to the besieged; informing them that if they were unwilling to surrender themselves prisoners, they were at liberty to go, with their Khan, wherever they pleased, and to take with them their property, wives, and

children; that all he sought was to gain possession of the town, built by force on the Russian territory: to these, and other propositions, the inhabitants of Kazan—unbent by suffering, and unawed by peril—returned as disdainful an answer as that they had given on the first approach of the Muscovite tzar.

In the meantime the Russians had been actively employed in advancing the wooden tower nearer and nearer the fortress, until at length it was only separated from the very wall by a deep moat, about twenty feet wide. This had not been accomplished, however, without great bloodshed. Day and night both armies had been incessantly engaged. On one occasion, when, worn out with fatigue, the Russian soldiers had laid aside for a moment their arms, the inhabitants of Kazan, to the number of ten thousand, sallied from the fortress, and rushed towards the tower with such impetuosity that the Russians, abandoning their posts, took to flight in the greatest disorder. The moveable tower, with all its artillery, was at that moment in the hands of the Tartars. The Muscovite voivodes felt the imperious necessity of regaining their cannon, the loss of which would probably have obliged them to raise the siege. Accordingly, Prince Vorotinsky and the principal boyards of Ivan rushed, sword in hand, upon the Tartars, calling out to the fugitives to return and help them. The latter, seeing the heads of the army struggling with thousands, regained their courage, and returned once more to the struggle, exclaiming, "We will not abandon our fathers." The battle was in consequence renewed with redoubled energy. In the meantime, several other corps of the Russian army arrived, one after the other, at the scene of contest. The Tartars, though forced to contend with enemies three times their number, still stood firm, and defended for a long time the trophies they had taken; at length, however, they were forced to give way, and to retire once more within the walls of the city. This combat is reported in the Russian annals as one of the bloodiest and most fatal that occurred during the siege.

The Russians had now been upwards of five weeks under the walls of Kazan, during which time, although more than ten thousand Tartars had been killed, partly by the Russian artillery, partly in the various combats that had taken place, yet the difficulty of getting possession of the city seemed as great as ever. Winter likewise was drawing near; and its approach caused more dread among the Muscovite troops than even the dangers of the siege. Ivan, in consequence, finding that the whole army anxiously desired the termination of the enterprise, began to take measures for a general assault. In order to diminish the dangers of this project, as well as to strike a severe blow at the besieged, the tzar ordered a mine to be dug under the gate of Arsk, near which the Tartar barracks were situated, and where the defenders of Kazan had formed subterranean excavations to hide themselves from the fire of the Russian

cannoneers. This mine finished, Ivan ordered the match to be applied. Nothing could surpass the horror and consternation of the inhabitants of Kazan when the unexpected explosion, like the shock of an earthquake, took place; and for a few minutes the silence of the grave reigned throughout the town. The Russians took advantage of that moment of general panic to penetrate into the city. Their approach restored to the Tartars their presence of mind; they rushed to encounter the assailants, and after a warm struggle, succeeded in driving them from the ramparts, all of which were cleared, with the exception of one tower, called the Arsk turret, which Prince Vorotinsky took possession of, and from which the Tartars strove in vain to drive him. This gallant prince, when his companions in arms retired from the fortress, is said to have exclaimed to the voivodes, "Return soon, we will await your arrival here;" and he kept his word.

On the following day the tzar announced to his soldiers his intention to execute the general assault, which the Russian annalists have called "the grand exploit." Having arranged his troops in the most advantageous manner, and established several mines under the walls and principal turrets of the fortress, he ordered that every soldier, "previous to drinking the general cup of blood,* should purify his soul by prayer, and receive the holy communion." This accomplished, Ivan resolved to try for the third time, whether the voice of persuasion might not influence the Tartars at that hour of danger; accordingly he sent several venerable old men, whom he had taken prisoners, to Kazan, with offers to forgive the inhabitants their resistance, if they would yield up the town without bloodshed. But the answer of the latter proved how useless was all attempt at persuasion or remonstrance with men to whom death was as nothing. "We seek no pardon," said these gallant warriors; "let the Russians occupy our towers and level our walls, we fear them not—we will construct new towers and raise new walls; and once more we repeat that either our bodies shall be buried lifeless under the ruins of Kazan, or we will force our enemies to raise the siege." Having received this answer, Ivan fixed the morrow for the assault.

The night which preceded the execution of this perilous undertaking was spent, by both the besiegers and besieged, in active preparations for attack and defence: none thought that night of rest.

On the 2nd of October, 1552, a date so memorable in the Russian annals, the assault was accomplished. The events of that celebrated day have been so admirably described by the Russian historian Karamzin, says Tornirelli, that I do not remember ever having read a page of the history of any country more eloquent or more interesting. I give the details as he relates them.

"Day," says the historian, "dawned upon a pure and unclouded sky.

* Such is the expression in the Russian annals.

The inhabitants of Kazan were stationed upon the ramparts of the fortress, while the Russians stood at the foot of the walls; the Muscovite banners floated in the wind, and the profound silence of the army, which had not yet received the order to commence the assault, was interrupted only by the shrill sound of our martial instruments jarring discordantly with those of the enemy. The Tartars gazed fiercely at our troops, while our archers, bow in hand, and the cannoneers with lighted matches, stood awaiting the signal for slaughter. The Russian camp was almost entirely deserted: scarce a sound was heard there save the solemn chant of the priests, who were celebrating the holy mass in the presence of the tzar and some of his most illustrious boyards. At length the sun appeared on the horizon; at that very moment, and when the deacon engaged in reading the gospel was pronouncing the words 'There shall exist but one flock and but one shepherd,' a frightful explosion, which made the earth tremble and shook the church to its very foundations, was suddenly heard. The tzar having advanced to the threshold perceived the terrible effect of the mines. The town was completely enveloped in darkness; a horrible medley of mutilated corpses and ruins, cast into the air in the midst of volumes of dense smoke, fell back upon the fortress. Divine service was for a moment interrupted; but the tzar, concealing his emotion, re-entered the church and caused the Liturgy to be continued. While the deacon, praying with a loud voice, was addressing pious invocations to Heaven, that it should deign to strengthen the power of the tzar, and place at his feet the enemies of Russia, a second explosion, more terrible than the former, was heard, followed by the cry of the whole army, '*Bokh snami!*" (God is with us.) At the same moment the Russian battalions precipitated themselves on the fortress, where the Tartars, displaying a wonderful intrepidity, and invoking Allah and Mahomet, awaited them with a firm step. They allowed the assailants to approach within a certain distance without bending a bow or discharging a single musket, but on a given signal they suddenly let fly such a volley of bullets, stones, and arrows, that the very air was darkened. In the meantime the Russians, encouraged by the example of their chiefs, reached the foot of the ramparts. The Tartars rolled upon them from the summit of the walls enormous wooden beams, which crushed numbers as they advanced; they poured boiling water on the heads of the assailants, and, recklessly braving danger and death, they exposed themselves openly to the fire of the batteries and musketry. In that critical moment, the least delay would have been attended with results fatal to the invaders. Their number diminished every minute; many fell dead or mortally wounded; others, struck with terror, abandoned their arms, but the more intrepid reanimated by their heroism their intimidated comrades. These might be seen precipitating themselves in the breaches made by the cannon, scaling the walls with ladders, clinging to the

parapets, climbing on the heads and shoulders of their companions, and fighting hand to hand with the besieged in every direction.

"At length, when divine service was completed, the tzar mounted his war-horse, and advanced towards the scene of the conflict: ere he arrived at the spot, the banner of the Christians was seen floating above the walls of the fortress, while the army of reserve welcomed with a thousand acclamations both the approach of their monarch and victory.

"But the victory was not yet entirely decisive. The Tartars, broken through on every side, hurled from the ramparts and turrets, with the madness of despair, formed themselves into columns in the streets and alleys of the town, where they still struggled, scimitar and poniard in hand, with the Russians. Never was a *mêlée* more bloody: the walls of the houses, the very roofs were disputed by both parties; the earth was covered with severed limbs and mutilated bodies. Prince Vorotinsky was the first who brought the news to the tzar that the Russians were in the town, but he added that the combat continued to rage with unabated fury, and that it was urgently necessary to succour the troops. Ivan immediately sent forward a division of his own guards, with several voivodes. Having received this assistance, the Russians soon became victorious in every direction, and succeeded in repulsing the Tartars even into the very palace of the Khan, which was surrounded with fortifications. Yadigar himself, after defending for some time the entrance to his palace, and vainly endeavouring to repulse the assailants, accompanied by the most illustrious of his warriors, slowly retired from the castle towards that part of the town called the 'Teretzsky Ravine;' here he suddenly halted, and then made a new and desperate attack upon the Russian troops. That attack for a time turned the balance of victory on the side of the Tartars.

"The Russians, masters of a town celebrated for its wealth and magnificence, unable to resist the temptation which its treasures excited, abandoned their posts, and rushed to pillage the shops and houses; even the officers, whom the tzar had sent forward for the express purpose of repressing this disorder, allowed themselves to be equally influenced by this thirst for riches, and forgot their orders in the midst of the seducing occasion. The cowards also, who in the heat of the combat had flung themselves on the earth, feigning to be dead or wounded, now arose, full of life and vigour, and rushed to participate in the general pillage. Even that portion of the Russian troops charged with the care of the ammunition waggons, together with a great crowd, consisting of victuallers, vendors, and labourers, hurried likewise into the town, loading themselves with objects of gold and silver, furs, stuffs, and numerous other articles of value, which they brought back to the camp, where there existed a scene of inexpressible confusion.

"It was in the midst of this disorder that Yadigar, with a small but

chosen band of Tartars, charged vigorously that portion of the Russian soldiery which had remained faithful to its duty: the attack was so impetuous that the latter was forced to give way; its retreat at the same time spread consternation among the pillagers, who took to flight, and flung themselves from the summit of the walls and ramparts, exclaiming, 'All is lost! sauve qui peut!'

"The tzar, in the midst of the panic and disorder of his troops, which induced him to suppose that the Tartars had repulsed the whole of his army from the town, showed nevertheless, on this occasion, uncommon presence of mind and courage. 'He was surrounded,' writes Prince Kurbsky, 'by the venerable counsellors of his empire, grown grey in arms and the practice of virtue.' Obedient to their advice, the tzar had the magnanimity to place himself, with the Christian banner in his hands, at the entrance called the Royal Gate, in order to stop the fugitives. Half of his select cavalry, consisting of twenty thousand men, alighted from their horses, and penetrated on foot into the town, followed by the aged nobles, placed thus in the same ranks with their children. This troop, fresh and valiant, clad in glittering armour, precipitated itself like a thunderbolt on the Tartars. The latter resisted long and bravely; at last, having formed themselves into close battalions, they retreated in good order towards a high stone mosque, where the Imams, Mollahs, and other ministers of the Prophet were assembled. It was not with presents, humble solicitations, or prayers for mercy, that the latter came to the rencontre of the Russians; but sword in hand, and urged by the most ferocious despair, they rushed upon their ranks, where they were all sacrificed.

"Yadigar, with the small remnant of his gallant troops, retreated once more to the palace of the Khans, where he defended himself for upwards of an hour; the Russians, however, succeeded in breaking down the gates and forcing an entrance. What an astonishing spectacle struck their notice!—the wives and daughters of the Tartars, dressed in their richest costumes, were there to intercept the advance of the invaders; there they had assembled, with no other defence save their youth and charms, while their fathers, husbands, and brothers, surrounding the person of the king, continued to fight with the ardour of desperation. At last the Tartars, in number about ten thousand, retired through a gate at the back of the palace, which led to the lower portion of the town. Prince Kurbsky, at the head of two hundred warriors, endeavoured to intercept their passage: he barred up the narrow streets and lanes, and opposed fresh obstacles to their retreat at every moment; the prince remained courageously at his post until he was joined by a portion of the Russian troops, who fell upon the rear of the Tartars. The latter, surrounded on every side by their enemies, without a hope of safety, and forced as they advanced to trample at every step upon the dead bodies

of their comrades, worked nevertheless their way to the outer wall of the town; arrived here, they placed Yadigar in safety in a strong tower, and expressed a desire to parley with the besiegers. The voivode Dmitry Paletsky immediately upon this ordered his troops to cease the combat, and marched towards the Tartars. 'Listen!' exclaimed the latter; 'as long as our Government existed we were ready to die in defence of our prince and country. Kazan is now in your power; we yield up to you our sovereign, alive and unwounded, for we are no longer able to defend him from injury; lead him to your tzar; for our part, we will descend into the plain, resolved to drain with you in battle the last drop of the cup of life.' They then delivered their Khan Yadigar to the care of Paletsky, together with an aged noble, one of the principal dignitaries of the State, and two Mamichis, or companions of the fallen monarch. A few minutes after, the battle recommenced with renewed fury. The Tartars at first directed their retreat towards the right of the Russian camp, but, encountered by the artillery in that direction, they turned to the left, and casting aside their cumbrous armour, they forded across the Kazanka. Their number had now diminished to five thousand. This remnant, met by a division of Russian cavalry under the command of Prince Kurbsky and his brother Roman, still continued to fight with the intrepidity of men who feared not death; the Russians, after undergoing a terrible loss, were forced to give way, while the Tartars, continuing their retreat, advanced towards a thick forest, in which they sought a shelter. Feeble as they were now and few in numbers, their astonishing valour and heroism still rendered them objects of terror to the invaders; the tzar, therefore, despatched a division of light cavalry to cut off their retreat from the forest. Encountered by this fresh troop, the Tartars still continued the fatal and useless struggle: 'Not one of them,' say the Russian annalists, 'yielded himself a prisoner,' and the few that were taken were covered with wounds, which had rendered them incapable of defence.

"The town, now completely in the hands of the besiegers, was on fire in several directions: the battle had ceased, but not the effusion of blood, for the conquerors, irritated by the vigorous and obstinate defence of their enemies, massacred all whom they met with, in the mosques, houses, and cellars. The court of the palace, the streets, ramparts, and ravines, were encumbered with thousands of dead bodies; the plain between the town and the Kazanka presented the same scene. The discharge of the artillery and musketry was no longer heard, but the clang of the sword, the shrieks of the dying, and the cries of the victors, succeeded these frightful explosions. It was then that Prince Vorotinsky, commander-in-chief of the army, sent off a message to the tzar, which ran as follows:—'Rejoice, Prince! your valour and good fortune have insured you the victory; Kazan is in our power, its Khan at your mercy;

the Tartars are all destroyed or taken prisoners; incalculable riches have fallen into our hands. We await your orders.'

"'Glory be to the Most High!' exclaimed the tzar, raising his hands to heaven. Immediately after, he ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung near the sacred banner, and having, with his own hands, planted the holy cross on the principal gate of the fortress, he marked out a spot for the erection of the first Christian temple in this Mussulman land.

"On the 3rd of October the dead were buried, and the whole town entirely cleaned. The following day the tzar, accompanied by his clergy, members of the council, and the generals and chiefs of his army, made a solemn entry into Kazan, and laid the first stone, in the spot he had previously chosen, of the 'Cathedral of the Visitation;' he then accompanied a procession round the town, and consecrated Kazan to the true God. The clergy sprinkled the streets, walls, and houses with holy water. Invoking the benediction of the Almighty on this new rampart of the Christian faith, they supplicated Him to preserve its inhabitants from all diseases, to sustain their courage, and to render this conquest henceforth the glorious inheritance of Russia. The tzar then gave orders to repair as quickly as possible the fortifications, and, accompanied by his voivodes and dignitaries, he betook himself to the palace of the Khans, on which the Christian banner was now floating."

Prince Alexander Shuiski was nominated governor of Kazan, and fifteen thousand boyard-followers, three thousand strelitzes, and a number of Cossacks were left behind as a garrison. Ivan's grandees advised him to stay till the spring and to detain his army, so that he might thoroughly subdue the five tribes of the Mordvins, Chuvashes, Votiaks (of Arsk), the Cheremisses, and the Bashkirs of the Upper Kama, many of whose hordes had not acknowledged the Russians, while they had been joined by the fugitive Tartars from Kazan; but the tzar was eager for a triumphant entry into his capital, and was encouraged by a number of his officers, who also longed for repose. Having heard mass in the new church of the Visitation, he embarked on the Volga, and went by way of Nijni Novgorod, where he received the congratulations of his wife, and then went on by land towards Moscow, and heard *en route* of the birth of his son Dimitri. He alighted to return thanks at the churches of Vladimir and Suzdal, and the famous monastery of Troitzki. A vast crowd came out from the capital and lined the way along which he passed. He dismounted and publicly thanked the clergy, in feeling and dignified terms, for the way in which they had supported his troops and his own efforts in the campaign, and received a suitable reply; after which the crowd, clerical and lay, prostrated themselves before him and loudly blessed him.*

Fêtes and rejoicings followed each other quickly at the palace, rich

* Karamzin, viii. 198, 207.

furs, precious cups, horses, weapons, &c., to the value of forty-eight thousand roubles, equivalent probably to a million of the present roubles, were distributed as largess, without counting the domains and estates with which the officers were rewarded. In memory of his great victory, Ivan founded the church of our Lady of Good Succour, which is situated near the gate Nikolski, is surmounted by nine cupolas, and is one of the most famous monuments of Moscow.*

Meanwhile matters did not go on very well at Kazan, the tribes of the mountain and the plain rebelled, and slaughtered several Russian merchants, for which seventy-four of them were put to death; the Votiaks and Cheremisses refused to pay tribute, rose against the Russian functionaries, and defeated the strelitzes and Cossacks sent against them, killing eight hundred of them. They built a fortress on the river Mecha, seventy versts from Kazan, and the voivode Boris Soltikof having marched against them in the winter, his men were buried deep in snow, while the enemy on snow shoes surrounded him on all sides, killed five hundred of his people, and captured and put him to death. Meanwhile Ivan himself was laid prostrate by a fever, the first symptom of that terrible malady which afterwards made him such a savage.† On his recovery he sent a large force against the rebels, which destroyed their fortress on the Mecha, and advanced as far as Viatka and the country of the Bashkirs. There were daily combats in the forests and amidst the snow, in which the enemy had ten thousand men killed, while six thousand were captured, as well as fifteen thousand women and children. Among the dead were two inveterate enemies of Russia, Prince Yapancha and Aleka, a chief of the Cheremisses. They also ravaged the plains of Kazan, and captured one thousand six hundred distinguished Tartars, who were put to death. The fugitives driven to bay sought shelter in various secluded localities, where they erected fortresses, and continued to harass the Russian merchants and fishermen on the Volga. Mamich Berdei, one of the chiefs of the flat country, having carried off a Nogai prince with him, gave him the title of tzar, but seeing he was incompetent, he cut off his head, put it on a pole, and thus addressed it: "We made you a tzar to lead us in war and to gain victories, but you and your cavalry have done nothing but plunder us. Meanwhile your head may reign on this high throne." This turbulent person, who was constantly inciting the mountaineers to rebel, was at length captured by them by a ruse; being invited to a banquet, he was made prisoner and sent off to Moscow. In reward for which the tzar remitted some of their burdens. For five years the terrible struggle went on, the land being wasted with fire and sword. Many of the Kazan people became Christians, while others who remained Muhammedans sided openly with Russia. They were given grants of land, &c. The rebels were at length worn out and

* *Id.*, 209. † *Id.*, 216.

their chiefs exterminated; the more distant Bashkirs offered to pay tribute, and in 1557 Ivan sent Simon Yartzof to restore prosperity to the land, which was strewn with ruins and tombs. Thenceforward Russia remained in peaceable possession of Kazan. In 1555 it was created a bishopric. The first bishop was called Gury; his tomb still remains in the cathedral of Kazan. The ancient annals of Kazan offer no further events which are capable of interesting the general reader. Peace and tranquillity succeeded the storms and struggles, rife with ruin and slaughter, which had so long disturbed and devastated this country. The Tartars who had escaped from the sword were forced to build for themselves a new town or suburb in the plains, which lay outside the walls of the city on the lake called Kaban, which they still inhabit at the present day. The old town was rebuilt by order of Ivan. Its commerce soon began to flourish anew, the traces of desolation and ravage gradually disappeared, and in a few years Kazan, so lately the scene of war and bloodshed, presented the appearance of a rich and flourishing city. In this state it remained, gradually increasing in size and importance, till a fresh enemy—fire—in a series of most terrible conflagrations, reduced it on several occasions to ruins. Like a phœnix, however, Kazan each time seems to have arisen from its ashes more beautiful and imposing than before, on each occasion it was quickly rebuilt on a new and improved plan. The number of public buildings were augmented, and continued yearly to augment, so that at the present moment Kazan, as we have before said, is certainly one of the finest towns in the empire. As regards the number of its inhabitants, its riches, and splendour, it only yields the palm to the two Russian capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow.

KASIMOF.

KASIM KHAN.

When Ulugh Muhammed was killed by his son Mahmudek, two of his other sons, named Kasim and Yakub, fled to Cherkask, and thence to the Grand Prince at Moscow. This was in the spring of 1446. They became his faithful allies and assisted him in the struggle in which he was engaged with Shemiaka.* In 1449 we find them again marching with the Grand Prince against Shemiaka, but no fight took place, as peace was brought about between the rivals at the instance of the metropolitan and clergy.† The same year Seyid Ahmed, of the Great Horde, made a raid as far as Pokhra, and carried off Maria, the wife of Prince Vasili Obolenski. Kasim having heard of this, marched with his Tartars, overtook

* Vel. Zern., i. 2. Karamzin, v. 394.

† Vel. Zern., i. Note, 9.

the plunderers, and recovered the prisoners and booty they had captured.* In the spring of 1450 the two brothers took part in the bloody fight at Galitch against Shemiaka. In the autumn of the same year the Grand Prince being at Kolomna, heard that Mälim Birdei Oghlan, with some other princes and a body of Tartars from the steppe, was invading his borders. He accordingly sent Kasim against them, together with some troops from Kolomna, commanded by the voivode Constantine Alexandrovitch Bessutzof. They defeated the invaders and drove them back to the river Betius.† In 1452 the Grand Prince sent his son, together with the tzarevitch, Yakub, and a considerable army, against Shemiaka. They made a raid as far as Koksheng, wasted the land, and made many prisoners, and having marched as far as the mouth of the Waga returned home again.‡

During the six years from 1446 to 1452 we therefore find the two brothers constantly in the Russian service. We do not again read of Yakub, and he either died or left the country. Kasim was rewarded for his services by the grant of Gorodetz on the Oka, in the government of Riazan, with a small district. From him this town took the name of Kasimof, and thus was founded within the Russian borders a small semi-independent Khanate, which lived for many years.

The foundation of this petty Khanate was no doubt a piece of wise policy on the part of the Grand Prince. He could thus play off his *protegé* against the Khans of Kazan, whose rising power was becoming a menace to Russia.

We now read that Abd ul Mumin and other grandees of Kazan sent to invite Kasim to go there and displace his nephew and stepson Ibrahim. He, as I have mentioned, easily persuaded the Grand Prince to assist in the enterprise, and marched with his contingent in the autumn of 1467 towards Kazan. This expedition, as I have mentioned, was unfortunate, and the allied armies suffered a good deal on their retreat. Soon after this he died. M. Vel. Zernof dates his death probably in 1469, as in that year his widow was sent to Kazan by the Grand Prince on a mission to her son Ibrahim.§ Kasim is traditionally supposed to have built the first mosque and the palace at Gorodetz, but if he did so it is probable that all remains of his structure have long ago disappeared and been displaced by later buildings.‖

DANIYAR KHAN.

Kasim was succeeded by his son Daniyar (a Tartar corruption of the name Daniel), who with Murtaza, the son of Mustapha, took part in

* *Id.* Note, 10. † *Id.* Note, 12. ‡ *Id.* Note, 13. § Op. cit., i. 10.
‖ Vel. Zern., op. cit., 10-15. Notes, 24-32.

Ivan's campaign against Novgorod in 1471, with all his tzarevitches, princes, and Kasaks (*i.e.*, common Tartars).* In this campaign he lost forty of his men, and was thanked for his services by the Grand Prince.† We are told he was not allowed to make any prisoners however. It would hardly have been seemly for a Christian champion like Ivan to allow a Mussulman to do so.‡

In 1472 we find Danai or Daniyar in alliance with the Russians in their war with Seyid Ahmed, the Khan of the Golden Horde. Murtaza also took part in this war.§ In 1475 Mengli Ghirai, the Khan of Krim, urged the Grand Prince that he should send the tzarevitches Daniyar and Murtaza against Ahmed, the Khan of the Golden Horde.‖ In 1477 the former again took part in the campaign against Novgorod.¶

In 1481 we find him mentioned in the will of Andrew, the Grand Prince's brother, who in it repays the latter a sum of thirty thousand roubles, which he had paid on his behalf to the Tartars of Kazan and the tzarevitch Daniyar.** In 1483 we read how a German physician who had gone to Muscovy was well treated by the Grand Prince, but having been called in to treat the tzarevitch Daniyar, his patient died on his hands, whereupon he was handed over to his son Kara Khoja, who had him put to the torture, but afterwards allowed him to be ransomed.†† The exact year of his death is not known, we only know that in 1486 Nurdaulat is mentioned as Khan of Kasimof.

NURDAULAT KHAN.

Nurdaulat was the son of Haji Ghirai of Krim. I shall describe in the next chapter his reign in the Crimea, and how he was driven out thence together with his brother Haidar in 1478, and forced to take shelter in Lithuania, and thence in Russia. This took place in 1480.‡‡ The same year Berdaulat, the son of Nurdaulat, having been killed by a Tartar, we are told his father killed the murderer with his own hand.§§ Later in the same year Haidar was banished by the Grand Prince to Vologda.‖‖ We now find Nurdaulat taking part in the famous struggle with the Golden Horde, in which, while the Grand Prince encountered the Tartars in the field, Nurdaulat made a diversion and captured their capital.¶¶ It was probably as a reward for his services on this occasion that Nurdaulat was made tzar of Gorodetz by the Grand Prince. We now find Murtaza, the Khan of the Golden Horde, and the mortal enemy of Mengli Ghirai, writing to Nurdaulat and his patron the Grand Prince, intending apparently to set up the former against Mengli

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* *Vide* Vel. Zern., i. Note, 34. † *Id.*, 16. ‡ Op. cit., 16. Note, 35.
§ *Id.*, i. 17. Note, 38. ‖ *Id.*, 17. ¶ *Id.* Note, 40.
** Karamzin, vi. 201. Vel. Zern., i. 17, 18. †† Vel. Zern., i. 18. Note, 41.
‡‡ Vel. Zern., i. 22. §§ *Id.*, 23. Note, 53. ‖‖ *Id.*, 23. Note, 54. ¶¶ *Ante*, 322.

Ghirai.* This intrigue was fruitless, as we shall see. Nurdaulat probably died shortly after this, and he is not named after the year 1487.

SATILGAN KHAN.

Nurdaulat was succeeded by his son Satilgan,† who is first named in 1496, when we read of the yassak or tax which he drew from Riazan.‡ He is not again named until 1504, when he is mentioned in general terms in a treaty or compact made between Vasili and Yuri, the sons of the Grand Prince, in regard to the dues to be paid to the Tartars.§ The mention of this tax introduces a curious question. It would seem that so long as the Russians paid dues to the Tartars these were apportioned out among the various towns, and thus became charges on the appanaged princes, and we consequently find in the will of Ivan III. a provision specifying the contributions which these appanages were to pay. Thus we are told that towards every thousand roubles so owing to the Tartars of the Great Horde, Krim, Astrakhan, Kazan, and the towns of the tzarevitches (*i.e.*, Kasimof, &c.), the Grand Prince was to pay on behalf of Muscovy, Tuer, Old Riazan, and Perewitsk, 716½ roubles and 2½ dengas; Yuri, for Kashin, was to pay 82 roubles 10 copecks; Dimitri, for his appanage, including Supzof and Opok, 58 roubles, 50 copecks, and 7 dengas; Simeon, for his appanage, 65 roubles 10 dengas; and Andrew, for his land as well as for Staritza, Kholm, &c., 40 roubles, 50 copecks, 1¾ dengas; while his nephew, for his domain, as well as for Kolpi and Buyagorod, 37½ roubles.‖ In 1505 Satilgan and his brother Janai, with their oghlans and Kazaks, marched under the banners of the Russian Grand Prince in his attack upon the Khanate of Kazan.¶ Satilgan is mentioned for the last time in 1506, when he took part in the unfortunate campaign of that year against Kazan.**

JANAI KHAN.

It is clear that Satilgan was no longer Khan of Kasimof in 1508, and was probably then dead, for we then find his brother Janai ruling there. In the war between the Grand Prince Vasili and Sigismund of Poland in 1508, a contingent of Tartars from Gorodetz, under the orders of Muhammed Amin, the son of Karachuk Mirgen, took part.†† At the same time another contingent, under the orders of Janai, was ordered to march against the Lithuanians.‡‡ We do not again hear of Janai.

* See next chapter. † Vel. Zern., i. Note, 59. ‡ *Id.*, 26. § *Id.*, 28. ‖ *Id.*, 28. ¶ *Id.*, 33. Note, 66. ** *Id.*, 34. †† *Id.*, 37. Note, 72. ‡‡ *Id.*, 37.

SHEIKH AVLIYAR KHAN.

On the death of Janai the small Khanate of Kasimof passed out of the hands of the family of Kazan into that of Astrakhan, and in 1512 we find its Tartars, under the command of Sheikh Avliyar, marching to the assistance of the Grand Prince in his attack on Smolensk.* Sheikh Avliyar was the son of Bakhtiar Saltan, brother of Ahmed Khan, of the Golden Horde.† He had sought refuge in Russia in 1502.‡ In 1508 he ruled at Suroshik, and took part in the Lithuanian war, and four years later, at I have mentioned, he is spoken of as Khan of Kasimof. He married Shah Sultana, daughter of the Nogai Prince Ibrahim.§ We know nothing more of him.

SHAH ALI KHAN.

Sheikh Avliyar was succeeded by his son Shah Ali, who was Khan of Kasimof in 1516, when he is so mentioned in a letter of the Krim Khan to the Grand Prince,‖ who complained that a prince of Astrakhan should thus be a *protegê* of Russia. In 1518, on the death of Muhammed Amin, the Khan of Kazan, Shah Ali was nominated in his place, as I have mentioned,¶ and he mounted the throne there in the spring of 1519.

JAN ALI KHAN.

He was succeeded as Khan of Kasimof by his brother Jan Ali, who is mentioned as a tzarevitch at Meshchersk (*i.e.*, Kasimof) in 1521. He took part in the war against Lithuania in 1528, and in 1531 he was also summoned to occupy the throne of Kazan, from which Safa Girai had been deposed by the Russians.**

SHAH ALI KHAN (RESTORED).

During Jan Ali's reign at Kasimof Shah Ali, his brother, seems to have lived at Moscow in honourable exile, sharing in the various expeditions of the Grand Prince. This was from 1521 to 1532.†† On Jan Ali's elevation in the latter year to Kazan, Shah Ali was granted the towns of Koshira and Serpukhof, but having intrigued in the affairs of Kazan, he was deposed and sent with his wife to exile at Bielozersk; his

* Vel. Zern., i. 37. † *Id.*, 38-45. ‡ *Id.*, 38. § *Id.*, 47. ‖ *Id.* ¶ *Ante*, 385. ** Vel. Zern., i. 49-56. †† *Id.*, 56.

ughlans, princes, murzas, and people were scattered among the Russian towns of Tuer, Novgorod, Pskof, &c., and suffered great distress, and many of their women were baptised.* In the latter part of 1535 Shah Ali regained his liberty.† His brother Jan Ali had been murdered at Kazan in the spring of this year,‡ and a party of the Kazan Tartars wished to put Shah Ali on the throne. I have described his gratitude, and the efforts made by the Russians to displace Safa Girai and to seat him on the throne.§ Meanwhile he had been again invested with the Khanate of Kasimof, and is found in command of its Tartars in 1540.‖ In the summer of 1543 he granted the monastery of Troitski liberty to freely navigate the Oka, to fell timber in the woods of Kashirsk, and also to cut down trees in which bees had deposited honey.¶ In 1546, Safa Girai having been driven away from Kazan, Shah Ali was once more seated on the throne there, but occupied it only a short time.** We find him taking part in the attacks on Kazan from 1547 to 1551. In this last year he again occupied the throne there, but found it untenable, and abandoned it the following year, and again returned to Kasimof.†† He took part in Ivan's final campaign against Kazan, on whose capture he congratulated him and rode beside him when he entered the city in triumph.‡‡ From the spring of 1553 to the end of 1557 Shah Ali continued to reign quietly at Kasimof, while his Tartars were largely employed in the Russian service.§§ In the end of 1557 he took part in the war against Livonia. He is mentioned by Solomon Henning and other chroniclers of that campaign, and by Hiärn and Kelch, the historians of Livonia, who describe the doings of his people in much the same terms that his contemporaries did those of Batu Khan; women were ravished, children were torn from their mother's wombs, while many were strewn over with gunpowder or fat and then set on fire.‖‖ But these cruelties, as M. Vel. Zernof says, were not confined to the Tartars. They were practised no less by Christians, and notably by the Russians in their terrible campaigns in Livonia and Lithuania.

In 1558 the English traveller Jenkinson passed through Kasimof on his way from Moscow to Bokhara. He calls the town Cassim, and its ruler the tzar Zegoline.¶¶ After his Livonian campaign Shah Ali returned again to his capital, where he lived peaceably till 1562 while a contingent of his Tartars shared in the Livonian campaigns which were fought during the interval.*** In 1562 Shah Ali took part in person in the war against Sigismund of Poland. In 1564-5 he was at the head of an army on the borders of Lithuania.

Shah Ali died on the 20th of April, 1567, and was buried at Kasimof, where his gravestone still remains.††† His mausoleum, called Tekie by

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* *Id.*, 57. † *Id.*, 60. ‡ *Ante*, 400. § *Ante*, 400, 401. ‖ Vel. Zern., i. 63. ¶ *Id.*, 65.
** *Ante*, 403. †† Vel. Zern., i. 70-72. ‡‡ *Id.*, 75, 76. §§ *Id.*, 76-81.
‖‖ Op. cit., 82, Note, 157. ¶¶ *Id.*, 88. *** *Id.*, 89. ††† *Id.*, 94.

the Tartars, still remains at Kasimof, a beautiful specimen of Mussulman architecture, which we shall describe in a note further on.

SAIN BULAT KHAN.

Shah Ali died without issue, and his heritage at Kasimof passed to another branch of his family. In 1570 we find it ruled by a prince named Sain Bulat. This we learn from the reported address of the Russian envoy Novossilzof to Selim, the Sultan of Turkey. "My master," he said, "is not an enemy of the religion of Mahomet, many of his vassals are followers of the prophet, and adore him in their mosques. Such are the tzar Sain Bulat at Kasimof, the tzarevitch Kaibula at Yurief, Ibak at Surojek, and the Nogai princes at Romanof, for in Russia every one may freely follow his religion. At Kadom, in the province of Mechera, several of the tzar's functionaries are Mussulmans. It is true the late tzar of Kazan (Simeon) and the tzarevitch Murtaza have become Christians, but this was at their own request."* Sain Bulat is called the son of Bekbulat, who had been living in Russia since 1562. M.Vel. Zernof has shown that the latter was the son of Boghatyr or Behadur Sultan, one of the many sons of Ahmed, the Khan of the Golden Horde,† so that the fathers of Shah Ali and Bekbulat were first cousins. Sain Bulat took part in Ivan's campaign against Novgorod in 1571-2, and in that of the next year against Sweden. In the end of 1573 he became a Christian, taking the name of Simeon.‡ This necessitated his resignation of the throne at Kasimof. He had some strange adventures afterwards. Ivan in his curious phrenzy had him crowned as tzar, and reserved to himself merely the title of Grand Duke. He apparently took the title of tzar of Tuer, and married the sister of the boyard Feodor Mitislavitch. On the accession of Feodor Ivanovitch to the throne he was obliged to quit Tuer, where he had held a gorgeous court, and to go into retirement at Kushalin. He soon after became blind, a result ascribed to poison. It was apparently contemplated by some to raise him to the Russian throne.§ He at length died in 1616.

MUSTAPHA ALI KHAN.

It is not known whether there was an interregnum after the resignation by Sain Ali of the throne of Kasimof, but in 1577 we find it occupied by Mustapha Ali, the son of Abdulla Akkubekof. Akkubek was Khan of Astrakhan,‖ and was the first cousin of Bekbulat, the father of Sain

* Karamzin, ix. 222-231. † Op. cit., ii. 9-11. i. Note, 82. ‡ Vel. Zern., ii. 24. § Karamzin, x. 288, 289. ‖ *Vide ante*, 352.

Bulat. His son Abdulla, also called Kaibula,* first settled in Russia in 1552. He married the daughter of Jan Ali and niece of Shah Ali, and was given the town of Yurief as an appanage.† It was his son Mustapha who was now made Khan of Kasimof. He took part in Ivan's campaign in Livonia in 1577,‡ and again in 1578, when he joined the Russian forces with a contingent and with his two brothers Budali and Arslan Ali.§ In 1584 Ivan announced to the Turkish Sultan that Mustapha had been made Khan of Kasimof in the place of Simeon.|| He was at Moscow in 1586 at the presentation of the Polish ambassador. We don't hear of him again, but he apparently did not die till 1590, as on a tombstone at Kasimof his daughter Takbilde is said to have died in 1608, aged seventeen years.

URAZ MAKHMET KHAN.

About 1588 we find a certain Uraz Makhmet, who is called a tzarevitch of the Kazaks, settling in Russia, apparently involuntarily. He is also called Uraz Makhmet Odanovitch.¶ He took part in the tzar Feodor's campaign against the Swedes in 1590. In 1594 we find Tevkel, the great chief of the Kazaks, writing to ask the tzar to send him his nephew Uraz Makhmet. The tzar replied that he would liberate him if Tevkel would send one of his own sons in his place.** In 1597 Uraz Makhmet was present at the grand reception given to the Austrian envoy, the burgrave Donaf.†† In the following year he joined the Russian forces in a campaign against Krim. About the year 1600 Uraz Makhmet was nominated Khan of Kasimof.‡‡ The genealogy of this chief has been preserved in a singular way. It is engraved on a silver casket dated in 1012 of the hej. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1603-1604), and preserved in the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of St. Petersburg.§§ From this it appears he was the son of Odan Sultan, the son of Shigai Khan, the son of Yadik Khan, the son of Janibeg Khan, the son of Borrak Khan, the chief of the White Horde;|||| and this is confirmed by a Turkish chronicle published in 1854 by Berezine.¶¶ In 1601 Uraz Makhmet visited Moscow, and is afterwards found stationed on the frontiers of Krim to guard them.*** In 1502 he was again in Moscow, probably to be present at the reception of the Danish prince John.

We now reach the period of disorder in Russia marked by the appearance of the False Dimitris. The second of these pretenders was openly supported by Uraz Makhmet and the Tartars of Kasimof, and he is constantly mentioned during the troubled events of 1608-1610. In the

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* Vel. Zern., i. Note, 148. † *Id.* ‡ Vel. Zern., ii. 27. § *Id.*, 80.
|| *Id.*, 83. ¶ *Id.*, 97-102. ** *Id.*, 104. †† *Id.*, 105. ‡‡ *Id.*, 110.
§§ *Id.*, 111. |||| See *infra* chapter on the Kazaks. ¶¶ *Id.*, 121. *** *Id.*, 452.

latter year he came to a violent end. He was living with his son at Kaluga, where the Pretender held his court. One day his son reported that Uraz Makhmet contemplated killing Dimitri, upon which the latter determined to forestal him, invited him to a hunt, during which he and some retainers fell on the Kasimof Khan and killed him, and threw his body into the river Oka. Dimitri reported that he had himself been attacked by Uraz, and had killed him in self-defence. In revenge for the death of the Khan, Peter Urussof, a Christian Nogai in the service of the Pretender, fell on him in turn, beheaded him, and then sought shelter in the Krim. Uraz Makhmet was buried at Kasimof, where his gravestone was recently found.*

ALP ARSLAN KHAN.

In August, 1614, the tzar Michael appointed Alp Arslan Khan of Kasimof. He was the son of Ali, the son of Kuchum, the famous Siberian Khan, who will occupy us in a later chapter. Alp Arslan was made prisoner when a child by the Russians in 1598, in the bloody struggle on the banks of the Ob, where Kuchum was defeated.† In 1612 we find him in the Russian service and taking part in the war against the Poles and Lithuanians, on which occasion he seems to have behaved badly, and to have shown more energy in pillaging than fighting. In 1616 he was at Moscow at the same time as John Merrick, the English envoy, and there would seem to have been a quarrel about precedency between them.‡ He was again there in 1617, when there seems to have been a similar question about the relative importance of the Persian envoys. In 1623 he was again at Moscow, and full details are extant of the elaborate feasting and ceremonial with which he was entertained, which are given by the learned historian of the Khans of Kasimof.§ It is not known exactly when he died, but it was probably in the latter part of 1626.‖

SEYID BURGAN KHAN.

Arslan was succeeded by his son Seyid Burgan, who appears as Khan of Kasimof for the first time in 1627. In 1630 he is mentioned in a list of the princes dependent on the Russians. In 1636 the famous traveller Adam Olearius visited Kasimof, which he tells us was subject to a Tartar prince, whom he calls Res Kitzi, who lived in a stone palace with his mother and grandfather. He was twelve years old. The Russians had tried to persuade him to become a Christian, the tzar having promised, if

* *Id.*, 463-466. † Vel. *Zern.*, iii. 1. ‡ *Id.*, 16. § *Id.*, 21. ‖ *Id.*, 14.

he did so, to give him his daughter in marriage, but he had excused himself on account of his youth, and said he would postpone his decision till he was older. The envoy presented him with a pound of tobacco and a bottle of French brandy. He excused himself for not offering him hospitality in his house on the ground that the Russians were very jealous of his having intercourse with strangers. He sent him, however, a present of two sheep, a measure of quas, one each of beer and brandy, some pieces of ice, some kumis, and fresh butter, which he said his mother had made with her own hands.* The name Res Kitzi here given him by Olearius was probably a local nickname given him by the Tartars. Fræhn explains Reis Kitzi as meaning the little captain, but Vel. Zernof disputes the explanation.† His mother's name was Fatima Sultan, and her father's Ak Muhammed Seyid Chakulof. He was probably the grandfather referred to by Olearius.‡

In the end of 1653 Seyid Burgan went to Moscow with some other Tartar princes, and took the oath of fealty. The ceremonies gone through on this occasion have been recorded in some detail.§ On this occasion Seyid Burgan presented the tzar with a flagon worked with gold and inlaid with precious stones, which is still preserved in the armoury at Moscow. About 1653 he became a Christian and took the name of Vasili, and in December of that year we find him dining with the patriarch Nikon and the tzar. As he retained his authority, this was an important revolution, for hitherto all the princes of Kasimof had been Mussulmans. He lived at Kasimof till his death, which happened about 1679, and spent most of his time in Moscow. He is frequently mentioned in contemporary documents as attending the court with his wife Maria and his sons Michael and Vasili. He took part in the Swedish campaign of 1656, and in that in Little Russia in 1678.

FATIMA SULTAN.

Seyid Burgan was the last Khan of Kasimof. His descendants now virtually lost their independence, and were classed among other subject princes; but his stock still remains, and I believe M. Veliaminof Zernof, the learned historian of his house, is one of his descendants. For a short time after his death Seyid Burgan's mother, Fatima, was acknowledged as tzaritza, and was granted the rights possessed by her son. She probably died in 1681, and with this shadow passed away another independent Tartar house.

* Vel. Zern., iii. 186, 187. † *Id.*, 190. ‡ *Id.*, 192. § *Id.*, 202.

Note I.—Bolghari was the most famous city of the Golden Horde after its capital Serai. It is situated on the left bank of the Volga, about six miles from that river, about ninety versts south of Kazan, and eighty versts north of Simbirsk. It is a city of great antiquity, and its history is long and famous. It is first mentioned *eo-nomine* by Ibn Fozlan, who was sent there on an embassy by the Khalif of Baghdad, and who reports that he was sent in answer to an invitation from Almus, the then king of the Bulgarians, that the Khalif would send him priests to convert his people to Muhammedanism and architects to build mosques in his capital. Of the mission thus sent Sausen el Rassy was the head and Ibn Fozlan the secretary. It arrived at Bolghari in May, 922. The Bulgarian king with a cavalcade went out to meet the embassy in state, and when it drew near he alighted and threw gold coins over the party. He gave a grand feast at which other kings of the country were present. Almus himself was dressed in black and wore a black turban, and his queen sat beside him. The result of the visit was the conversion of the Bulgarians, which, according to Ibn Fozlan, took place in 942 A.D. Like other Arab travellers, Ibn Fozlan enlarges on the severe climate of Bulgaria and the shortness of the day in winter. He tells us, however, that it grew abundance of corn, barley, and millet; apples of a bad quality and nuts; also fir trees, from the sap of which the natives made an intoxicating drink. Horse flesh and millet, fish oil and hydromel were the chief food of the people. A tax of an ox skin for each family was paid to the sovereign. Leather was then, as it is now, a famous product of the district, and a well known kind of it is still known as Bolghar among the Persians, Bukharians, and Kalmuks. The town was the resort of merchants from various quarters, and among others it was the resort of Norsemen, and we still have extant an account of a Norse funeral that took place there. Ibn Fozlan tells us the king had a tailor from Baghdad who made his clothes, and that his throne was covered with gold brocade of Greek manufacture. As early as the middle of the tenth century even the common people of the town wore boots, at that time considered a great luxury, for we find that the lower classes of the Russians all wore the common laptyi, a species of sandal made of the bark of trees. Ibn Fozlan also reports that it was the custom when anyone met the king in the streets to remove his hat and make a profound inclination, that his queen sat beside him at public audiences, that at feasts he sat apart, and sent a piece of meat round to each of the guests, and that hydromel was drunk in profusion. Theft and licentiousness were punished very severely, and thus men and women bathed safely together in the public baths and rivers without being dressed or veiled. The Bulgarians, like the modern Bashkirs, greatly reverenced serpents, which they would not kill, and they looked upon the howling of dogs as a good omen. A house struck by lightning was deemed accursed and abandoned for ever. But their most singular custom was that of hanging all men distinguished for learning. This extraordinary ostracism, which is reported by several Arab writers, was excused on the ground that such men were more worthy of serving God than mankind.*

* Tornirelli, ii. 242-247.

After the foundation of the Kussian kingdom by Rurik and his followers, the Bolghars were constantly at feud with the Russians.

Yakut, who wrote in the thirteenth century, describes the town of Bolghari as follows:—"This city," he says, "is built of fir, its walls and fortifications are of oak, it is surrounded on every side by the Turks," (a term used indiscriminately by the Arabs to include Slavs, Turks, Cheremisses, Chuvashes, &c.) "Between it and Constantinople is a two months' journey. The Bolghars are engaged in an unceasing war with Constantinople. With them the day lasts but four hours, the remaining twenty form the night. This country is very cold; during the long winter the earth is covered with deep snow."* Bolghari seems to have been wasted by the Mongols in 1226.† When they made their great invasion 1238, Subutai was deputed to conquer Bolghari, which was speedily reduced to obedience,‡ and it became in effect their fixed capital, Serai being their moveable one. Although not the residence of their Khans, it was the principal mint of the Mongols. It possessed a coinage before their arrival, and after their conversion to Muhammedanism the greater part of the coins of the Golden Horde were apparently coined there. Bolghari occurs on coins with the names of the great Khakans Mangu and Arikbugha, which I have assigned to the reign of Bereke,§ and which begin the series of coins of the Golden Horde, and it appears continuously down to the reign of Kuchuk Muhammed, at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Marco Polo calls Serai and Bolghari the capitals of Bereke Khan.‖ It was described by Abulfeda, who tells us it was situated about twenty days' journey from Serai, in a rich valley, and contained considerable baths, but there was no fruit of any description there, for trees, in consequence of the great cold, never took root, and still less the vine. Its inhabitants were Muhammedans of the Hanefitish sect.¶ Ibn Batuta, who visited this district in 1324-5, also names the town.** Tornirelli, I do not know on what authority, tells us that Uzbeg Khan built a vast number of stone edifices, mosques and schools at Bolghari.†† In the succeeding period of turbulence, as I have shown, Bolghari became the seat of separate lines of princes, Pulad Timur, Hassan, &c.‡‡ It was apparently ravaged by Russian pirates from Novgorod in 1367.§§ The historians of Timur's campaign in the Kipchak, such as Sherifuddin, do not mention any attack made by him on Bolghari. The native traditions, which are of weak authority, make out that he captured it at the hour of the Friday prayer, and that it then contained 10,024 large houses. A large number of the inhabitants and the Khan Abdulla (?) were massacred, while his two sons escaped to the forest. The name of Bolghari occurs for the last time on a coin dated 818 hej. (*i.e.*, 1415-16).‖‖ Is seems afterwards to have been deserted and displaced by Kazan.

Tornirelli has described its ruins in some detail. He says that at the period of the visit of Peter the Great, in 1722, there existed on the site of this desolated capital upwards of seventy imposing structures, all in a tolerable state of preservation. In 1768 another Russian sovereign, the Empress Catherine II.,

* Tornirelli, ii. 200. † *Ante*, vol. i. 137. ‡ *Ante*, 39. § *Ante*, 111-113.
‖ Yule, op. cit., 1-4. ¶ Tornirelli, op. cit., i. 201, 202. ** *Ante*, 165. †† Op. cit., ii., 255.
‡‡ *Vide ante*, 203-207. §§ Karamzin, v. 12. ‖‖ Yule, op. cit., i. 7.

visited the same spot, accompanied by three celebrated academicians, Pallas, Levchin, and Ozeretzkofski. The latter, in an account of his travels which he subsequently published, states that he found on these plains but forty-four ruins, of which he gives the names and measurement alone, without other details. Thus in less than forty-six years twenty-six buildings had disappeared. At the present day there remain but six.* The most famous of these is a lofty turret called the "Great Column" or "Round Tower," the summit of which terminates in a cone surmounted by the crescent. It is built of huge masses of grey stone, and was undoubtedly a misguir or minaret. The ground on which it was built having partially sunk is probably the reason why it inclines considerably on one side, like the leaning tower of Pisa. A stone staircase inside, which is pierced with light holes, leads to the summit of the tower. The minaret was repaired some years ago, at the expense of a rich Tartar merchant of Kazan, who was wont with his family to perform an annual pilgrimage to these ruins.† A figure of this minaret may be seen in the atlas to Pallas' Travels, and in the third volume of Erdmann's Beitrage. This tower is situated at one corner of a rude square enclosed by fragments of broken walls, which probably once formed part of a mosque. Besides this there is an old Russian church said to have been built out of the *debris* of the mosque. Like the minaret, this church also leans. "Be it remembered, *en passant*, that both the tower and church, in losing their perpendicular position, have turned towards each other in the inclination, so that the lofty Moslem minaret seems to be bowing to the Christian temple, which humbly returns the polite gesture."‡ East of the tower is a tolerably perfect Tartar oratory, which was afterwards converted into a church dedicated to St. Nicholas. Its lower story is a square, its upper one an octagon. It is vaulted throughout.§ Its walls are embossed with a very peculiar and original species of architectural ornament, and the mouldings that adorn the corridors and doorway are of great beauty and taste.‖ Within the enclosure are remains of other walls and foundations of houses; outside are remains of a building called by the villagers Gretsheskaia Palata or the Greek Palace. About three-quarters of a mile from the great tower is a group of buildings the largest of any in Bolghari. Its northern part forms a kind of vestibule, and is built of large Tartar bricks, on a foundation of dressed limestone; the windows and capitals are also made of brick, and it is divided into two portions, one of them square, the other oblong, by a transverse wall. From the latter there is an entrance into the principal room, which is built of large blocks of polished stone. Each corner is occupied by a small chamber, so that the principal apartment is in the shape of a cross. This room receives its light from a large cupola, in the centre of which is an octagonal opening, while eight small lights correspond to the eight sides of the octagon which it surmounts. A similar small cupola, similarly lighted, is over each of the four chambers above mentioned. These cupolas, large and small, still retain traces of stuccoed ornament. On the south side of this room is placed a third series of three apartments. The central one has a vault underneath it with remains of water courses. Erdmann suggests that the

* Op. cit., 205. † Tornirelli, ii. 220. ‡ Tornirelli, ii. 220.
§ Pallas, op. cit., i. 187. ‖ Tornirelli, ii. 225.

whole has been used as a bath, perhaps one of those mentioned by Abulfeda, which seems very probable. The structure is known to the natives as the Bielaya Palaka, or the White Palace.* A third ruin is known as the Chernaya Palata or "Black Palace." This occupies the centre of the old town, and is also built of limestone and bricks. It is a very large building of a square shape. Tornirelli says it is infinitely higher than any other of the ruined structures, and bears marks of a superior style of architecture and elegance. The part that remains is in an excellent state of preservation, particularly the interior, which is ornamented and wrought in a very peculiar and original manner. In many places the stucco with which the ornaments and pilasters were made is still intact.† It is traditionally described as the Suderski Dome or Judgment Hall, and, as Pallas says, this was not improbably its original destination.

There remains at Bolghari a portion of a second minaret, similar to the one already described, but smaller both in height and other proportions. It stands quite erect, and is surmounted by an iron railing, which was added by the rich Tartar already referred to, and whose name was Yunusof. Around it lie scattered numerous fragments of walls half-buried in grass and furze, which are supposed to be the remains of the mosque to which the minaret was attached. Not far from here stood a few years ago the ruins of the palace of the Khans, of which nothing remains but a heap of stones.‡ Such are the principal ruins which still remain of the famous city of Bolghari. Besides them there are other relics of the old town. Thus a large number of sepulchral stones, remarkable for their size and inscriptions, are let into the walls of the church and monastery in the village of Bolghari. These have legends written in Arabic, Turk, and Armenian. Peter the Great ordered copies of them to be taken, and Levchin published some of them from the transcript of a Tartar mollah. They have also exercised the ingenuity of Klaproth and the Armenian scholar St. Martin. Forty-seven of these inscriptions are extant, written in Turkish and Arabic, and three in Armenian. Of those in Turkish and Arabic, Klaproth says that twenty-three are dated (being the oldest of them) in the year 623 of the hej. (*i.e.*, 1226), and the chronograms on them speak of it as the year of persecution, meaning no doubt the year in which the town was first assailed by the Mongols. Three others are dated respectively in 1271, 1291, and 1292. Eighteen more in various years from 701-742 hej. (*i.e.*, 1302-1342). These inscriptions give the name of the deceased, his origin and dignity. Some of them are those of religious, others of laymen; some of men, others of women. Of some it is said they came from Shamakhia in Persia, and of one that he came from Shirvan. The three Armenian inscriptions, according to St. Martin, belong to the commencement of the fourteenth century.§

The country round Bolghari has long been a rich mine for treasure-seekers. Here are found great quantities of small silver coins of the size of one's nail made of very fine silver, and bearing Arabic and Cufic legends; others badly struck and very thin, are of debased silver; on one side they have a number of stars on them, and on the other some small points, with a circle enclosing a tamgha or mark, such as is still used, says Pallas, by the Bashkirs

* Pallas, op. cit., 189-191. Muller, Ugrische Volkstamm, 2420. † Tornirelli, 230.
‡ Tornirelli, i. 230, 231. § Muller, op. cit., ii. 424, 425.

and others who cannot write. These signs occur most frequently on the copper coins. Pallas gives some figures of them in his atlas. They doubtless date from before the Mongol conquest. With the coins are found gold and silver ornaments well worked, such as earrings, &c.; ornaments in iron and pewter, iron mirrors with raised ornaments on one side, tools, &c., but few weapons; a great number of spindle whorls, some of baked clay, others green or enamelled, and clay vessels, also enamelled.*

Tornirelli says there are also found there long thin sticks of silver, about 2½ inches long, which are therefore like the primitive Russian roubles. During his short stay there he bought from the peasants a variety of old copper coins, a copper jug, and two skulls, found by a man while digging the foundations of his cabin. A famous object found there was a massive goblet of pure gold, finely wrought with basreliefs, and bearing various inscriptions in the Tartar language. This cup is now in the Romantzoff Museum at St. Petersburg. "An old major of the name of Yukof," says Tornirelli, "whose estate was situated some ten or twelve miles from Bolghari, during a series of several years purchased from the peasants all that was found on this spot, and contrived to get together an interesting collection of Bolghar antiquities. One of the objects, a poniard, attracted general attention. This poniard from the point of the handle is sixteen inches in length; the handle alone is about five. The blade is made of the purest Damascus steel, dark as the raven's wing. The handle is of ivory, ornamented on the side by a bright row of red sardonyx stones (an Asiatic precious stone), set in silver; but the most remarkable part of this poniard is its scabbard, formed of pure silver, ornamented with a treble circle of handsome arabesques of filagree work, and various other fantastic carvings. This sheath is so perfect in its workmanship that it might rather be taken as the *chef d'œuvre* of some celebrated modern silversmith, than as an antique Asiatic production found in Bolghari, and lying for centuries in the earth. From the rich and elaborate workmanship of this poniard, we must suppose that in belonged to some wealthy Bolghar warrior, in whose hand, says Yurtkulsky, many a time it caused the blood of the Muscovites to flow. This poniard, as well as many similar objects found in Bolghari, gives us good reason for believing that the Bolghars had attained to great perfection in the art of working metals, an opinion corroborated by a remark made by the old major we have spoken of, who relates, says Yurtkulsky, that when the sheath of the poniard we have described was found one of the rings was broken; the major, wishing to get it mended, got it soldered by several of the best silversmiths in Kazan, but it was always done in such a manner that the least blow or stroke broke it again, although no silver was spared in the soldering. It was clear that the silver of which the sheath is formed was mixed up with some other metal or substance which increased its strength. I have heard that another landed proprietor of the province of Kazan, whose estate is near Spask, possesses likewise a collection of Bolghar antiquities, consisting of arms, such as pikes, lances, halberds, blades of swords, &c. I regret to say I had not the opportunity of seeing these various interesting articles."†

* Pallas, op. cit., i. 193, 194.

† Tornirelli, ii. 240, 241.

Let us now turn to Kazan. Kazan in Arabic means a cauldron. Some suppose the town was so called from its being surrounded by mountains and forming a hollow something like a cauldron. The legends of its foundation give a different etymology. According to these its founder Batu was once feasting here, when the only cauldron which the party had to cook their dinner in was lost in the river, which was thence called Kazanka, whence the name of the town; but it is clear that Kazanka is merely a Russian adjectival form derived from Kazan.

An old legend, preserved by a writer of the sixteenth century, whose narrative was published at St. Petersburg in 1791, tells a story about the original site having been frequented by great numbers of serpents, some with two heads, one like a bull's, the other a serpent's; the former feeding on vegetables, the latter on men and animals. There were other serpents like vipers and dragons, which constantly harassed Batu and his followers, and devoured many of the workmen who were building the town. A sorcerer was summoned, he surrounded the chosen site with hay, furze, and venomous herbs, and then set fire to the hedge so made. The serpents were either burnt or suffocated, but a large number of men, horses, and camels also fell victims. The surrounding marshes and woods still swarm with serpents. In spring they collect in myriads on the hills which remain uncovered by the inundation. Dr. Fuchs, one of the professors of the university, mentions how he one day in the end of May came across one of these hills covered with serpents of various sizes; how the police officers and others took their guns loaded with heavy shot and fired upon the reptiles. "Thousands," he says, "leaped into the water, but although we kept up an active fusillade for several minutes, the hillock still remained like an ant hill, covered with serpents. Forced to abandon this spot, we drew near a second, and a third, but finding everywhere similar obstacles to our landing, we were obliged to continue our navigation. Near Kazan is a mountain on which is a monastery called Zilantof, a corruption of the Tartar for serpent hill, and a Tartar legend affirms the hill was once the retreat of a dragon, which on being killed, its effigy was put by the Khan on the arms of Kazan, which still represent a winged and crowned serpent of a fantastic shape.*

Another legend assigns the foundation of the town to the time of Timur. We are told that when he overran Bulgaria he beleagured Bolghari for seven years, during which its Khan Abdulla was killed, while his sons Altin Bek and Alin Bek escaped. The former on Timur's withdrawal founded the town of Iski Kazan, which got its name from a kettle, which his attendants had taken to the river to fill with water for his bath, being lost. Iski Kazan remained the capital for a century. A later prince named Ali Beg removed the site to Yanghi Kazan (*i.e.*, New Kazan), the present town.†

So much for the legendary accounts of the foundation of Kazan. It will be noticed that the former one attributes its foundation to Batu Khan, but this is exceedingly improbable. The name does not occur anywhere till long after his day, while it certainly existed some time before Timur's invasion, and it is more likely that it gradually sprang into existence on the decay of Bolghari, which it displaced.

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* Tornirelli, i. 67-74.

† Muller, op. cit., ii. 435, 436.

It does not occur as a mint place of the Mongols, and as far as I know is mentioned for the first time in 1371, when it was attacked by the sons of Dimitri of Suzdal, as I have mentioned.* It doubtless first became important in the days of Ulugh Muhammed and his father Hassan, when it became the capital of the Khanate of Kazan. Unlike Bolghari, which is now a mere ruined village, Kazan has continued to be a flourishing town, and one-third of its inhabitants are still Tartars.

Ermann says the extent of the old Tartar city was hardly less than that of the Kazan of to-day. It stretched along the Bulak from its mouth nearly two miles to the south, almost to the little Kaban lake, and its diameter along the Kazanka was of equal length. The walls round it measured twenty-eight feet in thickness, and were formed of two parallel wooden fences twenty-five feet asunder, and having the space between them filled up with stones and clay. The wooden fences, as well as the towers over the gates, were formed of oak timbers of extraordinary thickness. The gates with their towers were thirteen in number, those which were due east and west leading to the Kremlin.† The town was devastated by fire three times during the first century of the Russian occupation, and again more terribly in 1774, so that but few remains of the old city are to be found. Among the most famous is the tower of Siyunbeka, "which," says Tornirelli, "is in the eastern part of Kazan, near one of the gates, where the Russians began their attack. The beauty of its architecture, grace of its form, and perfect construction, can scarcely be imagined by those who have not seen it. It is square and composed of several stories, which gradually diminish in size towards the top; the last has a sharp, steeple-like form, ending in a point. From the extremity of this lengthened cone rises an arrow of brass, which supports a Russian eagle above two crescents; above the eagle is a gilded globe, supposed by many to be made of pure gold, and in which the Tartars believe are concealed precious documents relating to their liberty and religion. It is built of bricks, strongly joined together by a very compact mortar, is about two hundred and forty feet high, and contains a dilapidated staircase inside. Close to the tower, and joined to it by a wall, is another building; like it, it is square and of considerable dimensions. The second story is surrounded by a vaulted gallery, resembling the aisles of a Gothic church. Like the tower, it is made of bricks, and in style resembles the tower, and is quite Asiatic in style. It was doubtless a palace. Tradition makes out that it was the ancient palace of the Khans. Each story of the tower was surrounded by a parapet, where, as in eastern fashion, sentinels were planted to give warning of danger."‡ Erdmann and Tornirelli, in the works already cited, have described in some detail the aspect of the modern Tartar city, of its houses and mosques, and to those works I would remit those who wish for more information.

A third site within the Khanate, which is of some interest, is the ancient town of Bulimer, now represented by Biliarsk. The foundation of this town is assigned in the legends to Alin Bek, the second son of Abdulla Khan, already mentioned. It is situated at the sources of the lesser Cheremshan. Its ruins are still imposing, and built of large squared stones, which must have

* *Ante*, 207. † Ermann's Travels, i, 154. ‡ Op. cit., i. 295-297.

been brought from the Kama. The whole are surrounded by a triple ditch and rampart, the inner one enclosing the citadel, of which the ruined walls and a massive tower, built of stone and red tiles, still remain. Among the walls Rytschkof found glazed pottery, of a blue and green colour, and also pieces of decayed iron. *Inter alia* he found an instrument of iron which is at once an auger, a hammer, a saw, a fire steel, and a pair of pincers, and this so neatly made that it is not larger than a penknife. That the inhabitants practised agriculture is proved by the furrows which still exist on the neighbouring ground. The history of the town is very obscure. It was called Bulimer by the Tartars, and still earlier Bular; and according to Fræhn it was confounded by some of the Arab writers with Bolghari. Rytschkof says a Tartar prince named Balin Gosya governed here as late as 1677;* doubtless he was an appanaged prince. Among the ruins many gravestones still remain. They all have Tartar and Arabic inscriptions. The inhabitants call these graves, Balin Gus, and not only the neighbouring Muhammmedans but also the more distant Bashkirs visit them in the summer, deem them holy, and pay them reverence, believing that their saints are buried there. The inhabitants attribute the destruction of the town to Timur.† Tornirelli adds that its inhabitants saved their lives by opening their gates to the invaders, but that, like Bolghari, it was reduced to ashes.‡ The same author tells us the rampart of Bulimer was twenty-five feet high and upwards of fifteen versts in circumference.§

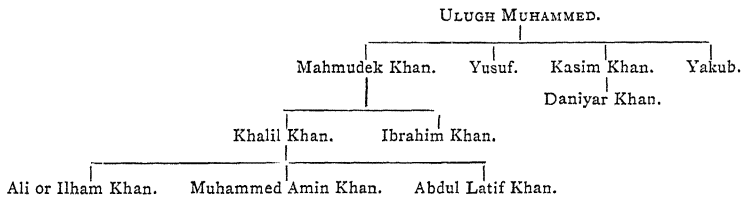
We must lastly devote a few lines to a description of Kasimof. Kasimof took its name from Kasim, to whom the place was granted as an appanage by the Russian tzar.‖ It had formerly borne the name of Meshcherskii, and was situated on the banks of the Oka in the principality of Riazan. It was also known as Gorodetz,¶ and as Khan Kirman.** The district was largely occupied by the Finnic tribes, Moskwa and Meshchera, and had been the site of a petty principality. Schtschekotof assigns the first building of the town to George Dolgoruki in the year 1152.†† Alexander Nevski is said to have died there. It was destroyed in the terrible Tartar invasion of 1376, was again rebuilt, and until 1471 was known as Novoi Nisovoi Gorod (*i.e.*, the lower new town); afterwards it got the name of Kasimof from Prince Kasim, and it is mentioned by Herberstein under the name of Cassimovgorod. Pallas, who visited the town in 1768, tells us that it then contained some important ruins. Thus he mentions a tall misguir, formerly attached to a mosque then destroyed, but which was being rebuilt at the time of his visit. The tower was built of well dressed stone and the mosque of brick. Other Tartar ruins, also made of stone, remained in a court and garden. These, he says, seemed to be the remains of the Khan's palace, and there were formerly there a triumphal arch with ornaments of a Gothic pattern and Arabic inscription, a quadrilateral dwelling-house, and a public charnel-house. The proprietor had destroyed these remains to make lime with the stone. The mausoleum of the Khans was well preserved, and Pallas gives a plate of it. It was quadrilateral in shape, with a cornice and a few ornaments on it. At its western end was a small cell, apparently used as an oratory. It was vaulted beneath. In this

* Muller, op. cit., ii. 433. † Muller, op. cit., ii. 434. ‡ Op. cit., 260.
§ Op. cit. ii. 236. ‖ *Ante*, 430. ¶ Vel. Zernof, i. 3. ** *Id.*, 7. †† *Id.*

vault were several tombstones, containing well preserved Arabic inscriptions. The skeletons formerly lay on wooden stands, but had been disturbed when Pallas visited the place, and he found the bones scattered here and there, and mixed with pieces of yellow, green, or orange taffeta.* It would appear that the Khan's palace was really built of wood upon stone foundations, as was the general custom.† The Khans mausoleum above mentioned was built by Shah Ali, and is known to the natives as the Tekie. An inscription states that it was built by Shah Ali Khan, on the 21st Ramazan, 962 (*i.e.*, 9th August, 1555). M. Veliaminof Zernof has described the gravestones found in the Tekie and their inscriptions at great length.‡ He also gives a restoration of the mosque above named, which he shows was also the work of Shah Ali.

Note 2.—Among the regalia of Russia preserved at Moscow are two crowns, known respectively as the crowns of Kazan and Astrakhan. Neither of them has any distinctive Tartar features about it, and it seems very improbable that they ever belonged to the Tartar princes. They were very possibly rather made for Ivan when he assumed the style of tzar of Kazan and of Astrakhan. These gorgeous head dresses are figured in the sumptuous work published by the Russian Governmeut on the Imperial treasures at Moscow. They each consist of a fur cap, surmounted by a pyramidal crown of gold, richly jewelled. One of them has a series of projecting rims, crenellated in a graceful fashion, and evidently of Italian cinquecento workmanship. The other is apparently of Russian fabric, and is composed of gold inlaid with steel or niello, in the fashion still prevalent in Tula work, and also pyramidal in shape.

Note 3.—It is a very curious fact about the history of Kazan that none of its princes struck coins. As the striking of money is among Muhammedan peoples the chief sign and token of independent sovereignty, and as Bolghari was the most famous mint place of the Golden Horde, it seems very strange that the Kazan princes did not strike money, while their contemporaries at Astrakhan did so. Perhaps they deemed themselves in some measure dependent upon the latter princes, who, as I have shown, were the real heirs of the old Khans of the Golden Horde.

Note 4.—Genealogy of the Khans of Kazan and Kasimof of the house of Ulugh Muhammed.

* Pallas Voyages, i. 40-43. † Vel. Zernof, i. 15. ‡ Op. Cit., i. 104-134.

CHAPTER VII.

THE KHANS OF KRIM.

HAJI GIRAI.

THE origin of the Khanate of Krim is involved in great obscurity, and is a good instance of the contradictions and difficulties which surround Tartar history. Its Khans all bore the family name of Girai (a Tartar name which occurs elsewhere), and were descended from the founder of the dynasty, Haji Girai. Up to him we have small difficulty in tracing back the history of the Khanate, but when we try to unravel the story of his origin and connections we are met by almost insuperable difficulties.

Von Hammer has devoted a long paragraph* to a discussion of his parentage; so has M. Veliaminof Zernof.† The authorities are very contradictory and diverse. The Turkish historian Jenabi and the author of the Munejimbashi make him a son of Kuchuk Muhammed, which is impossible.‡ Others make him a son of Ulugh Muhammed, which also seems inadmissible. In the Riswan pashasade he is made the son of a third Muhammed, who is said to have died in 1447.§ The short history of Kazan makes Haji Girai a brother of Jelal ud din, and therefore a son of Toktamish; but no such name as Haji Girai occurs among the recorded sons of Toktamish. Here, however, we get on more probable ground. In the synodal register of the monastery of Storoschefski, already quoted, we find a genealogical table given in which Haji Girai is made a son of Devlet Berdi, the son of Toktamish, and we are further told that Devlet Berdi lived in Lithuania with Vitut.|| This, as has been said, agrees with the statement of the Polish chroniclers, who tell us he was a son or grandson of Toktamish, that he was born at Trokoi, near Vilna in Lithuania, and obtained the sovereignty of Krim through Vitut's influence.¶

In confirmation of this conclusion it may be added that Haji Girai was always the zealous friend of the Lithuanians,** and further, that we find a person of the name of Girai or Kirai sent as an envoy by the ruler of Lithuania to the Grand Prince.†† Another piece of evidence

* Golden Horde, 399, 400. † Op. cit., i. Note, 44. ‡ Golden Horde, 399. § *Id.*, 400.

|| Vel. Zernof, i. Note, 21. Muller, in his genealogy of the Krim Khans, also makes Haji Girai the son of Devlet Berdi. (Saml., &c., ii. 22.)

¶ Karamzin, v. 440. Golden Horde, 400. ** *Id.*

†† Golden Horde, 403 Karamzin, vi. 62.

pointing in the same direction is contained in a document of his grandson, also named Haji Girai, dated in 1529, cited by M. Veliammof Zernof,* in which he refers to Toktamish as his ancestor.

The Nogais also spoke of the Krim as the country of Toktamish, as they referred to Astrakhan as the country of Timur Kutlugh. On the other hand, we have in the pages of Abdul Ghaffar a very circumstantial story which deduces Haji Girai from another source. He tells us that after the death of the Nogai chief Idiku, and in 1430, the amirs Shirin and Barin, Chekhreh, Serai, and other Tartar chiefs met together to choose a chieftain, and as there were no descendants of Toktamish remaining they were much embarrassed. They at length, he says, found a prince of the race of Toktamish, named Ulugh Muhammed, the son of Hassan Jefai, who was very rich in herds. Hassan, he says, was a near relative of Toktamish, and had another son named Bash Timur (Tash Timur), who was the father of Haji Girai, chief of the family of the Girais.† This account makes Haji Girai the nephew of Ulugh Muhammed, and also makes Tash Timur the latter's brother. It seems not at all improbable, for we know that the Khans of Kazan and Krim were on very intimate terms, and we are not otherwise told who Tash Timur was. Again, it is strange that Khuandemir makes Devlet Berdi not the son of Toktamish but the son of Tash Timur,‡ thus bringing Devlet Berdi and Haji Girai together, but as brothers and not as father and son. Abulghazi calls him the son of Ghayas ud din Khan, the son of Tash Timur, son of Muhammed Khan, and it is apparently following him that Fræhn makes Tash Timur the son of Ulugh Muhammed. Ghayas ud din is made a son of Shadibeg Khan by Khuandemir and Langles.§

Again, Miechof makes Ulanus (*i.e.*, Ulugh Muhammed) the first Khan of Krim, and tells us he was followed by Tash Timur, who fought with Vitut against his brother (?) Kutlugh Timur and was beaten. He also makes Seyid Ahmed the son of Tash Timur, and tells us he was expelled by Haji Girai.‖

Tash Timur was probably the Tash Timur Oghlan who is mentioned among the chiefs of Kipchak, who fled on the invasion of Timur. M. Soret has published a very curious coin, which was struck at Krim in the year 797 (*i.e.*, 1394-5), bearing on one side the name of Tash Timur, and on the other that of Toktamish.¶ This again supports the same conclusion. In the absence of positive proof, I am strongly disposed to conclude that Haji Girai was in fact the son of Tash Timur and nephew of Ulugh Muhammed, which explains the bitter strife there always was between the Khans of Krim and those of the Golden Horde.

The native tradition of the origin of the name Girai, as reported by

* I. Note, 44. † Langles, op. cit., 390, 391. ‡ *Ante*, 274.
§ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 391. ‖ Miechof De Sarmatics, ch. xvi.
¶ Soret Lettre a M. Capitaine Kossikofski, &c., 31.

M. Ferrand, who was a surgeon in the employment of the Krim Khan Haji Selim Girai, is that about two centuries before his time the Tartars were in a state of terrible confusion, in which all their princes perished but one, who was ten years old, and who was protected by a peasant named Girai. The Tartars having got into a state of confusion, and not knowing where to look for a prince, the peasant presented his *protegé*, who was identified by certain marks as belonging to the royal stock. They accepted him as their ruler, and he adopted the name of his benefactor as his family name.* De Bohucz says Haji Girai was so called because he was wont to answer people in Lithuanian with the word gueray, meaning well.† Whatever his origin, Haji Girai was clearly a *protegé* of the great Lithuanian king Vitut, and on his death in 1430, he was a faithful friend of his successors Ladislas and Casimir. He did not make either peace or war without their knowledge. He always had some Polish gentlemen at his court, and protected the Polish merchants who passed through his kingdom on their way to Kaffa, while he carefully respected the borders of Poland. Meanwhile his constant enemies were the Tartars of the Golden Horde, who were always at issue with the Poles, and were incited to ravage Podolia by the discontented Lithuanian nobles, who were on bad terms with their Polish suzerain. He was also at issue with the Genoese, who were the allies of the Golden Horde, and from whom he apparently captured Kaffa.‡ Chalcocondylas describes this last struggle. He tells us how the Tartars, having pillaged Kaffa, the citizens about the year 1442 sent to Haji Girai to seek for peace. Getting no satisfaction from him, they declared war, and would have been probably utterly crushed but for the opportune arrival of reinforcements from Italy. They then encamped on the banks of the river, and, full of contempt for their enemies, took no precautions. Their temerity was well punished; their army was almost destroyed, only a few escaping, who set sail again for Galata.§

In 1453 there happened one of the most momentous events in the world's history, and especially momentous in the history of the Tartars. This was the capture of Constantinople by the Sultan of the Osmanli Turks. Among its defenders the brave little contingent of two thousand Genoese, under Justiniani, fought bravely but unavailingly. The republic afterwards bought from the Sultan the right of trading in the Euxine, but it shortly after quarrelled with the Grand Seignior, and had the temerity even to declare war on him. The Genoese were not fortunate in this struggle, and were obliged to make over their colonies of Kaffa and Corsica to the singular trading guild of St. George, a rich and elaborately organised corporation, the ancestor of the later and more famous trading companies of Holland and Great Britain in India and elsewhere.‖

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 350. Note. † Histoire de la Tauride, 330.
‡ De Bohucz, 351. § Stritter, iii. 1189. De Bohucz, 331. ‖ De Bohucz, 331, 332.

Meanwhile Haji Girai continued a faithful friend to Poland. In 1455 Seyid Ahmed of the Golden Horde having made a raid towards Podolia, Haji Girai issued from Perekop, and having defeated him compelled him to retire. Seyid Ahmed turned aside to his friends the Lithuanians, by whom, as we have shown, he was treacherously arrested and handed over to Casimir, who imprisoned him at Kovno.* Haji Girai offered the latter to put all his Tartars at his service in return for an annual payment of ten thousand florins, which was accepted, but when by some inadvertence it was not regularly paid his Tartars ravaged the Palatinates of Podolia and Russia.† It is said that the proud Tartar chief went so far as to renew the gift of Russia to Poland, which had been made by Toktamish and sealed the deed with the golden seal of Krim in the year 867 of the hej. (*i.e.*, 1461). In 1465 Pope Paul II. sent Louis of Bologna, the Franciscan patriarch of Antioch, as an ambassador to solicit Haji Girai's aid in the crusade which was projected under the emperor Frederick III. against Muhammed and his Turks. It was assuredly an embarrassing invitation to ask the turban to range itself under the cross. The request was cleverly fenced. Haji would do as his friend Casimir of Poland did. Casimir's feuds with Russia and the Teutonic knights made it imprudent for him to quarrel with the powerful Turks.‡ From his early training in Lithuania he had imbibed a certain respect for Christianity, and not only was he singularly tolerant, but is even said to have offered gifts at a chapel of the Virgin near the town and mountain of Kierkel in the Taurida.§

The last recorded event in Haji Girai's life was his struggle with Kuchuk Muhammed, the Khan of the Golden Horde. This was about 1466. He was apparently making preparations for war when he suddenly died, not without suspicions of poisoning. Dlugosch tells us he died in August, 1466, and Muhammed Riza in his history of the Krim Khans puts his death in the same year.‖ He was a constant friend of Poland, says Dlugosch, and he sums up his character in the phrase, "humanus civilisque et bene agendi cupidus."¶ According to Jenabi he left twelve sons, but his notice is very confused.** Abulghazi tells us he left eight, whom he names Devletyar, Nurdaulat Khan, Haidar Khan, Kutluk Seman, Kildish, Mengli Girai Khan, Yamgurchi, and Ustimur.†† The Russian registers give him five sons, whom they name Nurdaulat, Haidar, Mengli Girai, Ustimur tzarevitch, and Haji tzarevitch.‡‡ Haji Girai struck coins at Krim.§§

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* *Ante*, 305. † De Bohucz, 352. ‡ *Id.*, 353. § *Id.*, 355.
‖ Vel. Zern., op. cit., i. Note, 44. ¶ *Id.* ** *Id.* Note, 48. †† Op. cit., 187.
‡‡ Vel. Zern., i. Note, 47.
§§ Fræhn Res., 413. Blau Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the Museum of Odessa, 62.

NURDAULAT KHAN.

Haji Girai was succeeded by his son Nurdaulat, who sent an envoy in 1467 to the Polish king to announce his accession, and his hope that Casimir would continue on the same friendly terms with him that he had been with his father Haji Girai. These courtesies were duly reciprocated by the Polish authorities.* His reign, however, was a very short one, and two years later (*i.e.*, in 1469) he was expelled by his younger brother Mengli Girai, who had hitherto lived at Kaffa, under the protection of the Genoese.† Nurdaulat took refuge at Moscow.‡

MENGLI GIRAI KHAN.

Early in the year 1469 Mengli Girai sent envoys to Casimir of Poland, announcing his accession and offering him an alliance against any of his enemies.§ His people are called the Tartars of Perekop by Dlugosch. The same term is applied to them by Herberstein at a later day. He did not reign very long.

The city of Kaffa was governed by a consul sent every year from Genoa, and two councillors elected by the municipality. The district round the city was governed by four judges, who were subject to a prefect, who was elected by the Khan. The prefect Mamai having died, his widow, by corrupt means, persuaded a certain Petrokos to nominate her son Seidak to the vacant post. The Khan's choice, however, fell upon another Tartar named Eminek. Mamai's widow proceeded to bribe the Genoese consul with two thousand ducats, and one of the judges with one thousand ducats, and it was determined to accuse Eminek of a conspiracy to hand over Kaffa to the Sultan. The Khan, Mengli Girai, accordingly deposed him, but refused to appoint Seidak, and nominated Kara Murza, a *protegé* of his brother Haidar instead. Three thousand sequins were liberally distributed by Mamai's widow, and a certain Squarciafico duly informed Mengli Girai that he was at the mercy of the Genoese, and unless he would appoint Seidak they threatened to release his elder brothers, who had better claims to the throne than he, from Soldaia. This argument prevailed; Seidak was duly appointed prefect, and Eminek was deposed. This was in 1474. The latter complained to the Sultan, while Haidar Sultan, at the head of a number of discontented people, drove Seidak away, re-established Eminek, and blockaded Kaffa. The Tartars, who had hitherto not ventured far to sea, went to the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and there captured two Genoese galleys, which were on their way to relieve

* Vel. Zern., i. Note, 44. † *Id.* Note, 45. ‡ *Id.* § *Id.*

Kaffa.* Meanwhile Haidar, at the head of seven thousand Tartars, against the will of the Khan, made a raid upon Poland and Podolia, and caused much distress there.† This is the account of the Polish historians. According to Karamzin, however, the Polish king had supported the party of Nurdaulat, and had in consequence gained the resentment of Mengli Girai.

The Grand Prince Ivan, who had probably heard of this, eagerly seized the opportunity of acquiring an ally to play off against his dangerous neighbour the King of Poland. Availing himself of the services of a rich Jew of Kaffa named Kokos, he found Mengli Girai anxious to meet his approaches, and accordingly sent him a friendly letter by Yusuf, Kokos's brother-in-law. Such was the commencement of an alliance which was destined to be of considerable moment in Russian history. A treaty was drawn up between the two princes, by which they became mutual allies. Thieves and malefactors who sought refuge over the frontier were to be punished, and prisoners to be ransomed. On his return home Haji Baba, Mengli Girai's envoy, was accompanied by Niketas Beklemishef, who was empowered to add some supplementary clauses to the treaty, and *inter alia* to promise that Ivan would give the Khan an annual present. It was also agreed that while Ivan gave his assistance against the Golden Horde, the Krim Tartars were to reciprocate the good offices as against Poland. Beklemishef returned to Moscow with the murza Dovletek, bearing the confirmation of the Khan, which Ivan received in his own hands, and even went the length of lowering the crucifix in the presence of the murza. After a stay of four months at Moscow, Dovletek returned to the Taurida, accompanied by Alexis Starkof, the bearer of another friendly letter from the Grand Prince.‡ Before Starkof could fulfil his mission, however, Mengli Girai had lost his throne.

In 1475 Eminek and his partisans offered to acknowledge the Sultan as their suzerain, and invited him to repair to Krim. The Sultan at this time was the famous Muhammed II., who had lately captured Constantinople. He accordingly sent his vizier Kuduk Ahmed Pacha, with a large fleet, an army of ten thousand azapes (?), and a similar number of janissaries to the Krim. At the first sight of the Turkish fleet the citizens lost heart. Seidak fled, the old walls of the town could not long resist the bombardment, and an Armenian who had become its ruler surrendered at discretion. Karamzin says he was bought. The lives of the citizens were spared, but their property was confiscated. They were first ordered to repair to the Town Hall and to pay down a sum of twenty thousand ducats. Forty thousand Genoese were transported to Constantinople, and there settled as colonists in a district which had been

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* Bohucz Histoire de la Tauride, 333-335. † *Vide* Vel. Zern., i. Note, 46.
‡ Karamzin, vi. 105, 106.

depopulated. All the slaves became the property of the Sultan. The natives had to ransom themselves; they were allowed to keep half their goods, and were subjected to tribute. One thousand five hundred children were transferred to the seraglio. The palaces, churches, and principal buildings were razed. On the eighth day Ahmed gave a grand banquet, on the second storey of the Franc Asur, to the principal Armenians who had betrayed the town. On descending by a narrow ladder they found an executioner ready to receive them, and were beheaded one by one. Squarciafico, the principal author of the recent troubles, was sent for punishment to Constantinople, where his immense wealth was also transported.* Thus perished this famous Genoese colony, which had existed for four centuries. It was known as the Little Constantinople, and monopolised a great share of the trade to the East. That trade fortunately soon found a fresh route by the Cape of Good Hope, but meanwhile we can hardly realise how its diversion must have impoverished the steppes of Kipchak, and what a terrible blow to their prosperity was struck when the rich and intelligent Genoese merchants were driven away. We are told Simon, the bishop of Kaffa, had gone to ask assistance from Martin Gartold, the Polish palatine of Kief. The news of the capture of the city reached him at table, and he died suddenly from grief. One of the transports, on its way to Constantinople, was seized by the captives on board, and found its way to the Moldavian king Stephen.

The capture of Kaffa by the Ottomans was speedily followed by that of Sudak, Balaklava, and Inkerman. The inhabitants who had fled there were either killed or sent to Constantinople. Cherson and Tana, a chief mart of the Venetians, were pillaged and razed. Bospro, which the Genoese called Aspromonte, and where they had a consul, and Kertch, which had suffered much from the Circassians, only cost their captors a march, and Mankup, whose position was deemed almost impregnable was captured.† Thus was overrun the famous peninsula of Krim, and thus did the Ottomans plant their foot firmly on the northern shores of the Euxine, where they remained so long. Many Russian merchants perished, "the first Russian blood," says Karamzin, "which was shed by the sword of the Ottomans.‡ Among the prisoners carried off was Mengli Girai, with some of his relatives. Some accounts say he was captured at Kaffa, others at Mankup.§

NÚRDAULAT KHAN (SECOND REIGN).

The expedition of Sultan Muhammed was directed against the Genoese, and not against the Tartars, with whom the Turks apparently

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* De Bohucz, op. cit., 335, 336. † Karamzin, vi. 107. ‡ *Id.* § Vel. Zern., i. Note, 48.

did not come into conflict, and whose foothold in the Krim had been rather that of suzerains of the Genoese than actual occupiers. Their camps were outside the Krim, the chief one being near Perekop. There Nurdaulat now resumed his authority as Khan. According to the recent Turkish historian Khair Ullah, the Sultan wished to be friendly with Nurdaulat and to win him over, and accordingly imprisoned Mengli Girai in the castle of the Seven Towers; and as the Ottomans were this very year carrying on a war in Moldavia, they asked him to send a contingent or make a diversion; as he failed to do so, the Sultan set free Mengli Girai.* We are told he treated him with great consideration, and having given him an army, sent him to the Krim to conquer it and hold it as the *protegé* and vassal of the Ottoman Porte.†

Fræhn has published two silver coins of Nurdaulat, apparently struck in the year 878 hej. (*i.e.*, 1473-4).‡ There is an episode in the history of the Khanate at this time which is difficult to understand. We are told that in 1476 Ahmed, the Khan of the Golden Horde, sent an army, commanded by his son, which overran the Krim and drove Mengli Girai away; but Mengli Girai was then a prisoner, and perhaps Nurdaulat is meant.

JANIBEG KHAN.

Whatever the explanation, it would seem that Ahmed nominated Janibeg to the vacant throne. He was probably one of the nephews.§ The first notice of him I can find is in Ivan's letter to Mengli Girai, written in 1475, in which he says that during the previous summer Janibeg, or Zénébek, as Karamzin calls him, wished to enter his service, but he had refused, being persuaded that he was Mengli Girai's enemy. If the latter did not object, however, he would send a courier to the horde to fetch him.‖ When Janibeg became Khan of Krim, in 1477, he sent an envoy named Jafer Berdi to Moscow, to inquire if, in case of banishment, he could hope for an asylum in Russia. The Grand Prince replied, "When you had neither lands nor power, and were only a simple Kazak, you asked me if you might find a resting-place within my borders in case your horse should be weary of wandering in the deserts. You know that I then promised you rest and peace. If you should again be unfortunate and need a refuge, be assured you may have it here."¶ Ivan's envoy was also instructed to renew the alliance which had been formed between himself and Mengli Girai.** Janibeg did not reign long, and we are told he was driven away by Mengli Girai, who hastened to announce

* Vel. Zern., i. Note, 48. † Karamzin, vi. 108. Vel. Zern., i. 20.
‡ Coins of the Ulus Juchi, 40. Vel. Zern., i. Note, 51.
§ *Vide ante*, 350. ‖ Karamzin, vi. 106. ¶ *Id.*, 109. ** *Id.*

his renewed accession to the throne, to Ivan. It would seem that during Janibeg's reign Nurdaulat had a kind of joint authority in the horde, for we find him in 1478 sending envoys to the Polish king to make a treaty of peace with him.*

MENGLI GIRAI KHAN (SECOND REIGN).

We are told that Mengli Girai's new nomination as Khan of Krim was attended with great pomp. The Divan assembled, and the Sultan attended in person. The Khan was dressed by the chamberlain in a superb kaftan of golden tissue edged with ermine, while a cap bordered with sable and ornamented with a diamond aigrette was put on his head. The Imperial sword-bearer gave him a sword with a golden hilt garnished with diamonds, and put the quiver and bow on his shoulders. The diploma of investiture was then read, and the mufti addressed the Khan. On going out from the hall he was presented with a richly caparisoned horse, and was escorted to his palace by the grandees. A short time after he went to Koztof in the Taurida, where he was well received, and where the Sultan's chamberlain also went to publish his appointment and the Imperial confirmation. The return of Mengli Girai led to the withdrawal of Nurdaulat and his brother Haidar from Krim, and they sought refuge, first in Lithuania and then in Russia.†

This was a notable epoch in Tartar history. It was as the feudatory of the Sultan that Mengli Girai now returned, and thenceforward Krim must be looked upon, as Egypt and Tunis were in later days, as provinces dependent in a measure upon the Ottoman crown, although enjoying a great measure of independence. By a treaty between Mengli Girai and his patron, it was agreed that the power of appointing and deposing the Khan should rest with the Sultan, who should limit his choice, however, to descendants of Jingis Khan. That the Sultan should never on any pretext put to death either a Khan or a member of the family of Girai. That the private property of the family elsewhere should be deemed inviolable. That in the Khutbé or public Friday prayer the Khan's name should be read after the Sultan's. That any favours officially demanded should be granted. The Khan's standard was to have five tails, that of the Sultan having six. And in each campaign the Porte was to pay a hundred and twenty purses for the sustenance of the Khan's guards, and eighty purses for the Kapikuli mursas.‡ It would seem the Khans had also the right of striking money, while the Sultan claimed the appointment of the cadhis to collect the customs at Kaffa and Mankup.§ Besides his mere treaty rights, we

* Vel. Zern., i. Note, 51.
† Vel. Zern., i. 22.
‡ Peyssonel, ii. 228-230. Langles, 403-406.
§ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 351-353.

must remember that the Sultan, as the successor of the Khalifs, the guardian of the keys of Mecca and the head of the faith, had an especial claim to reverence from such good Mussulmans as the Krim Tartars. On his return to the Krim, Mengli appointed his son Muhammed Girai as kalga,* and gave him command of the right wing of the army, the chiefs of the "Karaju," which included those of Barin, Arghin, and Kipchak of the left, and the chiefs of the tribe Shirin of the centre.†

The Tartars were by no means pleased at the way in which Mengli Girai had surrendered their independence, and some fresh clauses were afterwards added, by which the Khan reserved the right of awarding life and death and the appointment of his own kalgas and other officials. The Sultan promised to pay for four thousand men as his guards, to limit the succession to the family of Girai, to allow the Tartars to trade freely in the Black Sea, in case of war to provide the Tartar contingent with provisions, and to allow them to keep any booty they made. He reserved the town of Kaffa and the right of keeping a garrison at Kozlof, and, as the successor of the Khalif, that of appointing and deposing the ecclesiastical officials.‡

Mengli Girai on his return did not behave well to the Genoese, who had befriended him. After landing at Kozlof he marched upon the town of Solgat or Old Krim, against whose governor he had a grudge, although his son was engaged to the latter's daughter. The town having been captured, the Genoese were cruelly put to death, and the Armenians and Greeks transported to the south of the peninsula.§ Barbaro would make out that Mengli Girai acquired his authority in the Krim without the consent of the Turks. The curious story he tells is as follows. Mengli Girai having been released from prison, was allowed by the Turks to return once more to Kaffa and to move about there on his parole. "One day," says our author, "there happened a shooting for a prize there. The manner whereof is, they hung up on certain poles set up like a gallows, a ball of silver, tied only with a fine thread. Those now that should shoot for the prize shoot thereat with forked arrows on horseback, and first must gallop under the gallows, so that being in his full career passing a certain place he must turn his body and shoot backwards, the horse galloping all the time straight on. He who cut the thread won the game. Mengli Girai chose this opportunity to escape, and having planted a hundred of his partisans outside the town in a small valley, and feigning to run for the game, he made away to his company, whereupon the force of all the island (*i.e.*, of Krim) followed him, but having grown strong he took Surgathi, and having slain Eminekbi, made himself lord of all those places."‖

This is quite irreconcilable with other accounts, but it has a certain

* *Vide* Notes. † Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 353. ‡ De Bohucz, 358. § *Id.*, 338. ‖ Barbaro, 29.

quaint local colour about it, and may have some foundation. Mengli Girai introduced a new policy into the Krim. As a dependent of the Sultan he was not careful, like his father, to court alliances that promised to be useful, but apparently deemed all his neighbours fit subjects for plunder. We accordingly find him at issue with Casimir of Poland, and drawing nearer to Casimir's great enemy the Grand Prince Ivan of Russia. The ruling motive of the Khan's foreign policy was his hatred of the rival Khans of the Golden Horde. He notified his accession to the Grand Prince, and was congratulated by him. In 1480 Ivan sent him an envoy named Ivan Zvenetz, who was commissioned to tell him that it was entirely through a personal regard for himself that he had given an asylum to his brothers Haidar and Nurdaulat, and he offered to assist him in his struggle with Ahmed of the Golden Horde if he in return would aid him against Casimir of Poland. Zvenetz was also secretly to offer the Khan an asylum in Russia whenever he was driven from Krim, and to promise to employ the forces of Russia to reinstate him. This was so grateful to the Khan that he entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia.* When Ahmed, the Khan of the Golden Horde, was overthrown in 1481, Ivan sent the boyard Timothy to Mengli Girai with the news. We are told the latter had an interview with Eminek (who was friendly to Russia), and gave his son Dovletek a passport sealed with a golden seal to reside where he liked in Russia.†

A year later we find Casimir intriguing to detach Mengli Girai from his Russian alliance, and even succeeding in corrupting Eminek, who undertook that his master should make peace with Poland. Ivan hearing of these intrigues, sent some envoys to the Krim, by whose persuasion Mengli Girai marched with a large body of cavalry in the autumn of 1482 to the Dnieper, and even captured Kief, took its voivode prisoner, burnt the monastery of Pechersky, and sent as a present to the Grand Prince the massive chalice and paten of the church of St. Sophia. This policy of employing the Mussulman Tartars to plunder the Christian Russians in the former *alma mater* of Russian culture was not very welcome to the Muscovite people. The Grand Prince, however, who was a politician with little sentiment, sent to thank Mengli Girai, told him that he meant to fulfil his part of the treaty, and reported how, at great cost, he had kept a strict watch over his brothers and rivals Haidar and Nurdaulat.‡ The old feud between Mengli Girai and the chiefs of the Great Horde still continued, and the latter, notwithstanding the Sultan's orders to the contrary, were determined to prosecute their plans. In 1485 they overran the Krim in the manner I have described.§

Meanwhile Ivan kept up a close intercourse with the Krim Khan. In 1486 we find him sending him a present of three pelisses, one of lynx,

* Karamzin, vi. 174, 175. † *Id.*, 203. ‡ Karamzin, vi. 212, 213. § *Ante*, 329-331.

another of marten, and the third of squirrel, three sable skins, and a double ducat; two ducats were sent to his wife, to his brother Yamgurchi, and to each of his children. Having heard that his wife Nursaltan was possessed of the famous pearl of Toktamish, which had probably been captured at Moscow in the reign of Dimitri Donskoi, he repeatedly asked for it, and she eventually sent it to him.* We now find Murtaza Khan of the Great Horde trying to get Nurdaulat, the late Khan of Krim, into his possession, in order no doubt to set him up as a rival to his brother Mengli Girai.† The King of Poland at the same time tried to gain over Haidar, another of his brothers, but the Grand Prince kept a strict surveillance upon both of them, and would not let them leave. Mengli Girai was not unwilling to share his throne with Nurdaulat, and wrote to the Grand Prince asking him to release them, adding that he did not fear Haidar, and that he might go where he wished. But Ivan refused, saying in most characteristic phraseology, that "ambition knew neither fraternity nor gratitude," and that with his genius and numerous partisans Nurdaulat would not be contented with half a heritage of which he had once possessed the whole, a truth which the dictates of friendship made him announce to him.‡

The Krim Tartars formed at this date, as I have described, an advanced post of the great Ottoman empire, which for many years unwittingly did the work of Russia by pulverising the power of its bitter rival Poland. Desiring to enter into an alliance with Turkey, Ivan sounded Mengli Girai, who, appealing to Constantinople, received the answer, "Mengli Girai, if the ruler of Moscow is your brother he shall also be mine." Meanwhile the Russian merchants had almost ceased to visit Azof and Kaffa, so great were the exactions of the Turkish pasha. The latter laid the blame on Mengli Girai, whom he accused of persuading the Russians to stay away. The Khan of Krim having asked Ivan to justify his conduct to his master, he accordingly wrote in 1492 to Bajazet, setting out how the pasha of Azof had the previous year forced the Russian merchants to dig a ditch there, and to carry stones to make it with; and that at Azof and Kaffa they were compelled to surrender their goods for one-half of their value; if one of them was ill the goods of all were put under seal, and if he died they were largely confiscated. The Turks did not recognise the Russian testamentary dispositions, but deemed themselves the universal heirs. Ivan set out that it was for these reasons he had forbidden his merchants to visit Azof and Kaffa, and ended up by suggesting that Bajazet should send him some envoys. This letter was written in August, 1492. Meanwhile the Grand Prince was on very friendly terms with Mengli Girai. In 1490 Prince Romodanofski went to the Krim to assure the Khan that his master was always prepared to attack the Great Horde. Shortly after

* Karamzin, vi. 231, 232. † *Ante*, 331. ‡ Karamzin, vi. 232, 234.

Mengli Girai won a considerable victory over the latter.* In reply to the solicitations of the Grand Prince that he should attack Casimir, Mengli Girai wrote in 1492 to say he was building a fortress at the mouth of the Dnieper as a menace to the Poles. This was Otchakof, built, as I believe, on the site of the old town of Torchesk. The prudent Ivan reminded his ally that it was not by building fortresses a long way off, but by harrying their land, that he would harass the Lithuanians. Each monarch was fond of presents, and we find Mengli Girai soliciting jerfalcons and sables for the Sultan, while Ivan asked as the reward of his services against the Great Horde, for Mengli's great red ruby. The cautious Muscovite monarch also insisted that the correspondence between the rulers of Krim and Kazan should pass through his hands, where it was no doubt duly checked.†

Ivan now pressed more urgently on the Krim Khan that he should attack the Lithuanians. Alexander had sent Prince Glinsky to him to complain of the building of Otchakof at the instance of Ivan. Mengli Girai detained this envoy, laid siege to Kief, and set fire to the environs of Chernigof, but was compelled by an inundation of the Dnieper to return to Perekop. Shortly after Otchakof, which had cost 150,000 altins, was destroyed by Bogdan, the leader of the Cossacks, to the great chagrin of the Khan, who was much tempted by the offer of 13,500 ducats as a ransom for the Lithuanians he held in bondage, and also under pressure from Turkey to make peace with Casimir. Of this he informed Ivan, and also of his determination to remain faithful to the Russians, and he in fact continued to harass the Lithuanians.‡

Casimir of Poland died in 1492, and was succeded by Alexander, who had married Ivan's daughter Helena.§ This led to peace being made between the two powers, and we read how, news having arrived that Mengli Girai, Ivan's faithful friend, was meditating a raid upon Lithuania, Helena joined in her husband's entreaties to her father to prevent him. Ivan was in an embarrassing position, for he had made peace with Alexander, their common enemy, without acquainting Mengli Girai. When he now wrote to inform the latter, he was met by a dignified rebuke. "Your letter surprises me," wrote the Khan. "You know that, faithful to my promises and to my friendship, I have sacrificed my private interests for you, and have never neglected an opportunity of assisting you against your enemies. '*A friend and a brother are two treasures: happy he who possesses them.*' Penetrated with this sentiment, I have harried the country of the Lithuanians and have fought against the sons of Ahmed. I have closed my ears to the proposals of Casimir and Alexander. What is now my reward? You have made friends with my enemies, and left me a victim to their vengeance. You have

* Karamzin, vi. 291, 292.
† *Id.*, 293, 294.
‡ *Id.*, 303, 304.
§ *Ante*, 337, 338.

not confided a syllable of your intentions to your brother. You have deemed him unworthy of sharing in your plans."

Notwithstanding his letter, Mengli Girai was willing to make peace with the Lithuanians if they would pay the cost of his armament. The diplomatic Ivan determined to utilise his influence with the Krim Khan by making fresh demands upon Alexander. He insisted on his daughter having a Greek church within the palace, and that she should not wear the Polish dress, nor be surrounded with Catholic servants.* These demands were firmly refused.

The Turkish Sultan had replied to Ivan's letter already quoted, forbidding under severe penalties any extortions on Russian merchants at Kaffa and Azof; he also sent an envoy, accompanied by some Constantinople merchants to Moscow by way of Kief. They were stopped and sent back again by order of Alexander of Lithuania, on the plea that Turkish envoys had never hitherto crossed Lithuania and that they might be spies. These grievances, we are told, Ivan magnanimously overlooked, and even went so far as to write a paternal letter to Alexander when the latter proposed to create an appanage for his son Sigismund out of Kief, reminding him of the terrible mischief the system of appanages had caused in Russia. One can hardly doubt that there was some hidden policy behind this advice. It was treated with scant courtesy, and Alexander's reply was bitter and caustic. Ivan contented himself with entering into a new alliance with Mengli Girai and Stephen of Moldavia.

A revolution now took place at Kazan, by which Muhammed Amin gave place to Abdul Latif. Both these princes were sons of Nursaltan, the wife of Mengli Girai, and Ivan sent to tell her, and assured her at the same time that the principality should always remain in her family. She wrote to thank him, and told him she had recently returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, and that she intended going to Russia to see her children. Mengli Girai also presented the Grand Prince with the ruby ring of Muhammed II. Ivan now sent off Michael Plestcheief as his envoy to the Sultan Bajazet, whose son Mahmed-Shikhzoda was the sultan of Kaffa. He was furnished with letters and guides by the Krim Khan. As usual, Ivan gave punctilious directions as to his envoy's behaviour. He was not to kneel nor to address himself to the pashas, but only to the Sultan himself. He carried out his instructions too faithfully; when the pashas asked him to dinner and offered him a present of some rich robes and of 10,000 sequins for his entertainment, he replied boorishly that he would not wear their garments, had no need of their money, and wished to communicate with the Sultan personally. Bajazet, notwithstanding this rudeness, was very complacent, and sent Ivan a civil message. In a note which he wrote to Mengli

* *Ante*, 324, 325.

Girai, however, he complained of the rudeness of the envoy, and said that he did not send any of his own people back with him lest they should be uncivilly treated; he also ordered that his son, the sultan of Kaffa, should correspond directly with the Muscovite tzar.*

Meanwhile he continued to encourage the Krim Khan.† The latter demanded from the Lithuanians the cession of Kief, Kanief, and other towns formerly conquered by Batu. He was somewhat embarrassed, however, by the policy of the Turkish sultan. "The Sultans," he wrote to Ivan, "are not straightforward people, their actions do not correspond with their words. Formerly the lieutenants of Kaffa were subordinate to me. Now it is governed by Bajazet's son, who certainly listens to me, for he is young, but who can answer for the future. As an old proverb says, 'Two sheep's heads cannot be put in the same pan.' If we quarrel things will go badly, and you know men will not stay where they are not comfortable. You therefore capture Kief and Cherkask. I will send my people across the Dnieper, and you may dispose of them as you will." Ivan replied, "I constantly pray God to restore to us our ancient patrimony of Kief, and nothing will be more agreeable to me than the idea of being your neighbour."‡

The unnatural struggle between Ivan and his son-in-law Alexander continued, as I have described, and Mengli Girai reaped a natural harvest in ravaging the unfortunate Lithuanians. He made a terrible raid into their country in the year 1500.§ The following year we find Alexander allying himself with Sheikh Ahmed of the Golden Horde, whose people were very hard pressed by the Krim Khan, while Sheikh Ahmed himself was forced to seek an asylum in Lithuania, where he was imprisoned.‖

Mengli Girai wrote to inform Ivan of his success against his compatriots, and was duly thanked by him, and at the same time reminded that but half his work was done, and urged to continue the campaign against Poland.¶ Soon after a coolness arose between the two allies, in consequence of Ivan having dethroned Abdul Latif, the Khan of Kazan, the Krim Khan's stepson, and once more replaced him by Muhammed Amin. Mengli Girai wrote to urge that Abdul Latif was but a young man, and his faults were those of youth, and asking the Russian tzar to grant him an appanage in Russia or else to let him go to the Krim. He threatened to break off his alliance with him unless he kept his plighted word on this matter, and he added, "I send you a ring made of the horn of an Indian animal called kaherden, which is an antidote against all poisons, wear it on your finger as a mark of my friendship, and you will secure mine by granting my request." Ivan did not like to trust Abdul Latif in the Krim, but he reconciled Mengli Girai by granting

* Karamzin, vi. 341-343. † *Vide ante*, 339. ‡ Karamzin, vi. 365. § *Ante*, 340. ‖ *Id.*, 347. ¶ Karamzin, vi., 390.

the young prince a suitable establishment in Russia. The Krim Khan thereupon sent his sons at the head of ninety thousand men to invade Lithuania.* They ravaged Podolia, Red Russia, the Palatinate of Sendomir, the environs of Rzeszof, Yaroslaf, Radom, and Belz, crossed the Vistula, and pillaged Opatof and Kunof. The town of Pasianof alone offered a slight resistance. They returned to the Krim with an immense booty, and the following year commenced to pillage other towns.† Well might the learned archbishop just quoted wonder how it was possible for an army of Tartars thus to traverse at discretion ten degrees of latitude, always marching through a hostile country and always plundering, and yet with no efforts made to defeat him, or to recover the plunder or prisoners he was carrying off. Well might he inveigh against a republic of rich proprietors who, each shut up in his castle, cared little for the citizens of the unwalled towns or the peasants, who were being swept off, and less for the common-weal and against a disintegrated oligarchy, with a king having little power, and an exchequer seldom full, and otherwise badly organised; and well might he long for some despotic hand to seize the helm, and make the rich and powerful sacrifice themselves somewhat for the good of the State, and organise a power strong enough to repel these barbarians.

This condition of things in Poland partially explains and excuses a step which Alexander took at this time. His faithful ally Sheikh Ahmed, who had with every confidence trusted himself in Lithuania, was put in durance by Alexander, who now had something to hold *in terrorem* over the Krim Khan, to whom he in fact wrote to tell him that his enemy was in his power, and that if he refused to make peace, he could at any moment release him.‡ A treaty was accordingly entered into with Mengli Girai, on condition that Sheikh Ahmed should be kept in confinement. This was in 1505.§

The tzar Ivan III. died the same year, and was succeeded by his son Vasili,‖ who sent envoys to the Krim Khan to renew his father's treaty with him.¶ This was followed by the unfortunate expedition to Kazan, which I have already described.**

Meanwhile, notwithstanding these treaties, the Tartars continued to ravage Poland and Russia. In 1506 they wasted Podolia and the neighbouring districts, carrying off a hundred thousand prisoners and a large booty. Having returned again, they reached within a day's march of Lida in Lithuania. Alexander, who was on his death-bed, exhorted his timid people to make head against them, and we are told that Prince Michael Glinski, putting himself at their head, routed them.†† The following year they made a raid upon Russia, but they were

* Karamzin, vi. 393-395. † De Bohucz, 362. ‡ *Ante*, 346.
§ De Bohucz, 364. ‖ *Ante*, 343. ¶ Karamzin, vii. 4. ** *Ante*, 380.
†† De Guignes, iii. 398. Karamzin, vii. 15.

defeated in recrossing the Oka, and forced to abandon the booty they had captured.* These raids were probably made against the Khan's wishes, for his authority over his turbulent subjects was not very great. In 1509 we find him writing to Vasili, asking him to send him his stepson Abdul Latif, the young prince of Kazan. This was refused, but the tzar granted the latter the town of Koshira as a fief; and soon after, Mengli Girai having probably heard of the peace which Vasili had made with Sigismund of Poland,† sent some envoys with a treaty signed with a golden seal, in which an alliance, offensive and defensive, against Lithuania and the Astrakhan Tartars was stipulated for. He also promised to protect Russian merchants, &c. These envoys were very well received. They twice dined at Vasili's table, and in token of good-will he twice put his hands on them. Mengli Girai asked his friend to send an army against Astrakhan, promising in return to press upon the Lithuanians. He asked also for falcons, sables, narwhal's horns, cuirasses, and a large silver vase, and for the tribute which the princes of Odoef were wont to pay him, and further, that Abdul Latif might be allowed to go to the Krim to see his mother.‡ This last request was refused, but in lieu of Koshira Vasili gave the young prince the town of Yurief, and the grant and Abdul Latif's oath of fidelity to Russia were attested by the envoys of Krim. Vasili also refused to embroil himself with Astrakhan on the plea that Russia was too weak and too much menaced. He sent Morozof, governor of Perevitsk, to take back his answer. This envoy had not an easy time of it. The Tartar grandees had not forgotten that they were formerly masters of the Russians, and treated him with scant civility. "I dismounted," he says to Vasili, "before the palace. At the entrance I met the princes of the Khan. They all saluted your ambassador except the murza Kudoiar, who would have treated me as his servant. The interpreter having refused to translate his insolent language, the murza got furious and wished to stab him, and tore with violence a pelisse from the hands of my secretary, who bore the presents. At the entrance my way was stopped by the sentinels with their batons, who demanded an entrance fee. I pushed aside their batons and entered the presence of the tzar, who with the tzarevitches received me well. They presented a cup out of which they had themselves drunk, and I in turn presented it to the princes except Kudoiar, and I said to the Khan, Great king, judge between me and this insolent murza. I am your servant as well as my master's, but not the servant of Kudoiar. By what right does he insult an envoy and take from us the presents we bear for you." Mengli Girai made some excuses for the murza, but on Morozof's withdrawal he reprimanded him and drove him away. Morozof himself was not apparently very conciliatory, and on one of the Khan's sons

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* De Guignes, loc. cit. † *Ante*, 382. ‡ Karamzin, vii., 27.

having menaced him with imprisonment on account of the meanness of the presents he bore, he replied, " I do not fear your chains, I only fear God, my prince, and your tzar. If you insult *me*, my master will no longer send you persons of distinction." The fact was, Mengli Girai was getting old, and the reins of power in such a turbulent community needed a stronger hand.

In 1510 Nursaltan, Mengli Girai's wife, visited Moscow, as I have described,* and returned home again favourably impressed with her visit, but matters did not proceed according to her wish. The mutual strife of Russia and Poland made it easy for the wily Tartars, who plundered both countries and took bribes freely from both sides, to play their cards. We now find them allying themselves with Sigismund, Alexander's successor. He undertook to pay the Krim Khan an annual subsidy of fifteen thousand ducats on condition that he broke with Russia and ravaged its frontiers. Accordingly in May, 1512, Ahmed and Burnat Girai, sons of Mengli Girai, entered and pillaged the provinces of Bielef and Odoef. They retired, however, on the approach of the Russians under Daniel Stchénia. Ahmed Girai then turned towards Riazan, where a similar bold front on the part of the Muscovites made him withdraw. Burnat Girai was more venturesome. He advanced as far as the capital of Riazan, and captured some of its fortifications, but was then driven away by a Muscovite army, which pursued him across the steppes as far as Tikaya-Sosna. Vasili wrote to complain, and Mengli Girai replied that what had been done had been the work of the young princes, without his authority or even his knowledge. Thus was destroyed for ever, says Karamzin, the alliance between Krim and Russia, which had been of such service to the latter in consolidating its power, and Krim became in future one of its most troublesome enemies.† Vasili determined to strike the evil at the root, declared war against Sigismund, and bitterly announced that as long as his horse could walk, or his sword preserved its edge, he would not allow Lithuania either peace or repose. He set out with a large army, and to animate the courage of his soldiers, provided casks of hydromel from which they could help themselves as much as they pleased. This made them drunk, and they were defeated in an assault on Smolensk. Vasili withdrew to Moscow, but he was not long before he again attacked the same city and devastated its environs. He was obliged, however, to raise the siege on account of the approach of winter. Between these two attacks died Helena, Vasili's sister, who had been the cause of so much irritating interference in the affairs of Lithuania on the part of the Grand Prince. Vasili now entered into an alliance with the Emperor Maximilian against Sigismund, by which the former was to conquer Kief and the latter Prussia, which belonged to the Polish

* *Ante*, 383. † Op. cit., vii. 62.

king. The treaty was of small consequence, as the fickle emperor soon changed his policy, but the fact of his having treated Vasili as an emperor and given him the title of kaizer was afterwards remembered by Peter the Great, and made the foundation of his own claims.*

In 1514 we find Vasili sending an embassy to solicit a written treaty of peace with Selim, the new Turkish Sultan, who had mounted the throne after deposing his father. The grand vizier Kamal proudly informed the boyards that he was not instructed to enter into such a treaty with them, but that his master liked to know who were his friends and who his enemies, so that he could regulate his conduct towards them.†

About this time the Russians again marched on Smolensk. They had with them a famous artillery train, manned chiefly by Germans and Bohemians. The terrible havoc committed by the bombardment so affected the citizens that they insisted on the surrender of the town. Vasili entered it in triumph, received the homage of the inhabitants, and marked his prudence by extreme clemency, by the renewal of the privileges granted by former sovereigns and the distribution of largess. Smolensk had been in Lithuanian hands for one hundred and ten years. Its manners and costume had changed considerably, but its people still remained Russians, and for the most part attached to the old faith.

Lord Beaconsfield has well said that the fortune of war is as changeable as the moon. Soon after the capture of Smolensk the armies of Moscow and Lithuania met on the river Orscha, the former eighty thousand strong and the latter thirty-five thousand, but discipline, unity of command, and skill made up for a want of numbers. The Russians were disastrously defeated. The two chief commanders, six principal boyards, thirty-seven princes, and more than one thousand five hundred gentry, with all the luggage, artillery, and standards were the prizes of the victors, and the Russian loss was altogether about thirty thousand men.‡ The Lithuanian commander on this occasion was the famous Constantine Ostroiski, of whom we have previously spoken. After his victory he advanced upon Smolensk. Treachery showed itself among some of the citizens there. Thereupon its commander, Prince Shuiski, had the traitors seized and hanged on the wall in view of the besieging army; some dressed in the fur and damask dresses which Vasili had given them, others with silver cups, also his presents, hung about their necks; and when the assault was given it was bravely repulsed. The Lithuanians merely succeeded in recovering Dubrovna, Mitislavl, and Krichef, which had passed for a short time into Russian hands. This was in 1514. The news of Sigismund's victory soon reached the Krim, and Muhammed, the Khan's son, determined to take advantage of it, and he was urged to do so by Eustace Dashkovitch, a famous Lithuanian, who

* *Id.*, 68. † Karamzin, vii. 73. ‡ *Id.*, 83.

had, like Constantine Ostroiski, submitted to the Russians, and, like that prince, returned once more to his own country. Having obtained from Sigismund the grant of Kanief and Cherkask, he became the real founder and organiser of the Cossacks of the Dnieper or Zaporogian Cossacks. He gave them chiefs, appointed them a special discipline, and introduced among them the use of the gun and sword.* He and his people formed for a long time a famous bulwark to Poland and Lithuania, but on this occasion the young Krim Sultan somewhat disappointed his ally, and retired without capturing the Ukraine towns, which were the latter's aim. We now find Vasili sending an envoy to Constantinople to complain of the conduct of the Krim Khan. Selim was too much occupied with his Persian campaign to pay much attention to these matters, and merely ordered that the traders at Azof and Kaffa should not be molested.†

This was directly followed by the death of Mengli Girai, who for some years had been a mere phantom sovereign. He was perhaps the most famous of all the Krim Khans, and was a figure in general European history no less than in that of Russia. He took part with fifty thousand Tartars in the wars of Bajazet in Moldavia, and in reward for his services at the capture of Kilia and Akkerman he was assigned an annual revenue from the ports of Kaffa, Koslef, and Balaklava, which was administered as long as the Khanate lasted, by an aga who was named Yali Agasi (*i.e.*, the Aga of the Shores), and who had also control of Kilia and Akkerman, which formed part of the grant.‡ Mengli Girai also subdued the people of Circassia, and built the palisade of Ferhkerman at Perekop, and those of Jankerman and Karakerman on the Dnieper, and established a school and mosque at Seljaik.§

During his reign the Venetians acquired and lost the monopoly of the Euxine trade, which they bought from the Porte for an annual payment of one thousand ducats. Besides the many private ships which were engaged in the trade, the Venetian Government employed twenty-four itself, of which four made an annual voyage from the Don to the Palus Mæotis. The chief merchandise exported from Tana, now called Azof, which was their principal mart, was wax, for which the Venetians had a famous reputation, and of which vast quantities were then used in the services of the church; corn, flour, butter, salt fish, caviare, and furs of all kinds; the rhubarb root from Astrakhan, hemp, flax, and coarse linen.

The Venetians did not long retain their monopoly however. The Turkish Sultan having cast longing eyes on the island of Cyprus, the noble Venetian Cornaro gave his daughter in marriage to James, king of that island, and at the same time she was declared to be the daughter of

* *Id.*, 86, 87. † *Id.*, 88. ‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 358. Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 44. § Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 359.

the republic, and the Venetians took the island solemnly under their protection. Bajazet, much annoyed, declared war against them, and interdicted their access to the Black Sea; and although this was afterwards removed, the competition of the Greeks and Turks greatly affected their trade. Eventually Sultan Suliman entirely prohibited them from trafficking there, and reserved its commerce for his own subjects.*

Mengli Girai struck coins at Kaffa and Krim.† He died in 1515, and left several sons. Muhammed Girai, Behadur Girai, Mahmud Girai, Feth Girai, Bektash Girai, Mubarek Girai, Sahib Girai, and Saadet Girai are mentioned by the author of the history of the Krim Khans, translated by M. Kazimirski. Ahmed, named by Karamzin as Muhammed's next brother and kalga, was probably the same person as Behadur. He also names another son named Burnat.‡ Mengli Girai was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammed.

MUHAMMED GIRAI KHAN.

The new Khan was very different to his father. He was a drunkard and a slave to women, and was better fitted for the leader of roving plunderers than the sovereign of a settled State. On his accession he appointed his brother Behadur Girai as kalga, and sent another brother, Sahib Girai, as a hostage to Constantinople. He treated the envoy of Vasili with courtesy, but, seduced by the bribes of Sigismund, speedily changed his policy, demanded that the Grand Prince should restore the towns of Briansk, Starodub, Novgorod-Severski, Putivle, and the other conquests of Ivan to the Lithuanians, that he should set free the prisoners he had made, and should pay a tribute to him for Odoef, and he accompanied his demands with a threat of war. Vasili meanwhile intrigued with some of the grandees of the horde, and especially with Muhammed II.'s brother, who was kalga or heir to the throne. He treated the Krim Khan's envoy with distinction, and to please him released Abdul Latif, who had been put under arrest. He was allowed to go hunting and to visit the palace, but was not permitted to join his mother, who wished him to accompany her on a journey to Mecca. Mamonof was sent to the Krim with Vasili's answer, which was a firm assertion of his rights over the Lithuanian towns, and a refusal of the demands of the Khan. He was also commissioned to gain over the grandees of the horde. His mission was nearly successful. Muhammed Girai undertook to break off his connection with Lithuania, and to send one of his sons to Russia as a gauge of his sincerity, on condition that Vasili would despatch an army to Astrakhan. The treaty was nearly

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* De Bohucz, 366, 367.

† Blau, op. cit., 62. Fræhn Res., 413.

‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 359.

signed, when an envoy came from Sigismund with a present of five hundred pieces of cloth and thirty thousand ducats. This was too much for the versatile Khan, and he at once changed his policy. There was a famine impending over the Taurida in consequence of the bad harvest, and we read that Behahur, son of Muhammed, made a raid upon Russia and devastated the country of Mechersk and Riazan. On Vasili complaining, Muhammed disavowed his son's acts. Meanwhile the Grand Prince continued his intercourse with Muhammed's brother Ahmed, who wished to secure himself an asylum in Russia in case of a revolution, for he said "We live in unfortunate times, our father exercised supreme authority over his sons and the princes, while now under my brother every prince pretends to be tzar."* Ahmed was in command of Ochakof, and without regard to his brother's alliance with Lithuania, he fell upon the latter country. Muhammed Girai himself, who with one hand received the gold of Lithuania, held in the other the sword with which he determined to secure fresh booty for himself, aware that the mutual jealousy of Vasili and Sigismund would prevent him from being crushed, accordingly sent forty thousand horsemen to ravage the south of Lithuania.† At this time (*i.e.*, in 1516) the throne of Kazan became vacant by the death of Muhammed Amin, and the Krim Khan, afraid that the Nogais might secure the throne for one of the Astrakhan princes, his rivals, again sent an envoy to Moscow with fair promises. His crooked steps were once more turned aside by an opportune arrival of Lithuanian gold, and instead of a treaty of peace, we read how in 1517 twenty thousand troops from the Taurida made a raid upon Russia, and advanced as far as Tula, whence they were forced to retire, and lost the greater part of their number in a hasty retreat.‡ Vasili missed few opportunities of harassing his Lithuanian neighbour. We now find him entering into an alliance with the king of Denmark and the Teutonic Knights, who had grown rich, had lost some of their martial qualities and been subjected by the Polish king, but who promised to revive under a more ambitious master. On the 15th of April, 1517, there arrived at Moscow, on an embassy from the German Emperor, the famous Baron von Herberstein, who has left us such a graphic account of Muscovy. His object was, if possible, to secure a peace between Russia and Lithuania, so that the Christians might offer a united front to the Turks, who had recently captured Damascus, Jerusalem, and Egypt, and whose progress was naturally viewed with alarm. These negotiations did not stop the chronic war, and we find Sigismund in the autumn of the same year entering Russia to revenge himself for a raid made upon his borders shortly before. A considerable struggle ensued, in which the Lithuanians were beaten, the defeat of Orsha was revenged, and the famous general Constantine Ostroiski

* Karamzin, vii. 93. † *Id.*, 94. ‡ *Id.*, 97.

acquired the soubriquet of the "fugitive."* Herberstein returned home without effecting his purpose, and we soon after find Maximilian writing to the Grand Master of the Teutonic order, with a message that sounds strange indeed in our ears. "The integrity of Poland is necessary for the general interest of Europe. The greatness of Russia is becoming dangerous."† Negotiations continued, and at length Vasili agreed to a truce with Lithuania during the year 1519, on the basis of the *status quo*. This was immediately followed by the death of Maximilian.‡

Abdul Latif, the Kazan refugee at Moscow, died in November, 1518. On Latif's death Vasili sent the officer in whose arms he died to acquaint his mother, and to complain of the raids made by the Krim Tartars. Shadrin, the Muscovite chargé d'affaires, returned to Moscow with Muhammed Aga, and they were shortly afterwards followed by Chelichef, Shadrin's companion, and by Kudoiar, an envoy from the Khan. They were attacked and pillaged *en route* by the Tartars of Astrakhan, near the river Samara, and had to march on foot as far as Putivle. Meanwhile the kalga Ahmed wrote to the Grand Prince, saying he could not any longer support the ill-behaviour of his brother the Khan, and wished to migrate to Russia. Vasili was also informed by Muhammed Girai that his sons Behadur and Alp Girai had marched against Lithuania with one hundred thousand men. He had also refused a sum of fifteen thousand ducats which Sigismund had offered him. Shortly after Ahmed was killed by his nephew Alp Girai, who took his place as kalga. Hemmet, son of Ahmed, was then at Constantinople.§ Soon after this Appak, a favourite of the Khan's and a *persona grata* at Moscow, was sent to Vasili with the draft of a treaty, in which an alliance was proposed against Lithuania and the family of Ahmed (*i.e.*, the Khanate of Astrakhan). Appak wore a turban, and refused to take it off before the Grand Prince. "Why this innovation," said the boyards, "you are neither Turk nor Mollah, and are not going to make the pilgrimage to Mecca." He replied, he had obtained permission from his master to make the pilgrimage, and had therefore donned the head-gear of a pilgrim. Appak presented Muhammed Girai's letter on his knees, and the treaty was put on a table beside the cross, when Vasili swore these words: "Appak, I swear much friendship for my friend Muhammed Girai, and swear to treat his friends as my own, and to march against his enemies. Although Astrakhan is not here named, I promise to march against it." He then lowered the crucifix.‖

Muhammed Girai had determined that his brother Sahib Girai should occupy the throne of Kazan, but Vasili, who was not anxious to revive the Golden Horde again in its integrity in the person of the Krim Khan, and who was treated as the patron of Kazan, nominated Shah Ali, the

* *Id.*, 106-108. † *Id.*, 112, 113. ‡ *Id.*, 114. § Karamzin, vii. Note, 52.
‖ *Id.*, vii. 115 and 117.

grandson of Ahmed of the Great Horde, who was a refugee in Russia, to the post.* This took place while Kappak was at Moscow. Kappak demanded how Vasili, the friend of the Krim Khan, could put his enemy on the throne in this way. "Is there a dearth of princes," he said, "or is the blood of the Great Horde better than that of Mengli Girai?" Vasili explained, probably with little sincerity, that it had been his intention to nominate a relative of the Krim Khan to the post, but that the grandees of Kazan insisted upon having Shah Ali, and in default threatened to choose a Khan from among the Nogais or the Tartars of Astrakhan. Appak was, it seems, satisfied with this answer, and soon after and in the following year, 1519, we read how the kalga Behadur made a raid upon Lithuania at the head of one hundred thousand men, ravaged the country with fire and sword, and advanced as far as Cracow. Having defeated Constantine Ostroiski, he captured sixty thousand prisoners, and slaughtered even a greater number.

Appak left Moscow much pleased with his visit, but the Grand Prince deemed it prudent to conciliate one whom the Krim Khan feared, namely, the Turkish Sultan, and he accordingly sent as his envoy thither Golokvastof, who was further instructed to have an interview with Hemmet, the son of the murdered kalga Ahmed, who had been friendly to Russia, and whom report said the Sultan intended to promote to the Khanate of Krim. He was to offer him an asylum in Russia, and also an appanage. Selim received the envoy well, ordered his pashas to march to the frontiers of Lithuania, and to encourage free trade between Turkey and Russia.†

We now find Leo X., whom we are accustomed to consider rather as the patron of art and neo-paganism, and as a confirmed sensualist, who had sustained Sigismund and denounced the Russians as heretics, busying himself in an endeavour to stir up some enthusiasm among the Christian nations and to arouse them against the Turks. His medium of communication with Vasili was the Grand Master of the Teutonic knights, who was a Roman Catholic. He urged upon Vasili that as the descendant of a Greek princess he was the legitimate descendant of the old emperors of Byzantium, that the unity of Poland and Lithuania would cease on Sigismund's death, and it was therefore prudent for him to wait till his western neighbours were separated; that the Greek church being without a virtual head, would have to elect the Russian metropolitan as its patriarch, and he pressed him strongly to join the Christian league against the Muhammedans.‡ The counsel of the pope did not override Albert the Grand Master of the Prussian knight's hatred for Sigismund, and when the envoys of Vasili repaired to his capital, Konigsberg, and took him a large consignment of ducats, he prepared to attack Lithuania.§ The Russians made a cruel and

* *Ante*, 385. † *Id.*, 121. ‡ *Id.*, 121-125. § *Id.*, 126, 127.

devastating raid upon the Lithuanian borders, and Sigismund saw his people decimated, not only by war but by pestilence; but he was equal to the occasion. Having made a six months' truce with Russia and the Krim Tartars, he concentrated his forces upon the Prussian knights. Albert's few hundred followers fought bravely, and the mercenaries he hired in Germany laid siege to Dantzig, but they were forced to withdraw by want of resources, and he was compelled to make peace after losing Marienverder, Holland, &c.*

A more powerful diversion in favour of the threatened fortunes of Poland was made by Muhammed Girai of Krim, who had suspected the motives of Vasili in nominating Shah Ali to the throne of Kazan, but had nursed his hatred during the reign of the great Turkish Sultan Selim. When the latter died, in 1521, Vasili sent an envoy to compliment his son Suliman on his accession, who urged upon his vassal the danger he would incur by molesting Russia. The latter urged upon him in turn, "That Vasili was leagued with the enemies of the Porte, that he supplied the king of Persia with artillery and with men to work it, and that he was endeavouring to stamp out the faith at Kazan and to displace its mosques by Christian churches." His intrigues, we are told, were frustrated by the pashas of Azof and Kaffa, and when Suliman turned his arms against Hungary, Muhammed Girai was ordered to devastate Lithuania. We thus see that the progress of the Turks in Europe was at every point assisted by the policy of Russia.

Shah Ali, the Khan of Kazan, was utterly despised by his people, and Muhammed Girai, taking advantage of this, urged upon them to accept his brother Sahib Girai as their ruler. The latter accordingly marched thither, seized the town, imprisoned Shah Ali, the Russian envoy Vasili Yurief, and the voivode Karpof, and pillaged and laid hands on the Russian merchants; he afterwards permitted Shah Ali to retire to Moscow.† Having seized Kazan, and knowing that Vasili would not submit to such an affront, he collected a great force, and being joined by the Nogais and the Cossacks of the Dnieper, rapidly advanced upon Muscovy. Vasili had only time to collect a meagre force on the Oka, which was put under the command of the young prince Dimitri Belski. This was badly defeated. Meanwhile Sahib Girai advanced along the Volga from Kazan, and joined his brother at Kolomna, devastating the country as he went, massacring the people and desecrating the churches.‡ The monastery of Saint Nicholas on the Ugrisha and the village of Ostrof, Vasili's favourite residence, were burnt, and climbing the heights of Vorobief, overlooking Moscow, the Tartars made themselves drunk with hydromel from Vasili's cellars. The confusion inside the city may best be described in the words of a contemporary author, Herberstein.

* *Id.*, 129. † *Ante*, 386. ‡ Karamzin, vii. 134.

"Such was the tumult," he says, "which arose at the gates from the thronging of women, children, and other helpless people, who in their intrepidation fled into the fortress with carriages and vehicles of all kinds, that in their haste they checked each other's progress, and many were trampled under foot. This immense concourse of persons caused the air to become so pestilential in the fortress, that if the enemy had remained three or four days under the walls of the city, they must have been seized by the plague and died, for in so great a crowd huddled together they were obliged to satisfy nature wherever they could find a place. There were at that time at Moscow some Livonian ambassadors, who mounted their horses and betook themselves to flight, and seeing nothing around them but fire and smoke, and supposing themselves to be surrounded by Tartars, made such speed that in one day they reached Tuer, which is thirty-six German miles distant from Moscow. The German bombardiers deserved great praise on that occasion, especially one Nicholas, born not far from Spier, an imperial city of Germany near the Rhine, to whom was committed, in very flattering terms, the task of defending the city by the governor and all the councillors, who were almost stupefied with excess of fear, and who begged him to bring up the larger guns, which were used for breaching walls, under the gate of the fortress, in order to drive away the Tartars. The size of these guns, however, was such that three days would scarcely be sufficient to convey them to the spot, and they had not enough gunpowder even to load the largest gun with one charge, for it is continually the custom with the Russians to be behindhand in everything, and never to have anything ready, but when necessity presses they are anxious to finish everything rapidly. Nicholas therefore considered it advisable to have the smaller guns, which were kept hidden at a distance from the fortress, quickly fetched into the interior on men's shoulders; but during the delay a cry suddenly arose that the Tartars were at hand, which caused so much fear amongst the townspeople that the guns were left scattered, and even the defence of the walls was neglected. If a hundred of the enemy's cavalry had at that time attacked the city, they might easily have razed it to the ground with fire. In the midst of their fear, the governor and the garrison thought it best to appease king Muhammed Girai by sending him a great number of presents, principally consisting of mead, in order to induce him to raise the siege. Muhammed Girai accepted the gifts and promised that he would not only raise the siege but would also quit the province, if Vasili would bind himself in writing to pay him a perpetual tribute, as his father and ancestors had done. Letters to this effect having been willingly written and accepted, Muhammed Girai withdrew his army to Riazan. After granting the Russians permission to redeem and exchange prisoners, he sold the rest of his booty by auction. There was at that time in the camp of the Tartars one Eustace,

surnamed Taskovitch, a subject of the King of Poland, who had brought forces to the assistance of Muhammed Girai, for hostilities were at that time pending between the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Muscovy. This man brought up to the fortress some of the spoils for sale, with the intention that when an opportunity offered he should rush into the gates together with the Russians who had come out to make purchases, and beating down the sentinels, thus take possession of the fortress. The king was willing to aid the attempt with corresponding subtlety. He sent one of his people in whom he could place confidence to demand of the governor of the fortress, as the servant of his tributary, to supply him with whatsoever he required, and to come himself to him. The governor, however, Ivan Kovar, who was well acquainted with warlike matters and with the stratagems employed therein, could not be induced on any account to leave the fortress, but simply replied that he had not yet learned that his prince had become the tributary and servant of the Tartars, but that when he should be officially informed on that point it would be necessary that he should receive instructions as to what he should do. Whereupon the prince's letters, in which he had bound himself to the king were produced and exhibited. While the governor was thus perplexed by the exhibition of these letters, Eustace, in pursuance of his own plan, approached nearer and nearer to the fortress, and in order the more perfectly to conceal his plan, the Kniez Feodor Lopata, a man of distinction, with several other Russians who had fallen into the enemy's hands in the taking of Moscow, were restored upon payment of a certain ransom. In addition to this, several of the prisoners who had been too negligently guarded, or had in any manner been relieved from labour, had escaped into the fortress, and as the Tartars approached the fortress in great multitudes to demand them back again, and did not withdraw from the fortress although the Russians in the fright gave up the refugees, this accession of new comers greatly increased the number of the Tartar assailants, so that the terror and despair of the Russians, on account of the danger which threatened them, was so complete that they were quite at a loss what to do. At this juncture one Johan Jordan, an artilleryman, a German, who came from the Innthal, estimating more clearly than the Russians the magnitude of the danger, of his own accord discharged the guns which had been ranged in order against the Tartars and Lithuanians, and so terrified them that they all left the fortress and fled. The king (*i.e.*, the Khan) sent Eustace, the contriver of the above plan, to remonstrate with the governor on account of the injury thus inflicted, but the latter declared the bombardier had fired the guns without his consent or knowledge, and laid all the blame of the offence upon him; upon which the king demanded that the bombardier should be given up to him, and, as often occurs in desperate cases, the greatest number decided that the man by whom they had been

delivered from the fear of their enemies should be given up. The governor, Ivan Kovar, alone refused, and by his extreme goodness that German was on that occasion saved, for it so happened that the king, either from impatience of further delay, or because he considered his soldiers already sufficiently incumbered with booty, and that his own interest required it, raised his camp, and departed for Taurida, leaving behind in the fortress those letters of the Prince of Moscow by which he had bound himself to pay him a perpetual tribute. But he took with him from Moscow so great a multitude of prisoners as would scarcely be considered credible, they say that the number exceeded eight hundred thousand, part of whom he sold in Kaffa to the Turks, and part he slew.

"The old and infirm men, who will not fetch much at sale, are given up to the Tartar youths (much as hares are given to whelps by way of their first lesson of hunting), either to be stoned or to be thrown into the sea, or to be killed by any sort of death they might please. Those who are sold are compelled to serve for full six years; after that they are set free, but dare not leave the province. Sahib Girai, King of Kazan, sold all the captives which he took from Moscow to the Tartars, in the mercantile city of Astrakhan, which is situated not far from the mouth of the Volga."*

Karamzin tells us the Eustace Taskovitch above mentioned was the hetman of the Cossacks of the Dnieper.† He is called Eustace, Prince Rushinskoi by Scherer.‡ The Tartar invasion left grim traces along its course. We are told that all the villages from Nijni Novgorod and Voronetch as far as Moscow were burnt, and the inhabitants for the most part carried off.§ Herberstein tells us the Germans who had done so well were meanly treated by Vasili, an early proof of the jealousy of Russian officials. In punishing those who had been guilty of ill-behaviour the real offenders escaped, and a scapegoat was found in an experienced officer named Ivan Vorotinski, whose punishment vicariously covered the ill-behaviour of others less worthy than himself.‖

Muhammed Girai issued orders on his return that his people were to keep themselves in readiness for a campaign, and in the spring Vasili posted a strong force on the Oka to repel them. It was the best equipped army the Russians had as yet put into the field, and we are told that this was the first occasion on which field artillery was used by them.

The Grand Prince was so elated by the sight of his troops that he sent Muhammed a message by a herald, saying, "Traitor, you have broken the peace, violated treaties; like a brigand, an assassin, and an incendiary you have attacked my country unawares; but, if you have the courage of a warrior, come now, I challenge you to fight in the open

* Herberstein, ii. 62-65. † Op. cit., vii. 137. ‡ Annales de la Petite Russie, ii. 4.
§ Karamzin, vii. 139. ‖ Herberstein, ii. 66. Karamzin, vii. 140.

country." The Khan replied "That he knew the road to Russia, as well as an opportune time for attacking it, and that he was not in the habit of taking counsel from his enemies as to when and where he should fight." He in fact marched against the Circassians and Mingrelians.*

As the summer waned without the arrival of the Tartars, Vasili retired to Moscow, and there met the Prince of Mankup, who went as the envoy of the Sultan Suliman, but nothing followed but an interchange of civilities. It is curious to trace the course of Russian diplomacy at this time, and its servile fawning on the Sublime Porte, while the Turks were devastating Western Christendom, and trampling down Hungary, conquering Rhodes, and attacking Malta.† Vasili, after the late inroad, was desirous of making peace with Lithuania, and a truce of five years, beginning with December, 1522, was agreed upon, by which the Dnieper, the Ivaka, and the Meria were treated as the frontiers of the two countries, and Smolensk remained attached to Russia. Thus terminated a struggle which had lasted ten years. One of its consequences was the ruin of the Teutonic order. Sigismund acknowledged its Grand Master as hereditary ruler of the towns under the control of the Order, on condition that he became a feudatory of Poland, and he granted the new sovereign as arms a black eagle, having his own initial "S." inserted in it.‡ Thus commenced the history of Modern Prussia.

Vasili had no wish to embroil himself with the Krim Khan, but kept his eyes steadily fixed on Lithuania. Notwithstanding the murderous raid the Tartars had made on Russia, we find the Grand Prince sending an envoy named Naumof to the Crimea to offer peace. The Khan assented to this, and then proceeded with his campaign against Astrakhan, with whose princes the Girai's had a never-ending quarrel.§ Muhammed was successful, and the Astrakhan Khan was driven away; but in the midst of the rejoicings after the victory, the Nogais, who had been his allies, treacherously plotted against him, and having suddenly attacked the Khan and his son Behadur in their tent, they put them to death, and falling unawares on the Taurians, who were carelessly enjoying themselves in their camp, they dispersed them and pursued them as far as the Don. Two of Muhammed's sons, with some fifty princes, reached the Taurida, but the ruthless Nogais pursued them there, and harried the cattle and burnt the villages of the Krim Tartars. The latter, having collected a force of twelve thousand men, ventured to oppose them, but were completely defeated, and with difficulty saved themselves at Perekop, which was defended by the Sultan's janissaries. To complete their misfortunes, the hetman of the Cossacks of the Dnieper, who had formerly been their ally, attacked and burnt the defences of Ochakof, and carried off all that was portable.‖

* De Guignes, iii. 402. † Karamzin, vii. 143. ‡ *Id.*, 145, 146. § *Id.*, 155.

Such a disaster proves how very fickle and transitory the good fortune of nomade communities often is. It seems hardly credible that the power of a kingdom which had recently ravaged the very heart of Russia should have been so easily shattered by such an attack.

Muhammed Girai was fifty-eight years old when he was killed. He left four sons, Baba Girai, Gazi Girai, Islam Girai, and Uzbeg Girai.* Muhammed Girai struck coins at Krim, Kaffa, and Baghchi-Serai.†

GAZI GIRAI KHAN.

The people of Krim, when they heard of the fate of the Khan, repented having deserted him, and after burying his body with due solemnity, proceeded to instal his son Gazi Girai in his place. The latter nominated his brother Baba as kalga. Fearing that the brothers might revenge themselves on them for the misfortune which had overtaken their father Muhammed, the Tartars began to declare against Gazi, on the ground that he had not been confirmed by the Turkish Sultan, and they accordingly sent Memish bey mirliwai of the tribe Shirin, to Constantinople, with an account of what had occurred, and a request that Gazi should be deposed. Having met there with Saadet Girai, the brother of Muhammed, who had been sent to the Sultan as a hostage, he encouraged him to make an attempt upon the throne. Saadet duly obtained investiture, and set off for the Krim, accompanied by a number of janissaries. The uncle and nephew were now ranged on opposite sides, and were about to fight, when, by the intervention of Memish bey and others, an arrangement was made, by which Saadet was to be Khan while Gazi became his kalga. The two princes proceeded to Baghchi-Serai, but as Gazi was about to take the oath of allegiance, and to lower the lappet of his robe for the purpose, one of the Khan's attendants, who had been previously instructed, struck him from behind and killed him. Baba Girai suffered the same fate. Gazi Girai was only twenty years old when he was thus killed, and had reigned but six months.‡ De Bohucz says that when deposed by the Porte he was granted a pension of one thousand aspras (*i.e.*, 2⅚ ducats) per day.§ No coins of Gazi Girai are apparently known.

SAADET GIRAI KHAN.

Saadet Girai nominated his nephew Devlet Girai as his kalga, and proceeded to offer his alliance to the Grand Prince Vasili. "Your

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 362 and 365. † Blau, op. cit., 62, 63.
‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 362-364. Karamzin, vii. 159. § Op. cit., 370

father," he wrote, "made a rampart of mine, whose sword he employed to cut off the heads of his enemies. We ought therefore to be friends. I have a powerful army, and am protected by the Sultan. Hussein, tzar of Astrakhan is my friend, he of Kazan is my brother. The Nogais, Circassians, and Tumians obey my laws, the Vlakhs act as guides, and also as shepherds to my flocks. I would live at peace with you. Do not disturb my relative at Kazan. Forget the past, and we will not leave any peace to the Lithuanians."* He also asked for sixty thousand altins from Vasili, urging that friends ought not to think anything of such trifles. It was known at Moscow that the Crimea had been reduced to a terrible condition by the recent war, and that Saadet Girai could not command more than twelve thousand men. Vasili, nevertheless, determined to make a treaty with him, so as to protect his frontier from raids from the Taurida, but he would not give him any money. As to the Khan of Kazan, he said that sovereigns made war, but they did not kill each other's envoys and peaceable merchants, and that he could not have any peace with a felon.† The Russians were already in fact marching against Kazan, and we are told that when he heard the news, Sahib Girai, who was Khan there, retired to the Taurida, leaving his nephew Safa Girai in command.‡ I have described the struggle which followed at Kazan.§

Saadet Girai was much attached to Turkish customs, and thence he became unpopular in the Krim. His nephew Islam, the brother of the last Khan Gazi, became his rival. He had already driven him away twice, and peace was only secured when he appointed Islam as his kalga. He then made a raid upon Lithuania, and a demand for money from the Grand Prince, who, we are told, continually decreased the value of his presents as he thought Saadet's power was reaching its term. His envoys were at Moscow when Vasili heard that the kalga, Islam, was marching towards Russia.‖ The Russian troops had advanced to the Oka, and gone into autumn quarters in the various towns there, when the Tartars suddenly appeared in the district of Riazan, and began to devastate it. They also ventured to threaten Kolomna and Moscow, but they were defeated by the Russians. Yanglitch murza, the first favourite of Islam Girai, was among the prisoners. Vasili, enraged at the perfidy of the Tartars, ordered the Khan's envoys to be drowned, but presently being ashamed of this unpardonable revenge, he sent word to the Krim that they had been slaughtered by the people of Moscow. The Khan did not seem surprised at the news, and threw the whole blame of the recent raid on Russia on his nephew Islam. This campaign took place in 1527. Notwithstanding his professed friendship for Vasili, Saadet Girai did not fail to plunder the Russian ambassador, nor did he

* Karamzin, vii. 160. † *Id.*, 161. ‡ *Id.*, 163. § *Ante*, 386, &c.
‖ Karamzin, vii. 186.

restrain his troops from attacking the districts of Bielef and Tula.* He would seem to have had little hold on the people, and we are told that, being convinced they preferred Islam Girai, he resigned the throne in 1532, and, with his kalga Devlet Girai, made his way to Constantinople, where he was well received by the Sultan, and acquired considerable fame in the Persian wars.† He lived there for seven years longer, receiving a salary of three hundred thousand aspras, and an additional crown demesne whose annual income was five hundred thousand aspras per annum. He was buried in the mosque Eyub.‡ He had reigned for nine years and three months, and was forty-six years old when he died. Coins of Saadet Girai are described in Blau's catalogue.§

ISLAM GIRAI KHAN.

Islam Girai was a usurper, and had not the sanction of the Sultan for his throne. He named his brother Uzbeg Girai as kalga, but after a reign of five months he resigned his authority into the hands of Suliman, the Turkish Sultan, and asked him to nominate whom he liked in his place. I know of no coins of Islam Girai.

SAHIB GIRAI KHAN.

At this time Sahib Girai, the son of Mengli Girai, who had retired from Kazan, as I have mentioned,‖ and had made a pilgrimage to Mecca, was at Constantinople, where he had offered his services to the Sultan. He had aided Suliman in his campaign in 1532 in Hungary.¶ The latter now nominated him Khan of Krim. Sahib took with him sixty pieces of artillery, one thousand janissaries, two hundred foot soldiers, as many artillerymen, and the usual installation fee, known as "the sekban akjesi (*i.e.*, the dog-keeper's pay). He nominated Islam Girai as kalga, and then proceeded, we are told, to build palaces, baths, mosques, and shops at Baghchiserai.

Safa Girai, the Khan of Kazan, had been driven away from the throne in 1531. He now appealed to his uncle, the Krim Khan, for assistance. We accordingly read that in the autumn of 1533, at the season when the Russian court was in the habit of going to Volok Lamski to hunt, the Krim Tartars marched towards Kazan. The Russians were informed of this by the kalga Islam, who tried to counteract the designs of Safa Girai. The invaders burnt the environs of Riazan, but a number of them were defeated near Zaraisk by the Russian troops, who captured

* Karamzin, vii. 186, 187. † De Guignes, iii. 403. Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 364.
‡ Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 50. § Op. cit., 63. ‖ *Ante*, 388. ¶ Krim Khans, 52

many prisoners. The Tartar guard was also defeated, and many of them were drowned in the Osseter. The enemy then withdrew, but they carried off a great many prisoners. Sahib Girai boasted that the Russians lost one hundred thousand men in this campaign. He wrote, however, to Vasili to say that the invasion had been without his sanction, and had been the work of the tzarevitches alone, and that he had ordered them to fight the Lithuanians and not the Russians. Nevertheless he told him he must be on his guard, for his princes were constantly saying, "What advantage do we derive from our friendly intercourse with Russia? hardly a sable skin a year, while war would secure us thousands." "This," he said "shuts my mouth. You may choose what you will, but if we are to remain friends your presents must equal in value at least three or four hundred prisoners." He demanded money and falcons; he also asked for a baker and a cook to be sent to him. Meanwhile the kalga wrote Vasili a friendly letter, while Safa Girai sent one containing truculent language. "I was once your son," he said, "but you did not care for my friendship. This is the reason why misfortune has come upon you, and that your country has been pillaged. You may, however, regain my friendship. If you neglect it I promise you an unceasing war so long as my uncle the tzar and the kalga live. I will ally myself with all your enemies and exact a terrible vengeance."* But Vasili was rapidly passing beyond the reach of these puerile threats; he fell ill, and at length died on the 3rd of November, 1533.† He was succeeded by his infant son Ivan IV., and the affairs of State were controlled by a council of regency.‡

The reign of Ivan IV. is one of the most tragic stories in European history. He was a mere child, and his surroundings were anything but promising. "The hideous scene," says the caustic historian Kelly, "opened with the saturnalia of that court which the two preceding autocrats had suddenly called into existence in the midst of coarse and brutal ignorance. Its nobles were barbarians, either upstarts or fallen from their pristine state. A great number of them were of the blood of Rurik. Formerly, the whole empire was the theatre of their ambition; its partition into appanages their end; civil war their means: but now that all was concentrated in the prince, their sole arena was his court; their end, the precarious power derived from favouritism; their means, intrigue; they were without rules, without manners accordant to their situation. They knew no other restraint than an iron despotism, whose rude and ponderous mass had fallen into the hands of a female of blighted character, the mother of an infant who was only three years of age."§ She and her uncle Michael Glinski were Lithuanians and foreigners, and the great nobles were exceedingly jealous of both. Almost within a week of the young tzar's accession, his oldest uncle Yuri

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* Karamzin, vii. 204. † *Vide ante*, 394, &c. ‡ *Id.*, 400. § Op. cit., i. 133.

Ivanovitch was charged with treason and was imprisoned, together with his supposed abettor Prince Andrew Shuiski.* This was followed by the imprisonment and execution of Michael Glinski, who had dared to denounce the paramour of Helena, Prince Ivan Obolenski-Telennef.† Yuri Ivanovitch died in prison on the 26th of August, 1536, and it was reported that he was starved to death. This frightened his brother Andrew, who issued a manifesto in which he appealed to the feudal soldiery of Russia to rescue the country from the oligarchy which ruled it, but he was inveigled into visiting Moscow under false promises, and was in turn imprisoned and put to death. His supporters, we are told, were hanged at intervals along the Novgorod road.‡

While terrorism reigned at home the regent entered into a sixty years' treaty of peace with Sweden, and one of seventeen years with the Livonian knights. By the latter the Narowa was fixed as the boundary between Russia and Livonia. On another side Moldavia, which had been a faithful friend to Russia, was utterly ruined and devastated by the Turks under Sultan Suliman, and although it secured the election of its own hospodar by the payment of a large annual tribute, a privilege which it retained for a century, it no longer figures as an important element in European affairs.§

Sigismund of Poland deemed the minority of the Grand Prince a favourable opportunity for recovering the towns which Vasili had taken from him, and incited the Krim Khan to invade Russia. Sahib Girai accordingly sent his troops to attack the district of Riazan. They were, however, met and repelled by the princes Punkof and Gatef.‖ This was in the year 1534. Sigismund was not more fortunate. His Polish subjects were loath to move in aid of Lithuania, and were besides broken into many parties with petty jealousies, and the consequence was that the borders of Lithuania were ravaged with terrible effect, and the Russians even advanced close to Vilna. They then thought it prudent to withdraw.¶

Meanwhile matters took a curious turn in the Krim. The kalga, Islam Girai, who was a partisan of Russia, raised a revolt against Sigismund's ally the Khan Sahib, who was driven from the throne and sought refuge at Kirkor, relying on the Turks, his patrons, to support him. This threw Islam still more into the arms of Russia, and he despatched a force of twenty thousand men against Lithuania, entered into a treaty with, and swore friendship for "*his young brother Ivan.*" As a reward for his rejection of the ten thousand gold pieces and twenty thousand pieces of cloth offered him by Sigismund, he asked for a present of some artillery and fifty thousand dengas. He also informed the Russian court that Prince Bulgak, one of Sahib Girai's generals, had

* Karamzin, vii. 297-300. † *Id.*, 302-304. ‡ *Id.*, 308. § *Id.*, 311, 312. ‖ *Id.*, 316, 317. ¶ *Id.*, 317-321.

left Perekop at the head of a body of plunderers. He in fact allied himself with the Cossacks, and made a raid upon the district of Seversk.* During 1535 the Russians and Lithuanians mutually harried each other's lands; the latter, assisted by fifteen thousand Krim Tartars, appeared on the Oka, and burnt several villages of Riazan. Islam, who pretended it was all the doing of Sahib Girai, is accused by Russian historians of having betrayed his allies for Polish gold, and his envoy was arrested at Moscow.† The Lithuanians now captured Gornel, Starodub, and Pochepa. On the other side, the Tartars of Kazan were incited to rebel by Sahib Girai, but the good fortune of Russia speedily returned. Its soldiers repelled with great slaughter a furious attack made upon a fortress called Ivanogorod on the Sebeya, which they had planted within the Lithuanian borders. They recovered Pochepa and Starodub, and built two new towns (*i.e.*, Zavolochia and Veliya) on the enemy's land. This was followed by a five years' truce, based on the *status quo*.‡ Meanwhile Islam Girai wrote to the Russian court informing it that the Turkish Sultan had determined to make war upon Russia, and that he had been incited to do so by Simeon Belski, a prince of Prussian origin, who had been formerly in the Russian service, and had a bitter quarrel with the authorities at Moscow. Messengers were sent to Islam Girai to ask that he would either give up the traitor (who was then in the Taurida) or put him to death, but Islam Girai had ceased to exist. He had been killed in a sudden attack made upon him by a Nogai called Baki Beg, in alliance with Belski.§ Von Hammer tells us Baki's brother was Sahib Girai's father-in-law, and that Islam Girai was frozen to death in a barrel full of water.‖ This was done with the assistance of Baki, who was eventually treated in the same way, and both of them were buried in one tomb. Ali Beg, the brother of Baki Beg, whose daughter Sahib Girai had married, raised a body of twelve thousand men to revenge him, but his troops were surprised in a defile and destroyed.¶ The Russians in vain tried to seduce the Tartars, by money, &c., to surrender Belski.**

Sahib Girai soon showed his hand. He plundered the Russian envoy, and then cynically wrote to inform the tzar of the death of Islam Girai. He at the same time offered him his friendship on condition that peace was made with Kazan, which he said belonged to him, and that Prince Vasili Shuiski or the grand equerry, Helena's paramour, Telennef was sent as an envoy. In case the Russians continued to molest Kazan, they were threatened with his vengeance, and he said he would heap ruins upon ruins.†† The boyards replied to his note in more courteous terms than usual. They reminded him that a country belongs to the one who conquers it, and that by this right the Khan of Kazan was the vassal of

* *Id.*, 322-324. † *Id.*, 326. ‡ *Id.*, 336. § *Id.*, 339. ‖ Krim Khans, 53.
¶ Von Hammer, Osm. Ges., ii. 181. ** Karamzin, vii. 340. †† *Id.*, 341.

Russia. They promised, however, to forget the ill-deeds of Safa Girai, the Kazan Khan, and to send a distinguished person as envoy to the Krim, but not either of the two named in the Khan's note, their services being required at Moscow. That city now received a notable addition by the enlargement of the Kremlin. A much larger area covered with shops was enclosed by a new wall protected by four towers. This fortification received the Tartar name of Kitai, which means the middle (*i.e.*, "party wall"). Other fortresses and towers were built and repaired during the regency. A great number of Lithuanians were persuaded to settle in Russia by the grant of lands, while large sums were contributed by the clergy and monasteries for the ransom of Russians held in bondage by the Tartars.*

The coin was also improved and a new type introduced. The St. George on the new pieces bore a lance instead of a sword, whence they were called kopecka, from kopec, a lance.† While the general policy of the regency seems to have been wise and prudent, the grandees grew more jealous of Helena and her surroundings. At length she died suddenly on the 3rd of April, 1538, as was generally supposed, by poison.‡ A few days after, her paramour was seized, imprisoned, and starved to death. The chief authority in the State was now seized by the family of the Shuiski. They were descended from the old princes of Suzdal, who had been deprived of their heritage by the sons of Dimitri Donski, and had long been treated as dangerous enemies of the State. Their power was limited by the rival pretensions of the Belski, already named. The rivalry of the grandees produced anarchy in Russia, and naturally encouraged its neighbours to attack it. Kelly sums up the state of things in a few graphic words. "The youthful Ivan was spared no more than his subjects. His treasury was plundered, his dominions encroached upon. The great boyards, masters of his palace, seemed hardly to endure his presence there, it was their delight to degrade him. Shuiski, in his clownish insolence, was seen to loll on Ivan's bed, and burden the lap of the descendant of so many sovereigns with the unworthy weight of his feet."§ Thus was nurtured the young prince. What wonder that he turned out a tiger.

Let us now turn our view to the Krim for a short space. After the death of Islam Girai, Ahmed Girai, son of Saadet Girai, was appointed kalga in his place, but having opposed the Khan, he was in turn deposed and put to death, and Sahib Girai nominated his own son Amin Girai in his place. He then proceeded to organise his kingdom. Hitherto the Krim Tartars had no fixed settlements, and chiefly led the life of nomades. He caused the chariots on which they travelled to be broken, houses and villages to be built, and assigned special lands to the Tartars for cultivation. He enlarged the fortress of Ferhkerman and made the

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* *Id.*, 342. † *Id.*, 346. ‡ *Id.*, 347. § Op. cit., i. 134.

canal of Or (*i.e.*, Perekop). The deeds by which he granted lands were written in the Turk language, and sealed with the red and green seals in use among the Mongols.* Sahib Girai, with eight thousand horsemen and all his Oghlans and sons, took part in Sultan Suliman's campaign in Moldavia in 1538.†

In 1539 we find him writing to the Grand Prince to tell him he had arrested his envoy, who was on his way to the hospodar of Moldavia, his enemy. This was in return for what Vasili and Helena had done in slaughtering the envoys he had sent to Kazan. He also reminded him that he was master of one hundred thousand warriors, and that if each one should carry off but one prisoner, it would prove a terrible loss to Russia. He asked where he wished to see him, at Moscow or on the Oka, and reminded him he would be accompanied by the great Sultan Suliman, who had conquered the world from the east to the west. He told the tzar he (Ivan) could do him no harm nor plant a foot on his territory. While the Krim Khan wrote in this truculent style, the Kazan Tartars ravaged the Russian borders terribly,‡ and soon after Amin, the son of Sahib, devastated the district of Koshir. He was, however, disavowed by his father.§

Meanwhile the Shuiski were for a while displaced from the helm of affairs, and matters began to look brighter under the control of John Belski. In 1541 Alexander Kashin, the Grand Prince's envoy, was in the Krim, and Tajaldi, the envoy of Sahib Girai, at Moscow. This outward semblance of peace did not prevent the Tartars in the spring of that year from invading Russia. The Khan left home with all his army, leaving behind him only the women, children, and old men, and was accompanied by a contingent of Turkish cavalry, by some artillery, and by the various hordes of Nogais who encamped at Azof, Kaffa, and Astrakhan. Simeon Belski acted as their guide. The Russians prepared two armies to resist them; one of which was posted at Kolomna and the other at Vladimir. The Tartars crossed the Don and attacked Zaraisk, which resisted bravely, and they failed to take it.‖ Their forces, however, pressed on and occupied the heights commanding the Oka, which they attempted to cross on rafts under cover of the Turkish artillery, but the Russians, although they had no missiles save arrows, showed such a bold front that the enemy was constrained to withdraw for the night, and the following day retired hastily, the Khan leading

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 366, 367.

† Von Hammer, Osm. Gesh., ii. 152. These Oghlans are thus enumerated by Jelalzade and Ali; Maashuk Oghlan, son of Mest Khun Abdulla Oghlan, Murtazi Oghlan, Haji Khalel Oghlan, the Shirinbeg beg Bababeg, Khoja Mamabeg, Hasan Puladbeg, Bipulushbeg, Morunbeg, Haji Ali Beg, the beg of Kipchak, Kuchuk beg, the beg of Manfut Janibeg, Ak Babai Mirza, Ko saat Mirza, Selimshah beg, Ahmed pasha beg, Ali Haji beg, Ibrahim beg, Taghalif beg, Berdghazi beg, Kemalbeg, Nush Mirza, Ak Kuchukbeg (envoy of Kazan), Nukush beg, the envoys of Abdulla Yakshi, Shidak beg, &c. (*Id.*, French ed., v. 290. Note, xiii.)

‡ Karamzin, viii. 10-12. § *Id.*, 14. ‖ *Id.*, 22.

the way. They left some cannons behind them; the first Ottoman trophies which were captured by the Russians, says Karamzin.* The Tartars lost some prisoners in their retreat, which led them towards Pronsk, to which town they laid siege. The garrison defended it bravely, the women assisting the men, and stones and cauldrons of boiling water were brought into requisition. A Russian army, which had been sent to the rescue, at length compelled the Tartars to raise the siege and to withdraw, and their tzarevitch, who had lingered behind for pillage, was defeated in the district of Odoef.†

Meanwhile matters went on badly at Moscow. Ivan Belski, whose prudence and talent were conspicuous, was rudely thrust from power by a faction of nobles, led by Ivan Shuiski, and imprisoned with the metropolitan. He was soon after put to death. Shuiski had owed not only liberty but also a dignified position to the generosity of his rival, and his conduct gives point to the machiavelianism of the historian who blames generosity on such occasions, and justifies the policy of leaving an enemy no peace but that of the tomb.‡ Shuiski's heel was now once more on the neck of the State.

In 1542 Amin, Sahib Girai's son, apparently against his father's wish, made a fresh attack on the provinces of Seversk and Riazan. He was met and defeated on the famous plain of Kutikof, and driven to the river Mecha.§ We now find Ivan sending some money to John Pitrovitch, the hospodar of Moldavia, to enable him to pay the heavy contribution laid on him by Sultan Suliman.

The Shuiski meanwhile behaved with intolerable arrogance. They treated the young Grand Prince with indignity, and brutally slaughtered a favourite of his, named Voronzof. Ivan's education was neglected, and his worse tastes were fostered; cruelty became with him an amusement. Not only was he fond of the slaughter of wild animals, but also of torturing tame ones; and it was his amusement to gallop about the streets with a troop of young friends knocking down women and old men.‖ When we read these stories and the terrible harvest which followed such a seed-time, we are constrained to admit the wisdom of that law of succession which generally prevails among barbarous races, by which the sceptre can only pass to the grown man who is strong enough to hold it. Ivan was now persuaded it was time he exercised authority himself. A conspiracy arose against the Shuiski, headed by the Glinski, uncles of Ivan. The former were overthrown, and their chief, Andrew, was torn in pieces by dogs in the open street.¶ The change was not a very happy one. It was followed by executions, proscriptions, and forfeitures. "The Glinski," says Kelly, "pushed Ivan forward at their head, in the same path of blood and plunder. They allowed him to misuse his recently acquired liberty. He

* *Id.*, 29. † *Id.*, 31. ‡ *Id.*, 33. § *Id.*, 40. ‖ *Id.*, 45. ¶ *Id.*, 47.

squandered it in roaming without a purpose through his provinces, which were compelled to defray the charges; they were ruined by his costly presence and astonished by his caprices. There his unworthy kinsmen prompted him to punish without cause, and to reward beyond measure; glutting some with what was confiscated from others. They taught him not to think himself master, except when he was resisting and when he was causing to be tortured before his eyes the suppliants by whose entreaties he was wearied."*

Ivan was crowned with great ceremony on the 16th of January, 1547, and from that time the Russian sovereigns have styled themselves tzar,† a title consecrated by the usage of the Greek Emperors of Byzantium, of whom the Russian Grand Princes claimed in a measure to be the heirs. He was then seventeen years old, and afterwards proceeded to marry Anastasia, the daughter of a boyard of Prussian descent, whose virtues are as much lauded by the annalists as her beauty.‡ Her husband continued to be the slave of his outrageous temper and low tastes. We are told that a deputation of Pskofians having presented a complaint against their governor, a favourite of the Glinski, he ordered them to be sprinkled with boiling spirits, and to have their hair and beards burnt. He would probably have gone further, but was summoned away by the news that the great bell of Moscow had fallen.§

This accident was like the knell of a coming disaster. It arrived speedily enough, in the terrible fire of Moscow, which stands out in its history like that of London in ours. Its thickly clustered wooden houses were destroyed. Palaces, churches, kremlin, all were devastated, and some of its greatest artistic treasures perished. It was followed by a popular outbreak or outburst of wrath against the Glinski, during which the uncle of the tzar and many of his supporters were put to death, while a reign of terror reigned in the capital.|| The next part of the story may be told in the words of Kelly. "Amidst the universal disorder, Sylvester, a monk, one of those inspired personages who then traversed Russia, and who, like the Jewish prophets or the dervishes, dared to stand up, even against their sovereigns, appeared in the presence of the young despot. He approached him, the gospel in his hand, his eye full of menace, his finger raised, and with a solemn voice he pointed out to him, in the surrounding flames, and blood and furious cries, and the limbs of his dismembered kinsfolk, the wrath of Heaven, which his passions had at length aroused. To these terrific menaces he added the infallible effect of certain appearances then deemed supernatural, and thus mastering the mind of Ivan, he wrought a real miracle: the tiger was humanised. Alexis Adashef seconded Sylvester. They encircled the young tyrant with priests and able and prudent boyards."¶ The anarchy which had

* Op. cit., i. 135. † Karamzin, viii. 61 and 63. ‡ *Id.*, 65. § *Id.*, 69.
|| Karamzin, viii. 70-75. ¶ Op. cit., i. 136.

so long prevailed now ceased. Ivan summoned deputies from the various towns of the empire, whom he addressed on the great square of Moscow, confessing the iniquities of his youth and denouncing the tyrannies and ill-deeds of his councillors, and promising that thenceforth he would be the judge and defender of his people.* He issued an amnesty, and ordered the poor to be relieved. He himself presided at the council table, and the spirit which animated him seemed to pervade the officials of the empire. Order and peace flourished everywhere. A new code of laws was issued. At an assembly of the notables of the empire he presented a charter by which the privilege of electing certain assessors to act with the governor, which had been possessed by the republics of Novgorod and Pskof, was extended to other cities. The same council introduced great reforms, both of ritual and of morals, into the church, which had become much demoralised; schools were also founded at Moscow and other towns.†

But it is time we should revert again to the affairs of Krim. In 1543 Amin, Sahib Girai's son, was sent to join the Sultan in his campaign against Hungary, where he took part in the siege of Stulhweissenburgh.‡ The next year he ravaged the districts of Odoef and Bielef. In 1549 his father conquered Astrakhan, as I have mentioned.§ He also deemed himself over-lord of the Nogais, and in a letter to Ivan he said that the Kabardians and mountain Kaitaks paid him tribute. He now became very arrogant, and wrote to the Russian tzar in this style: "As you are approaching the age of reason, it would be well for you to declare frankly what you want. Do you want my friendship or blood? If the former, then send me as presents, not miserable bagatelles but substantial gifts, such as the king (*i.e.*, the Polish king) sends me." He said the latter sent him fifteen thousand ducats annually. "If you decide on war," he added, "I will march on Moscow and trample your lands under my horses' hoofs." Ivan replied by arresting the Tartar envoy, who had treated the Muscovite merchants in the Krim as his slaves.|| This was in 1549, and was followed by a struggle with Kazan, which I have described elsewhere.

Sahib Girai, having heard in 1551 that Ali Murza, one of the principal chiefs of the Nogais, contemplated a descent on the Krim, marched against and completely defeated him. Until this time the four tribes, Shirin, Barin, Arghin, and Kipchak were known as Durt-Karaju, and enjoyed the highest position in the horde. Sahib Girai promoted the tribe Sijewit to equal rank, and to reward Baki beg, one of the chiefs of the Mansur tribe, for having killed Islam Girai, he gave him the tribe of Atai khoja and a rank above the other chiefs. About this time the Khan was very handsomely entertained by one of his officers at Kaffa,

* Karamzin, viii. 79, 80. † *Id.*, 80-91. ‡ Osm. Reich., ii. 191. § *Ante*, 353, 354. || Karamzin, viii. 97, 98.

while on his way to Circassia. While seated in the garden there after dinner, he summoned the Sipahis (*i.e.*, the Turkish mercenaries) and found fault with them. They were irritated, and replied that the bread which they ate they owed to the Sultan and not to him. This contretemps created an ill-feeling which led to Sahib Girai's ruin. While he lived at Constantinople he had had many secret meetings with Sultan Suliman, which had led to frequent changes in the office of Grand Vizier, and had intrigued, but unsuccessfully, against Rustem Pasha, who now occupied that post. The latter wrote to his friends at Kaffa to denounce Sahib Girai. They accordingly perverted the incident about the Sipahis, and declared he wanted to seize Kaffa, which belonged to the Porte. Meanwhile Safa Girai, the Khan of Kazan, died. His two sons, Bulukh and Mubarek Girai, were in the Krim at the time, and the Kazan envoys went to offer the throne to the former. Sahib Girai, who had some grievances with these princes, imprisoned them in the fort of Akkerman.* At this time Devlet Girai, the son of Mubarek Girai, son of Mengli Girai, was living at Constantinople as a hostage. His uncle deeming his presence there dangerous, offered him the Khanate of Astrakhan. This was seconded by the vizier Rustem, who secretly promised him in addition the Khanate of Krim. Sahib Girai was ordered to march against the Circassians, and especially against the rebellious tribe of Shan.† Leaving Amin, his son, to guard Ferhkerman with twelve thousand men, he himself marched against Yaya (? the Khan just named). Devlet Girai duly arrived at Akkerman, and thence went by boat to the port of Kozlof, and finally to Baghchi-Serai, and liberated the two Kazan sultans. Amin marched against him, but was defeated on the *Alma* (what a queer sound the name and the locality has for our ears), and many of them went over to Devlet Girai. Amin retired to Sultan-Bazar, which was the residence of the kalgas. When this news reached Sahib Girai's camp his troops dispersed. He entered Temruk accompanied by the janissaries. The governor showed him the Sultan's firman appointing his nephew, and bade him leave the town. He remained there, however, till the arrival of Bulukh Girai, who put him to death. He was buried at Salajik, near Baghchi-Serai, in the tomb built by his grandfather Haji Girai. His doctor Kaisunisade, who afterwards became the physician of Sultans Suliman and Selim, described his tragic death in verse.‡ Von Hammer dates this in 952 of the hej. (*i.e.*, 1545),§ but this is clearly a mistake. It occurred in 1552.

DEVLET GIRAI KHAN.

Devlet Girai was the son of Mubarek Girai, and the grandson of Mengli Girai. He mounted the throne in the year 1551, and nominated

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 367-369. † Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 54.
‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 370. Krim Khans, 54, 55. § Osm. Resch., ii. 181.

Bulukh Girai sultan as his kalga. The latter having proved insubordinate, was put to death, and Ahmed Girai, the son of Devlet, was installed in his place. Having made a raid towards Astrakhan, Devlet Girai was returning home laden with booty, when the famous Shermet Oghlu planted himself on his path to cut off his retreat. A terrible battle was the consequence, in which Ahmed Girai and his brother Haji Girai, together with five other sultans, many chiefs, and soldiers perished. The battle was virtually lost when Muhammed Girai, another son of the Khan, arrived with reinforcements and turned the tide of victory. As a reward for his services Muhammed was appointed kalga.*

At this time we find a new power rising on the Don, which became a very effectual instrument in restraining the Krim Khans, namely, the military confederacy of the Don Cossacks. It probably originated in a nucleus of outlaws and other fugitives from Poland and Russia, associated with Circassians, &c. They settled on the middle Don, and having occupied the town of Akhas, gave it the new name of Cherkask. Cherkas and Cossack, according to Karamzin, mean the same thing.†

The new Khan of Krim, like his predecessors, was not satisfied to see Kazan gradually crushed and pass under the yoke of Russia; nor indeed was his patron Sultan Suliman, who sent orders to the Nogais to assist the Krim Khan, and told them he had made over Kazan and its crown to the Girais.‡

In 1552 the Tartars advanced upon Tula, which they attempted to storm, but the attack failed, and having heard that a large Russian army was going to the rescue, they withdrew during the night. The garrison pursued them, captured some cannons, and killed many of their men, among them being Kamberdi, the Khan's brother-in-law. Meanwhile a body of fifteen thousand Russians, under Cheniatef and Kurbski, attacked thirty thousand Tartars, who were marching to the assistance of their brethren, and had devastated the neighbourhood of Tula. They defeated them, and made them abandon a great quantity of prisoners, camels, and baggage carts. From their prisoners the Russians learnt that the Khan's intention had been to march straight upon Moscow, as he fancied the tzar and his troops were at Kazan.§ After his victory the tzar prosecuted his campaign against the latter city, which he at length captured and annexed.|| He returned to Moscow amidst the rejoicings of his people, and was met by a messenger from his wife Anastasia, announcing the birth of a son, the tzarevitch Dimitri.¶ These rejoicings were soon tempered by the appearance of the plague, probably brought back with them by the Russian soldiers. Twenty-five thousand victims were buried in the cemeteries of Pskof, besides those who were laid-by in the forests,

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 371. † Op. cit., viii. 128. ‡ *Id.*, viii., 129, 130.
§ *Id.*, 141. || *Vide ante*, 414, &c. ¶ Karamzin, viii. 200.

&c. The Novgorodians expelled all the merchants from Pskof, and threatened to burn them alive if they returned; but such precautions did not avail, and five thousand people perished there, among them being the archbishop Serapion.*

Soon after Ivan fell ill, and was persuaded to declare his infant son Dimitri his heir. He demanded that the principal boyards should swear allegiance to him. This many refused to do, dreading apparently another minority. They openly supported the claims of Ivan's cousin Vladimir Andrewitch. His firmness, however, compelled at least an outward conformity with his wishes, and they took the oath unwillingly.† Vladimir himself was constrained to follow their example. We may well believe, however, that the memory of the outbreak rankled in the mind of the young tzar, who must have felt, as he stood on the brink of the grave, what a chaos would follow his death, and how little he could rely on the hollow affection of his courtiers. For the present, however, he dismissed his feelings and behaved with singular clemency. His recovery was speedily followed by the death of his young son Dimitri.‡ About this time Ivan had an interview with Vassian, ex-bishop of Kolomna, who had been one of the victims of the cabal of boyards during the minority of Ivan, and who, although old, nourished a great resentment against them. He dexterously urged upon the young tzar that if he wished to be absolute monarch he must have no other counsellor than himself. He was always to command and never to obey, and bade him remember that "the wisest counsellor of a prince always ends by becoming his master." As Karamzin says, this kind of poison found a ready welcome in Ivan's ears, and bore its bitter fruit later on. Soon after Anastasia presented him with another son, named Ivan, and this was followed by another famous conquest, namely, that of the Khanate of Astrakhan.§ These conquests in the popular eyes were due to the vigour of Ivan, and, as Karamzin says, it was forgotten how much of the success was to be attributed to the vastly increased strength of Russia, which she owed to his immediate predecessors.‖ They, however, produced their natural effect among the neighbouring powers. Merchants went to the tzar from Shamakha, Derbend, the country of the Shamkal, of Tumen, Khiva, and Seraichuk. The rulers of Khiva and Bokhara sent envoys with presents.¶ In 1555 we are told the Circassian princes of the Beshtau submitted with their whole country and all their subjects for ever to the Russian sceptre.** It would seem they also asked Russian aid against their former masters, the Tartars of the Taurida and the Turks. Christianity was still flourishing among the highlanders of the Caucasus, and several of the Caucasian princes sent their sons to Moscow to be educated. Thus, we are told, the princes Sibok and

* *Id.*, 214. † *Id.*, 226. ‡ *Id.*, 233. § *Ante*, 355, &c. ‖ Op. cit., 250, 251. ¶ *Id.*, 252. ** Klaproth, Travels in the Caucasus, 173.

Temriukof, with the son of the Nogai Sumbeka learnt to read and write in the palace of the Kremlin.* Yadigar, prince of Siberia, sent to offer tribute, and this enabled Ivan to add the style of ruler of Siberia to his many titles.† A more interesting event for us at this time was the intercourse which Russia began to have with England. In the year 1553, during the reign of Edward VI., three ships set out from England, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, to find a north-east route to Cathay and the Indies. Two of the ships became separated, and were wrecked on the coasts of Russian Lapland, near Arsina, and Willoughby there perished of cold. Chancellor was more fortunate, entered the White Sea, and on the 24th of August, 1553, landed in the bay of the Dwina, where the monastery of Saint Nicholas was situated, and where the town of Archangel was afterwards founded. News of his having reached Ivan, Chancellor was invited to Moscow, where he was much struck by the surroundings and magnificence of the court. He presented a letter from Edward VI. It was written in various languages, and addressed generally to all the sovereigns of the North and East,‡ and asked for a kind reception for his mariners. Ivan sent Edward a reply, promising his protection to such English merchants as should make their way to Russia. When Chancellor returned home Edward was dead, but the news was no less welcome to Mary. An English company, "The Society for the Discovery of Unknown Lands," was formed to trade with Russia, and Chancellor set out again in 1555, with two ships and a courteous letter from Mary. He was again well received, and it was decided that an exchange of merchandise should take place at Kholmogory in autumn and winter, and Ivan granted the merchants a diploma to trade wherever they wished in Russia without paying any dues, to open shops and stores, and to employ Russian servants. Criminals were to be handed over to the Russian law, but disputes between the English were to be remitted to an arbitrator chosen by themselves. The English imports were chiefly differently coloured kerseys, broadcloth, pewter vessels, and sugar. The English founded a large factory at the port of St. Nicholas, and others at Kholmogory, while one of their captains named Burroughs, still hankering after Cathay, made an adventurous voyage to Nova Zembla and Waigatz.§ Chancellor was drowned on his return voyage in 1556, but the Russian envoy who accompanied him reached England safely, and was received with an ovation in London. He presented a few sables, which had alone escaped the wreckers on the Scotch coast, and returned to his master with rich tissues, expensive arms, and also a lion and a lioness,‖ while the merchants of the English Company gave him a gold chain of the value of £100 and four costly cups. He took back with him to Moscow artisans, and doctors, among whom we

* Karamzin, viii. 253. † *Id.*, 254. ‡ *Id.* 258. § *Id.*, 264. ‖ *Id.*, 266.

are told was the famous Dr. Standish. In the letters which Philip and Mary wrote him, Ivan was styled the August Emperor. English merchants were now specially patronised by the tzar, and earned his good will by their skill and energy. Jenkinson, who arrived at the Dwina in 1557, made his way to Archangel, while the footsteps of the English were speedily followed by those of the merchants of Holland and Brabant.* But it is time we returned to the Krim Khan.

The destruction of the Khanate of Kazan naturally produced great excitement in the Krim, nevertheless the Khan postponed his hostile intentions. In 1553 he sent a treaty to Moscow, in which he agreed to be on friendly terms with Russia on condition of receiving thence some rich presents. In this he gave the tzar his old title of Grand Prince.† Ivan replied that the Russians did not buy anyone's friendship. He also informed the Khan of the conquest of Astrakhan.‡ His boyards wished him to complete the work he had so well begun, and to overwhelm the last western fragment of Batu's empire; but this was apparently deemed too hazardous. Meanwhile Sultan Suliman sent Ivan a letter, written in golden characters, in which he styled him "Fortunate tzar and wise prince," and also some merchants to make purchases at Moscow. The submission of the Circassians of Beshtau or Piatigorsk to the Russians, as I have mentioned, was naturally very unwelcome to their former suzerain, the Krim Khan, who marched against them. Ivan thereupon despatched the voivode Cheremetief from Bielef, at the head of thirteen thousand boyard-followers, strelitzes, and Cossacks, by way of Murafsk towards Perekop. On learning this Devlet Girai turned aside, and with sixty thousand men fell on the Russian frontiers towards Tula. Cheremetief, who was encamped near "the sacred mountains" and those of Dutza, prepared to attack him, while the tzar marched upon him from Moscow, and he was thus threatened on two sides. Devlet Girai having learnt the trap in which he was caught hastily withdrew, and Cheremetief captured his baggage, sixty thousand horses, and one hundred and eighty camels, and having sent this booty off to Mtzensk and Riazan, posted himself with but seven thousand men near Tula. The retreating Tartars, although in overwhelming numbers, were too much afraid to make a stand, and in the combat which followed the Russians captured the standard of the princes of Shirin, and passed the night on the battle-field; but the following day, the Tartars having extorted by torture from a prisoner whom they had captured the truth about the Russian strength, renewed the fight and reversed the issue of the previous day. In this struggle Cheremetief was wounded. The Russians retired to Tula, and the Tartars went back to the Taurida.§ This was followed by a struggle between Russia and Sweden, in which there was the usual ravaging of the border districts. The Russians captured so many

* *Id.*, 268. † *Id.* ‡ *Id.*, 269. § *Id.*, 274.

prisoners that we are told that a man was sold for a grivna and a girl for five altins.* It ended in a truce being signed for forty years, on the basis of the *status quo ante.*†

In 1557 Ivan was informed that the Krim Khan was massing his troops near the waters of Konsk, and was meditating a descent on Tula and Kozelsk. Upon this the brave Riefski having assembled some three hundred Cossacks, and been joined by the hetmans Nilinski and Yeskovitch, attacked Islam Kirman, a small town near Ochakof, belonging to the Tartars. This diversion compelled Devlet Girai, to return to the Taurida, which was at this time being devastated by pestilence.

Meanwhile the Lithuanian Prince Dimitri Vichnevetzki, a descendant of St. Vladimir, who commanded the Cossacks of the Dnieper, offered his services to the Russians. He built a fortress on the island of Khortitza, and wrote to the tzar to say he did not want any troops but only permission to shut up the Krim Khan in the Taurida "as in a cavern." Having captured Islam Kirman, he removed the cannons he found there to his fortress, where he successfully repelled the attacks of the Tartars, which extended over twenty-four days. On another side the Circassian princes Tasdurt and Dassibok conquered in the name of Russia the towns of Temruk and Taman, on the sea of Azof, where was formerly the principality of Tmutarakan.‡ The Khan was in despair, and a very little vigour would have overwhelmed the Krim.

The terrible winter of 1557 had greatly depopulated the Nogai steppes, where many men and cattle perished from cold. This was aggravated in the Taurida by the plague. The Khan had barely ten thousand men left, fit to bear arms, and the Nogais had still fewer. Meanwhile dissensions broke out among the murzas and the grandees. Some of the latter conspired against Devlet Girai, and wished to put Toktamish, the tzarevitch of Astrakhan, on the throne. This conspiracy having been discovered, Toktamish fled to Russia, where he informed the tzar of the state of things, but the opportunity was lost.

The Sultan sent troops to the assistance of his *protegé*, which captured Khortitza from the brave Cossack chief Vechnevetzki, who retired thence to Cherkask and Kanef, where he was well received. These towns, which belonged to Poland, he was persuaded by the tzar to hand over again to Augustus, while he was granted as a fief the town of Bielef and the neighbouring villages, "where he might be used as a menace both to the Tartars and Poles."§ Devlet Girai now released the Russian envoy Zagriatski, who had been kept in confinement for five years, and proposed an alliance against Poland and Lithuania. As a proof of what he would do, he sent his son to ravage Volhynia and Podolia. The Russians did not reciprocate his advances, but rather drew nearer to

* *Id.*, 279. † *Id.*, 282, 283. ‡ *Id.*, 287. Klaproth's Caucasus, 173.
§ Karamzin, viii. 289.

their old rivals the Lithuanians, and urged upon them the adoption of a common policy against their pestilent neighbour. This proposal, however, came to nothing. As usual, mutual jealousies soon overclouded the horizon. This arose chiefly on account of Livonia. The Knights of Livonia ruled the eastern seaboard of the Baltic, and persistently refused to allow artisans or artists to penetrate into Russia, on the plea that that empire was getting too powerful, and that it would end in the various Anabaptists and other sectaries migrating from Germany, where they were being persecuted, and thus adding to the resources and strength of the rising empire. This selfish policy was naturally resented by Ivan, who determined to assert his rights, and now demanded the payment of the annual tribute which the Livonians had undertaken to pay by the treaty of 1503. He also insisted that the Greek churches at Riga, Revel, and Dorpat, destroyed by the Lithuanians, should be rebuilt, and cynically remarked he was not like the emperor and the pope who did not know how to defend their churches.* The Order was governed by five bishops, a grand master, the marshal of the order, eight commanders, and eight bailiffs. It had lost its ancient prowess. Wealth and luxury had enervated its knights, who lived in their fine castles and devoted themselves to ease, and each one to his own interests; the bishops were at issue with one another, while the citizens of the towns had largely embraced the reformed religion. It was in fact a mere hollow pretence, and crumbled easily with but slight external pressure. Russia was meanwhile growing very powerful. She could command an army of three hundred thousand men, and now had a permanent force called strelitzes, who were armed with muskets. This was a great advance on a mere feudal force, which had to be specially summoned when needed. It was impossible under these conditions that Russia should submit much longer to be shut out from the sea, and it was inevitable the young giant should push down the rotten barrier which so much hampered it. A powerful army was diligently prepared to accomplish the work, and we are told that besides Russians there were mustered for the work Tartars, Cheremisses, Mordvins, and Circassians from Piatigorsk.† The open country was speedily overrun and terribly devastated. The cruelty of the invaders towards the inoffensive peasants was sickening. This was followed by the capture of Narva, which had been previously almost destroyed by a bombardment from the neighbouring Russian fortress of Ivanogorod. Two hundred and thirty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the victors, but, what was far more important, the victory secured for the Russians, for the first time in their history, an accessible port and outlet into the outer world. This capture was followed by those of Neithlos, of Adeye, and Neuhaus, and thus the Russian frontiers were permanently advanced as far as the Narowa. Amidst these disasters

* Karamzin, viii. 295. † *Id.*, 307.

Furstenberg, the aged Grand Master of the Order, resigned, and was replaced by the young Ketler, who made and persuaded others to make great but unavailing sacrifices to save his country, and appealed in vain to the powers of Europe. Charles V. had retired from the world. His successor on the Imperial throne, Ferdinand, was at issue with the Pope and in fear of the Turks, while other European sovereigns postponed their interference until they could speak words of tempering mercy to the tzar; but mercy was not his aim, and his legions obeyed him well. Dorpat, the famous capital of Livonia, defended itself bravely under its bishop, who was more a soldier than a pastor. Although he only had two thousand German soldiers with him besides the citizens, he prolonged the defence for six days, and only agreed to surrender the town when hard pressed by the voices of the citizens. The conditions offered by the Russians were generous. The most important were, that the inhabitants should not be transported without their consent to other parts of Russia, that they should have their own magistrates and laws, should have full right of trading, and that the confession of Augsburg should continue to be their rule of faith.* Veissenberg, Pirkel, Lais, Oberpahlen, Ringen or Tushin, and Atzel now submitted,† while other towns which resisted had their environs wasted, and were eventually captured. As the Grand Master and many of the knights still offered a stubborn resistance, and several of the principal fortresses held out, the country was again systematically ravaged; the torch and the sword were unsparingly used, and the people and their property transplanted. The kings of Poland, Sweden, and Denmark appealed to the tzar to spare the land. His reply to all three was haughty and unmistakable. Livonia was formerly a province tributary to Russia, it had during Russia's weakness shaken itself loose, but now it was again at her feet, and it was no concern of theirs. A short respite was meanwhile granted to the Order by a treaty made in November, 1559. This was owing to a diversion made by the Tartars, before whom Ivan did not wish to divide his forces.‡ Devlet Girai having heard that Ivan's hands were full in the north, summoned the Nogais to his help, collected, it is said, a force of one hundred thousand horsemen, and in December, 1558, ordered his son Muhammed Girai to march upon Riazan, the oghlan Makhmet on Tula, and the Nogais and princes of Shirin on Koshira. They had not advanced far when they heard that the Russians were quite ready to meet them, and seeing the preparations they had made, Muhammed Girai hastily retreated, and lost many men and horses from fatigue. The Russians pursued him as far as Oskol, finding the route strewn with corpses. On another side the latter attacked the Nogais, who had abandoned their own Khan, Islam (? Ismael), to join Devlet Girai, and captured fifteen thousand horses near Perekop. In order to press his advantages,

* *Id.*, 328. † *Id.*, 332. ‡ *Id.*, 345.

Ivan sent his favourite Daniel Adashef, at the head of a considerable body of boyard-followers, Cossacks, and strelitzes, against the Krim. That brave commander, having built a number of flat barges in the then uninhabited district near Kremenchuk, descended the Dnieper to its mouth with eight thousand men : then taking possession of two ships which were at anchor off the shore, he proceeded to land in the Taurida. The Tartars were panic-stricken and lost their heads, and we are told that for fifteen days Adashef devastated without opposition the western parts of the Krim, burnt the Tartar huts, captured their cattle, and made many prisoners, whom he intended to exchange for the Russians and Livonians kept in captivity by the Tartars.

He returned in triumph, and having found some Turks among the prisoners, he sent them to the pashas of Ochakof, saying he had no cause of quarrel with the Sultan. They made him presents and praised his bravery. Devlet Girai having recovered his balance, went in pursuit and followed him up the Dnieper, but failed to overtake him.* Adashef was received with great rejoicings, and was rewarded with some medals by the tzar.

Meanwhile the war broke out again with fresh fury in Livonia, and Ivan contented himself with urging the Nogais and Don Cossacks to continue harassing the Tartars. In 1559 the Prince of Tumen sent to ask that he might be numbered among the vassals of the empire.† The Circassians also asked that Ivan would send them officers to direct their operations against the Tartars, and clergy to convert them to Christianity. This was complied with, and the tzar sent them the brave Vishnevetzki, accompanied by a number of priests.‡

After the truce which had been signed with Livonia the Grand Master Ketler, who no doubt felt it was a very hollow affair, went with some of his chief dignitaries to Poland, where he persuaded Augustus, its king, and his diet that the growing power of Russia was a menace to Poland. A treaty of alliance was drawn up by which the Grand Master and the archbishop of Riga surrendered to the king the fortresses of Marienhausen, Lauban, Acherat, Düneburg, Rosichen, and Lutzen as a gauge of their fidelity, and undertook to pay him seven hundred thousand florins when the war was over. He meanwhile undertook to defend Livonia, which he now added to his other dominions. We are told the Duke of Mecklenburgh sent him some fresh troops raised in Germany. The Imperial diet granted Ketler one hundred thousand ducats, the Duke of Prussia and the magistrates of Revel also sent him considerable sums. One merchant of Riga advanced thirty thousand marks on a simple promissory note. Feeling himself strong, Ketler broke the pact a month before the truce terminated, and invaded the neighbourhood of Dorpat, to which he laid siege. This he was obliged to raise on account of the

* *Id.*, 349. † Klaproth's Caucasus, 174. ‡ Karamzin, viii. 351.

tempestuous weather and discontent of the troops. Turning aside he then attacked Lais, which, although only garrisoned with four hundred men, gallantly foiled all efforts to capture it, and the too rash Ketler was forced to withdraw. Augustus now wrote a letter asking the Tzar to withdraw from Livonia, which had become the vassal of Lithuania, while the Emperor Maximilian, the protector of "the Livonian Order," also wrote asking him to cease his attacks. The Russians meanwhile crowded over the frontiers, and ravaged the land as far as the gulf of Riga, captured Marienburgh, one of the most beautiful of the Livonian towns, and situated on an island on a lake. Large numbers of the Livonians were found in the forests, and were carried off to be sold as slaves, a grim proof of Muscovite policy at this period, while the skilful Russian general Kurbski marched from one victory to another. One of his battles was curious, as having commenced at midnight. The issue was ever the same, and rested with the strongest battalions.*

Meanwhile and in the autumn of the year 1560 Ivan lost his wife Anastasia, the good angel who had tempered his rough character so well. "With the loss of his wife," says Karamzin, "Ivan lost the instinct of virtue." The rest of his reign was a dismal carnival of death, and well earned him the title of "Terrible," and marks him as one of the greatest tyrants who have crushed the human race. His two chief councillors hitherto had been Adashef and Sylvester. To them were due the vast reforms in the empire. He now began to feel their good advice and counsel irksome, and longed to be free from control. This feeling was fanned by those about the court who had occasion to fear or respect these two men, who had discountenanced the late war with Livonia, and had urged Ivan to fight against the infidels and not the Christians. The informers accused them of having caused the death of the tzarina by their sorceries, and of having the secret power of the basilisk. Such tales were easily believed in the sixteenth century. They were tried in their absence and found guilty. Sylvester was exiled to the monastery of Solovetski on the White Sea, while Adashef was remitted to prison at Dorpat, where he shortly after died.† The Tzar gave princely alms to the clergy on the death of his wife, and within ten days we find some of them, headed by the metropolitan, urging him to marry again.

The old ways were now changed. It was Charles II.'s reign, after Cromwell's. Sobriety was jeered at, and decency and temperance were ridiculed. Those who retained their dignity and looked askance at the change had wine poured over their heads. A new class of courtiers was naturally forthcoming, who were not all laics, and who were ready, as is the wont of such, with easy answers to satisfy the conscientious scruples of the monarch when they arose. Women and wine became the chief deities of the court, and, as is usual in such cases, the libertine looked

* *Id.*, 363, 364. † *Id.*, ix. 1-16.

upon those whose manners were austere and correct, and who were therefore silent monitors of himself, as enemies. The relatives and friends of Adashef were slaughtered or exiled. Informers were ever ready, as in the reign of terror in France, to report incautious words or looks on the part of the grandees, and the penalty was death, however great and noble the victim. Sheremetief, the hero of the Taurida, barely escaped. Being imprisoned in a loathsome place, the tzar visited him, and said, "Where are your treasures, you pass for a rich man?" "My treasures, sire," said the boyard, "I have sent to Jesus Christ, my Saviour, by the hands of the poor."* He was obliged to retire to a monastery, while his brother was killed. The horrors increased daily, and the future seemed gloomier than the past; the Tzar became daily more suspicious and more cruel, while to add to the revolting scene, he was not only a devotee of religion like Louis XI., but he excused his doings with that perverse sophistry which is so often the accompaniment of crime, and of which the French revolution furnishes so many examples.

Meanwhile the war was continued in Livonia. A fresh army of ten thousand men was sent there in 1560, with the same result. What could a few hundred knights do against the legions of Russia? The land-marshal Bell, was captured. His brave and chivalric words attracted the admiration of his captors, but being sent on to Moscow, he suffered the fate of those who were frank there, and on telling the tzar that Livonia detested slavery and fought for honour and liberty, and that the Russians fought like barbarians steeped in blood, he was beheaded.† The strong fortress of Fellin surrendered somewhat pusillanimously, and the late Grand Master of the knights, the aged Furstemberg, fell into the hands of the Russians, by whom he was well treated. With Fellin a number of other fortresses came into the conqueror's hands.

The end of "the Order" was at hand. The Swedish king Eric took possession of Esthonia. The Grand Master Ketler, the archbishop of Riga, and the deputies of Livonia repaired to Vilna, where, in the presence of the King of Poland and Lithuania, it was dissolved. Sigismund Augustus was recognised as King of Livonia, and undertook again to defend it against Russia, while Ketler was appointed hereditary Duke of Courland. He publicly divested himself of his cross and mantle, and gave up the official seal of the Order to Prince Radzivil, who was nominated governor of Livonia. Thus passed away one of the most romantic communities in Europe, whose special story might surely tempt a fitting historian. Founded by crusading knights among the heathen Esthonians and Liefs, the conquerors were but a small garrison, and their prowess and valour, great as it was, was overmatched by the tremendous power of Russia. Their descendants still hold the lands, the names and the language of their crusading ancestors, and still form

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* *Id.*, 23. † *Id.*, 25-30.

the chief leaven in the governing caste of the country. They have furnished the brains and the vigour which have made the later Russia what it is, while Dorpat, their capital, is a household word wherever culture is known. This was a fitting revenge; and although we may cling fondly to the romantic memories which surround the quaint old castles of the knights, we must not forget that the state of things in Livonia had become an anomaly. The grand old tree was, to use a simile of Karamzin, rotten and dried up in its branches, and when the gale came it inevitably collapsed into ruin. Narva, Dorpat, Allentaken, and several districts in the provinces of Erven and Virlandia were in the hands of Russia; Sweden secured Harria, Revel, and half of Virlandia; Magnus, the brother of the King of Denmark, had the island of Oesel; Ketler had Courland and Semigallia, while the Poles took Southern Livonia.* Ivan now made overtures for a union in marriage with one of the sisters of Sigismund. These, however, fell through, as the Polish king insisted upon reconquering the part of Livonia held by the Russians.

Ivan then married the daughter of the Circassian prince of Temruk, who had been baptised with the name of Maria. This was on the 21st of August, 1561. The next year the Krim Khan made a demonstration against Southern Russia, but speedily retired again,† and Ivan determined to press the war against Lithuania. His army numbered two hundred and eighty thousand men, with eighty thousand nine hundred camp-followers, and two hundred pieces of artillery. He speedily captured Polotsk, the capital of White Russia, and famous for its wealth and prosperity, transported many of its chief inhabitants, destroyed the Latin churches, and caused the Jews to be baptised. He took the title of Grand Prince of Polotsk, and incorporated the heritage of the famous Gorislava with the Muscovite dominions.‡ Having put the town in a state of defence and granted a six months' truce to the Lithuanians, Ivan again retired to Moscow. He wrote to inform Devlet Girai of his victory. His letter was couched in somewhat arrogant terms; reminded the Khan of the constant failure of the Tartar attacks on Russia; told him of the Christian churches he had built at Kazan and Astrakhan, and praised the faithfulness of the Nogais and Circassians. He also released some of the Tartar prisoners who had been for some years in prison, but in the letter he no longer addressed the Khan as his brother, nor spoke of supplicating him as formerly, but used the word salutation. Nevertheless the presents of the Tzar and the skill of the envoy so won over the Khan that a peace of two years was agreed upon between them, and he also disclosed a secret of some moment. This was the project Sultan Suliman had formed to counteract the recent Russian successes. He proposed to join the Don and the Volga by a canal, to

* Karamzin, 35. † *Id.*, 43. ‡ *Id.*, 46.

build a fortress on the Perevoloka, where the two rivers approach nearest to one another, a second one on the Volga, near the modern Tzaritzin, and another near the Caspian, and to retake Kazan and Astrakhan. Fortunately for Russia, the Khan was as jealous of the Sultan as he was of the Tzar, and while he urged the impossibility of the scheme to the former he informed the latter about it.*

In the year 1563 died the metropolitan Macarius, an inoffensive person. Under his auspices printing was first introduced into Russia. The first work which came from the Russian press was "The Acts and Epistles of the Apostles." It aroused the opposition of an army of scribes and copyists, and also the superstitious opposition of the people. The printers had to escape, and fled to Constantine of Volhynia, under whose patronage the Bible was printed at Ostrog in 1581. Macarius was succeeded by Athanasius.†

We now find Ivan again at issue with the Poles. One of the grievances was that the Polish king refused him the title of Tzar. In one of his letters he asserts that everybody knew his dynasty was descended from Cæsar Augustus.‡ The first encounter was unfortunate for the Russians, who were surprised, and Prince Shuiski was killed.§

The terrible cruelties and fickleness of Ivan were producing another result. Several of the most distinguished Russians abandoned him and went into exile. Among these were the Cossack leader Dimitri Vishnevetski, and the two brothers Cherkaski,‖ but a more important exile was the brave Andrew Kurbski, to whose prowess the Russian arms had owed so much. Ivan suspected him of having designs upon the principality of Yaroslavl, and he accordingly fled to Lithuania. Karamzin has given us the letters which passed between him and the tzar, which were marked by bitter sneers and scoffing on either side, and on that of Ivan by arrogant and supercilious language mingled with abundant phrases from holy writ, well befitting the Caligula of Russian history, who deemed his right to trample on men to be divine, who recalled the evils that had befallen the emperors of Byzantium when they forsook the dictates of their conscience for those of their counsellors. Its sharp and bitter phrases were probably not all his own. They only embittered Kurbski, who now openly joined Sigismund, and was granted the valuable fief of Kovel. He also headed an army of seventy thousand Poles, Lithuanians, Prussians, Germans, Hungarians, and Wallachians, who marched upon Polotsk; while Devlet Girai, with sixty thousand of his Tartars, attacked Riazan.¶ The tzar had disbanded the army of the Ukraine, but the brave citizens of Riazan repelled the invaders without his assistance. Three thousand of them were killed in a struggle outside its walls, and Mamai, one of the principal Tartars, with five hundred

* *Id.*, 51. † *Id.*, 60. ‡ *Id.*, 64. § *Id.*, 66. ‖ *Id.*, 69.
¶ *Id.*, 82.

followers, who had stayed behind to plunder Pronsk, was captured. The Russian arms were not less successful against the Lithuanians and their new friend Kurbski, who compared his conduct in invading Russia to that of David, who, when persecuted by Saul, attacked Israel. His raids caused useless misery to the frontier districts, while they inflamed the dark broodings of Ivan, who began to suspect those about him still more, and longed for proofs of their guilt, which seemed never to come. He seemed, in the words of Kelly, to have constantly before his mental vision a vast and perpetual conspiracy of the nobles against his power. He now followed more closely in the steps of Louis XI. of France, and retired to Alexandrofski, a fortress encompassed by a gloomy forest, the fit haunt of tyranny. He thence denounced by letter to the clergy and people the crimes of which the grandees had been guilty during his minority, and the new projects which his frenzy attributed to them against his own life and that of his son, and ended by declaring that his wounded heart resigned the government of a State which was so thronged with traitors. On hearing this read, the people, who had been won by the flatteries of the crafty despot were astonished and aghast, and thought themselves lost. Who thenceforth would defend them? The priests and nobles, either in consequence of the fear with which the people inspired them, or of the universal spirit of servility, exclaimed "That their Tzar had over them an indescribable right of life and death, that he might therefore punish them at his pleasure; but that the State could not exist without a master; that Ivan was their legitimate sovereign whom God had given them, the head of the church; without him, who could preserve the purity of religion, who could save millions of souls from eternal perdition?"* He agreed to come back on condition that he might exercise his vengeance against whom he pleased without being called to account, and the clergy thereupon timidly surrendered their greatest privilege, that of suing for mercy for the innocent. His appearance was much changed by the demon that possessed him. "His large robust body, his ample chest and broad shoulders had shrunk; his head, which had been shaded with thick locks, was become bald; the thin and scattered remains of a beard, which was lately the ornament of his face, now disfigured it. His eyes were dull, and his features, marked with a ravenous ferocity, were deformed."†

He deserted the old Kremlin, the palace of his fathers, and built himself a new fortress at Moscow. He formed a new body guard for himself, consisting of one thousand chosen companions, called oprichniks, for whom he found quarters in the streets adjoining his palace, whence he drove the inhabitants. To these satellites he soon after gave twelve thousand of the estates nearest the capital, of which in the depth of winter he deprived their rightful possessors.‡ He now proceeded with

* Kelly, op. cit. i., 140, 141. † *Id.*, 141. ‡ *Id.*

another series of proscriptions, the brave Prince Shuiski leading the procession of victims. Meanwhile his new prætorians, spies, informers, and assassins carrying at their saddle-bows a dog's head and a broom, the former to show they were prepared to worry the Tzar's enemies, and the latter that they would sweep them from the earth, committed hideous atrocities. One of their tricks was certainly ingenious. They would send one of their servants to hide a rich article in the house of some merchant or grandee, and on its being found there would charge him with intention to steal it, and levy black mail accordingly.*

Like Louis XI., Ivan was in mortal dread of being murdered, and surrounded his retreat at Alexandrofski with all kinds of precautions. Like him, he also devoted much time to religious exercises. He adopted a monastic life, and styled himself abbot, while three hundred of his companions became his monks, and wore black gowns over their garments of golden tissue bordered with sable. Their life was strictly ruled. They rose at three and went to service, which lasted till six or seven, the Tzar weeping, praying, and reading with extraordinary fervour. At eight mass was said. At ten they had breakfast together. While the Tzar read, wine and hydromel overflowed at the table, and each day was a festival. Afterwards he talked with his favourites, or went to the cells to superintend and watch the torture applied to his prisoners, from which diabolical sight he generally returned with a brighter face and more vigorous step. At eight vespers were said; at ten he went to bed, while three blind men soothed him to sleep by telling him stories. At midnight he rose to pray. Often important affairs of State were settled in church, and most sanguinary orders were given at mass. This strange life was varied by occasional bear hunts and journeys, in which the Tzar inspected the fortresses and the monasteries.† He patronised the Germans who settled in Russia, and allowed them to have a Lutheran church at Moscow: but he continued his insane jealousy of the old boyards, doubtless incited largely by the dastards who formed the oprichnina. In order to implicate them, false letters were written as if signed by Sigismund of Poland, enticing them to rebellion, and when this did not avail, they were charged with wishing to put an old man, almost in his dotage, named Feodorof, who was master of the horse, on the throne. He was dressed in Royal robes, a crown put on his head, and a sceptre in his hand, Ivan then feigned to salute him, and ran a poniard into his heart. His body was thrown to the dogs. His death was followed by that of other suspected persons, among others Dimitri Riapolofski, who had fought so bravely against the Krim Tartars, and whose head when taken to the Tzar was brutally kicked by him.‡ Others perished by torture and otherwise. The metropolitan Philip, a brave and godly man, who had dared to reprove the monster, was deposed and

* Karamzin, ix. 104, 105. † *Id.*, 107-109. ‡ *Id.*, 124.

imprisoned. Hitherto, says Karamsin, Ivan had been content to destroy individuals, he now proceeded to exterminate whole towns. The people of Torjek having opposed the oprichniks, a riot ensued, and they were punished with torture and thrown into the river. Similar scenes took place at Kolomna.*

The horrors of the time were enhanced by new inroads of the plague, which came this time from Sweden and Esthonia; by a failure of the crops and an invasion of rats, which ate up what there was in the granaries.† But meanwhile the external politics of Russia were as bright as her internal condition was gloomy. We are told that Prince Spat, Yamgurchi Azi, and the oghlan Akhmet, refugees from Kazan, persuaded the Krim Khan that Ivan's intentions towards him were treacherous, and as he also received a timely present of 30,000 ducats from Sigismund, he wrote the Tzar a letter bidding him give up his conquests at Kazan and Astrakhan to him. In September, 1565, the Khan crossed the Donetz, carrying his artillery on carts, and besieged Bolkhof, but, as on previous occasions, he deemed it prudent to withdraw on the approach of the Russian army. Ivan was well represented in the Taurida by his envoy Nagai, who informed him of the intrigues of the Kazan Tartars, the Cheremisses, and Mordvins with the Krim Khan, and who bravely refused to leave his post where his office as spy was naturally not grateful to the Tartars. Devlet Girai was tolerably impartial, for in 1567 we find him making a raid on Poland, his excuse being that the tribute had not been duly paid.‡ After a chronic strife, which had lasted for some years, Ivan made peace in 1569 with Sigismund of Poland.§

About this time we find the Turkish Sultan Selim, at the instigation of the Nogai, Khivan, and Bukharian Princes, and the Polish envoys at Constantinople, determining to carry out the plan of his predecessor Suliman, for the recovery of Astrakhan. Devlet Girai in vain urged that the plan was impracticable in winter because of the cold, and in summer because of the drought, and that it would be much easier to attack the Ukraine. The Sultan would not heed this advice, and sent fifteen thousand spahis and two thousand janissaries to Kaffa in the spring of 1569, and ordered Kasim, the pasha of that town, to go to Perevolok and to dig a canal between the Don and the Volga. The pasha set out on the 31st of May, and was soon joined by the Khan with fifty thousand men on the plain of Kachalinsk, where they awaited the boats that came up the Don from Azof. These boats, which had the heavy cannon on board, and also a large quantity of gold, only carried five hundred soldiers, besides two thousand five hundred rowers, who were chiefly Christian galley-slaves. In the shallows the guns had to be disembarked and dragged along with immense labour. The Cossacks of the Don meanwhile left their haunts and retired. The pasha soon

* *Id.*, 133. † *Id.*, 135. ‡ *Id.*, 138. § *Id.*, 149, 150.

discovered the impracticability of making the proposed canal, and, having sent his heavy artillery back to Azof, marched with twelve guns towards Astrakhan. The Tzar had meanwhile sent an army to protect the latter town, and had also sent presents to gain over the pasha of Kaffa; these were accepted, and the envoys, after a princely welcome, were remitted to prison.

On the 26th of September the Turks and Tartars encamped near Astrakhan, and were there met by the Nogais and such of the Astrakhan people as sided with them, and proceeded to plant a wooden fortress there, but the Khan's men were discontented, and on the approach of a Russian force he burnt the buildings he had erected and retreated hastily. Devlet Girai, who had a motive in doing so, conducted his allies by a terrible road, where neither food nor water could be had, and where many of them perished, and others were captured by the Circassians. After a month's march, Kasim returned with but a handful of men to Azof, where the powder magazine soon after blew up, and the town was burnt down, together with the ships in the harbour. The Krim Khan, in a letter to the Russian envoy, took credit for having misled the Turks and caused the ruin of the enterprise.* Elsewhere we read how the Russians in 1568 founded a fortress on the Terek, to consolidate their dominions among the Circassians, and to support Temruk, Ivan's father-in-law, who was apparently pressed by his neighbours.† We also find the Shah of Persia and the chiefs of Shamakhi, Bokhara, and Samarcand sending embassies to Moscow to secure Ivan's alliance and the privilege of trading with Kazan and Astrakhan. The Hanseatic merchants frequented the port of Narva, while the English Company was especially active in pushing its trade. Its representative at this time was Anthony Jenkinson.

The English were granted permission to trade with Persia, and to found a colony on the Vuichegda. They were allowed to manufacture iron on paying a denga for every pound exported to England, &c. A more curious event, however, was a secret mission which Ivan sent to Elizabeth, asking her if in case of need he might find refuge in England. The answer sent by the Queen is still extant in the Russian archives. It was written in the presence of the Chancellor Bacon, of Lords Parr, Northampton, Russell, Arundel, &c., and promised the Tzar a refuge in England, with the right of travelling where he wanted, of practising the Greek faith, &c.‡ In 1569 Ivan lost his second wife Maria. Again it was hinted that the tzarina had been poisoned, and a most sickening and brutal series of murders followed. Ivan suspected his cousin Vladimir of conspiracy against him. A perjured servant swore he intended poisoning the Tzar, and the cup of poison, which had been duly

* Karamzin, ix. 155-164. † Klaproth's Caucasus, 174. Karamzin, ix. 165.
‡ Karamzin, ix. 167-171.

prepared as evidence, was drunk by the wretched prince, by his wife Eudoxia and his children. The female attendants of the princess, we are told, bearded the inhuman tyrant, and when he offered them pardon denounced him to his face, and bade him do his worst. They were undressed and shot.* Vladimir's mother, then a nun, having dared to weep at the fate of her son, was drowned in the Sheksna. The famous old city of Novgorod now passed under the harrow, on a forged charge of complicity with the Poles, which had been made by a miscreant from Volhynia named Peter. Ivan went thither at the head of his infernal legion of prætorians. On the way they committed the most diabolical outrages at Tuer, Mednoie, and Torjek, but Great Novgorod was the scene of their most terrible orgies. The churches were overturned and destroyed and their contents pillaged, the inhabitants were drowned in families as in the noyades of Lyons; they were coated with combustible materials, burnt to death and tortured, the presiding genius being the Nero of the North himself.† Kelly has summed up some of the events of this bloody year. "Ivan," he says, "butchered with his own hand a throng of the unfortunate inhabitants, whom he had heaped together in a vast enclosure, and when at last his strength failed to second his fury, he gave up the remainder to his select guard, to his slaves, to his dogs, and to the opened ice of the Volkhof, in which for more than a month these hapless beings were daily engulphed by hundreds. Then, declaring that his justice was satisfied, he retired, seriously recommending himself to the prayers of the survivors, who took special care not to neglect obedience to the orders of their terrestrial deity."‡

It is said that sixty thousand men perished in this massacre at Novgorod and the neighbourhood. The dead in great numbers had to be thrown into a huge common grave. Novgorod was almost desert, and one large quarter formerly thronged with merchants was made into an open square.§ Ivan had reserved the same fate for Pskof, but his moody and wanton caprice was turned aside by seeing the people crowding to the churches, asking for mercy from heaven, and by their humble submission. We are told that a hermit had the temerity to offer him for food some raw flesh in Lent. "How is this," he said, "I am a Christian, and don't eat meat in Lent." "You are mistaken," said the recluse, "you feed on human flesh and blood, forgetting not only Lent but God himself," and he ended by pouring imprecations on his head. The frightened Tzar hastened away.‖

He returned to Moscow to search out accomplices in the supposed plot at Novgorod. They were naturally forthcoming. A supply of the richest and best could always be furnished by those who pandered to his thirst for blood. On the 25th of July, 1570, the public square of Moscow was strewn with red-hot braziers, enormous cauldrons

* *Id.*, 177. † *Id.*, 186, 187. ‡ *Id.*, i. 144. § Karamzin, ix. 189. ‖ *Id.*, 192.

of brass, and eighty gibbets. Five hundred of the most illustrious nobles, already torn by tortures, were dragged thither; some were massacred amidst the joyful acclamations of his savage satellites, who shouted "hoida, hoida" (the word used by the Tartars to encourage their horses), but the major part of them expired under the protracted agony of being slashed with knives by the courtiers of the Muscovite monster. He himself transfixed an old man with a spear. Neither were women spared any more than men, says Kelly. Ivan ordered them to be hanged at their own doors, and he prohibited their husbands from going out or in without passing under the corpses of their companions till they rotted and dropped in pieces on them. Elsewhere husbands or children were fastened dead to the places which they occupied at the domestic table, and their wives or mothers were compelled to sit for days opposite to the dear and lifeless remains.

To the dogs and bears which this raging madman delighted to let loose upon the people was left the task of clearing the public square from the mutilated bodies which encumbered it. . . . New modes of punishment were daily invented. Very soon he required fratricides and parricides. Basmanof was required to kill his father, Prozorofski his brother. With confiscations, monopolies, taxes, and conquests he accumulated in his palace the riches of the empire of the Tartars. To these he joined those of the Livonians, whom he plundered, though he could not conquer them.* While this ravaging was going on outside the palace, buffoons and reckless riot was taking place inside, and yet not a hand was raised to kill him. His divine right threw the people at the feet of this fetish, who meanwhile proclaimed, "I am your god, as God is mine; my throne, like that of the omnipotent, is surrounded by winged archangels, and like him I send forth armies of three hundred thousand men and two hundred cannons against my enemies."†

Ivan continued his policy towards Livonia, which he was determined to conquer. His intrigue won over Magnus, the brother of the Swedish king, whom he nominated king of that province, but the people would not have him, nor could the flattering words of Ivan's ministers reconcile them in their own words, "to accept as their liberator he who was a tyrant at home."‡ The only result of the campaign was another ravaging of the open country.§

The foreign policy of the Tzar was a singularly selfish one. While the rest of Europe, and especially the Empire, wished to take measures against the advancing Turks, we find him sending an envoy to Constantinople with courteous messages. This was in 1570. "My master," said the latter, "is not an enemy of the faith of Islam. Many of his vassals profess it, and worship in their own mosques, as the princes of Kasimof, Yurief, Surojik,

* Kelly, op. cit., 145. † *Id.*, 142. Karamzin, ix. 192-210. ‡ *Id.*, 216. § *Id.*, 216-222.

and Romanof. At Kadom, in the province of Mechira, many of the Tzar's functionaries profess Muhammedanism, and if Simeon, the late Khan of Kazan, and the tzarevitch Murtaza have been baptised, it was at their own request."* But the Sultan was not to be won over by fair words, he asked for the cession of Kazan and Astrakhan, and prepared for war. The Khan was ready to assist him, and began by defeating the Circassian Prince Temruk, Ivan's father-in-law, and killing his two sons, Mamstruk and Bilberuk.† This was in 1570, and the same year Devlet Girai built the fortress of Islam Kerman.‡ The next year he appeared in Southern Russia with one hundred thousand men. They met some fugitives who had fled from Ivan's brutality, and who encouraged them to march on Moscow, disclosing to them the pitiful condition to which the country had been reduced by its mad ruler. They evaded the Russians posted on the Oka, and approached Serpukof, where the Tzar with his prætorians were posted. The tyrant now proved himself a woful coward. Afraid that his voivodes would surrender him to the enemy, he fled in all haste to his retreat at Alexandrofski. Moscow was almost defenceless, and the Khan was but thirty versts off. The generals from the Oka approached it, however, by forced marches, but instead of offering battle outside the city, they occupied the suburbs, and entangled their men amidst the houses and streets. What then happened may be told in the graphic phrases of Horsey. "The enemy," he says, "passed St. John's church high steeple, at which instant happened a wonderful stormy wind, through which all the churches, houses, and palaces within the city and suburbs, thirty miles compass, built mostly of fir and oak timber, were set on fire, and burnt within six hours' space, with infinite thousands of men, women, and children, burnt to death in the fiery air; and likewise in the stone churches, monasteries, vaults, cellars, very few escaping both without and within the three walled castles. The river and ditches about Moscow were stopped and filled with the multitudes of people, loaden with gold, silver, jewels, chains, ear-rings, and treasure. So many thousands were there burnt and drowned that the river could not be cleaned for twelve months afterwards, and many were occupied within a great circuit to search, dredge, fish, as it were, for rings, plate, bags of gold and silver, by which many were enriched ever after."§

The gates of the Kremlin meanwhile had been firmly closed, and there was no getting thither. It alone escaped. The rest of the city perished, as did Ivan's palace at Arbath. Among the victims were twenty-three English merchants. Devlet Girai was satisfied. He did not venture to attack the Kremlin, but having surveyed from the hills of Vorobief a space of thirty versts of burning ruins, he retired to the Taurida, ravaging the country as he went, and carrying off more than one hundred

* *Id.*, 222, 223. † *Id.* Klaproth's Caucasus, 174. ‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., vii. 372. § Op. cit., 165.

thousand prisoners. The dead bodies poisoned the rivers and wells, and plague and famine hung their black banners about the fearful cemetery.

Ivan laid the blame of his disaster on his captains and officers, whom he proceeded to torture and put to death *suo more*. While so engaged and busy with the plans for restoring Moscow an envoy came from the Krim Khan. "He was attended," says Horsey, "by many murzas, all well horsed and clad in sheep-skin coats, with black caps of the same, with bows and arrows and curious rich scimitars by their sides. Stinking horse flesh and water," he says, "was their best food. The time was come they must have audience; much disgrace and base usage was offered them; they endured, puffed, and scorned it. The emperor (*i.e.*, Ivan), with his three crowns before him in his Royal estate, with his nobles and princes about him, commanded the envoy's sheep-skin coat and cap to be taken off him and a golden robe and rich head-dress to be put on him. The ambassador, well contented, entered his presence, while his followers were kept back in a space by grates of iron, at which the ambassador chafed with a hellish hollow voice, looking fierce and grimly, four captains of the guard being near the emperor's seat. Himself a most ugly creature, without reverence thundered out, that his master, the great emperor of all the kingdoms and khans whom the sun shone upon, sent to him, Ivan Vasilivitch, his vassal and Great Duke over all Russia by his permission, to know how he did like the scourge of his displeasure by sword, fire, and famine, and had sent him for remedy (pulling out a foul rusty knife) to cut his throat withal."* The attendants wished to cut him in pieces, but the Tzar was too timid, and contented himself with sending the envoy back with the message, "Tell the miscreant and unbeliever, thy master, it is not he, it is for my sins and the sins of my people against my God and Christ; he it is that hath given him, who is a limb of Satan, the power and opportunity to be the instrument of my rebuke, by whose pleasure and grace I doubt not of revenge and to make him my vassal before long." This story of Horsey's is told somewhat differently by other authorities.

According to these the envoy reminded Ivan that brothers quarrelled and then made friends again, and offered, if he would surrender Kazan and Astrakhan to him, to make war on his enemies. He also gave him a gold-mounted dagger, saying his master wore it in his girdle, and desiring him to do the same. He would also have sent him a horse, but they were all weary with the late campaign. The message was accompanied by a jeering letter in the following terms: "I have burnt and ravaged Russia to revenge Kazan and Astrakhan, and not for riches, which I look upon as dust. I have searched for you everywhere, at Serpukhof, even at Moscow. I want your crown and your head, but you have fled, and you boast of your grandeur, prince, without courage and

* Horsey, 161 and 167.

without shame. But I now know the road into your country. I will return again if you do not release my ambassador, if you refuse my request, and will not swear for yourself, your children, and descendants to be faithful to me."

In reply to this truculent note the craven Tzar sent the Khan a humble answer, offering to give up Astrakhan after the conclusion of a peace, and entreating him not to molest Russia. He even consented (to his eternal disgrace) to surrender an illustrious Tartar who had adopted Christianity to the fate of almost certain martyrdom.* We now find him marrying again, and collecting two thousand of the most beautiful women in the country, who were gradually sifted until his choice fell upon Marfa Sabakin, the daughter of a Novgorod merchant. Her relatives were raised in rank, and were enriched by the confiscated property of his victims. She soon fell ill, and charges were speedily made that she had been bewitched. Another series of murders followed. On this occasion poison was liberally employed. He now paid a visit to Novgorod, still hung round with the pestilential vapours which rose from its slaughtered citizens, and a golden dove was hung in the cathedral as a token of peace!!! Ivan now scandalised his people by marrying for the fourth time, and on this occasion without a religious ceremony. He repented, however, of this indecency, and his marriage was afterwards duly confirmed.† In 1572, a rumour having reached him that the Tartars were again advancing, he sent off a caravan of four hundred and fifty carts laden with treasures to Novgorod, where he sought shelter himself.‡

Sigismund, king of Poland and Lithuania, died on the 18th of July, 1572, and advised his grandees to offer the crown to the Russian Tzar,§ but the latter's hands were engaged elsewhere. The Krim Khan, elated at his recent victory, determined to press matters home against Russia, and in 1572 advanced with one of the largest armies the Tartars had ever collected, and including janissaries, Nogais, and a large park of artillery. He speedily reached the Oka, and, having deluded the Russians, crossed it at a ford unawares, and was on the road to Moscow. The Tzar was at Novgorod, employed in his favourite occupation of drowning people in the Volkhof, but his troops were commanded by a brave commander named Vorotinski. He attacked the Tartars, who were one hundred and fifty thousand strong, near Molody, fifty versts from Moscow. It was a terrible struggle; the Tartars fought in effect to recover Kazan and Astrakhan, and the Russians to defend their hearths, when both sides were fatigued, Vorotinski succeeded in passing a body of his troops round the enemy and attacking him in rear. This decided the day. The Tartars fled, leaving their baggage and the Khan's standard with the victors. Their chief men were slain, and their great hero Divi-Murza, the scourge of the Christians, was captured. The

* Karamzin, ix. 232. † *Id.*, 243. ‡ *Id.*, 250. § *Id.*, 251.

Khan returned home with about twenty thousand men, and some large mounds between the Lapasnia and the Royai still show where the rest were buried.*

Ivan now returned again to Moscow, and in his elation at the victory and his conviction that he had trampled out every ember of disaffection by his measures, he, to the great joy of his people, disbanded his hated prætorians, the oprichniks.† He also wrote in a very different tone to the Krim Khan. Nagoi, the Russian envoy in the Taurida, and Yan Boldai, the Khan's ambassador, who had been detained seventeen years in Russia, were now both released.‡ The famous Divi was, however, detained, and died a prisoner at Novgorod. Meanwhile a famine devastated the Krim, and the Cossacks of the Don and Dnieper made raids upon the unfortunate land.§ On another side Ivan, who had serious intentions of securing his own election to the throne of Poland, addressed courteous and well measured phrases to its grandees, which are reported by Karamzin.‖

The unfortunate province of Livonia again felt the Russian heel on its throat. Ivan's troops were told to spare neither age nor sex. Its gentry were surprised in their castles and butchered, and the Tzar's chief favourite Maluta Skuratof, the right-hand-man in his many cruel deeds, having been killed; a pile of German and Swedish prisoners was reared, and they were burnt alive, a horrible holocaust to his memory.¶ The horrors of the struggle remind one of those perpetrated in the Palatinate in the miserable thirty years' war.** The Tartars of Kasimof, &c., were largely employed in these campaigns.

A diet was at length held at Warsaw in the spring of 1573, for the election of a king. The chief competitors were Ernest, son of the Emperor Maximilian; the Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX. of France, too well known as the author of the massacre of St. Bartholomew; the King of Sweden, his son Sigismund, and Ivan of Russia. The latter's chances were, however, very slight; he belonged to the Greek faith, he lived too far off, he was too powerful, and his cruel disposition was well known. The diet ended by electing Henry of Anjou, an election which at once drew together the Emperor and the Tzar, and the latter wrote to his brother Emperor to denounce the inhuman cruelty of the authors of the famous massacres in France, thus acting throughout an ever consistent part. Henry of Anjou was soon tired of his new dignity; he loved amusement and pleasure, and cared little for State affairs, and on the death of his brother Charles IX., he hastened back to France to mount its throne. That of Poland was thus again vacant. Sultan Selim conveyed to the diet his wish that their choice should fall on neither the son of the Emperor nor the Russian Tzar, and suggested they should

* *Id.*, 255. † *Id.*, 259. ‡ *Id.*, 264. § *Id.*, 267. ‖ *Id.*, 267-272. ¶ *Id.*, 273. ** *Id.*, 273-285.

give the crown to the most virtuous of the Polish grandees, or, still better, to the illustrious Stephen Batory, Prince of Transylvania, who was a friend to Turkey.* He was in the vigour of his age, being forty-two years old, and owed his position entirely to his great qualities, which had led the Transylvanians to elect him as their chief. He was accordingly elected. This was in the year 1576.

Ivan soon saw that the new King of Poland was a formidable antagonist, whose brave words when he first addressed the Polish notables, and promised them to recover the lost provinces of Lithuania, probably reached his ears. However this was, he determined to forestal events, and to invade Livonia, and first despatched fifty thousand men to Revel, which, as I have said, belonged to the Swedes. There they were sharply met and had to withdraw, after sustaining heavy losses, including the death of their commander Sheremetief; but this was only the advance guard of the Russians. The main body, consisting of Russians, Circassians, Nogais, Mordvins, Tartars, &c., were assembled under the Tzar at Novgorod, with whom was Sain Bulat, ex-Tzar of Kasimof, who styled himself Grand Duke of Tuer. This army, however, instead of marching on Revel, went into Southern Livonia, which was subject to Poland, overran the country, and mercilessly impaled its prisoners or sold them to the Tartars. Few in number, the Germans behaved heroically. At Venden, rather than surrender the castle they fired the powder magazines and blew it into the air while they were inside.† This act was rewarded by Ivan by a most fiendish revenge on the inhabitants of the town, male and female, and torture, murder, and licence of all kinds were dominant. In two months the Russians captured twenty-seven towns. Ivan after his victories cantoned his troops in the conquered country, and returned again to Alexandrofski, where he indulged in another of his mad campaigns against decency, and, like an angel of destruction, again bathed his hands in blood. This outburst is referred to as the sixth period of the murders, and in it the most distinguished Russian commander, to whom he owed much of his success, was accused of indulging in magic and of bewitching the Tzar.‡ This was Prince Vorotinski, who was descended from Michael of Chernigof. The white-haired hero was bound down to a wooden trestle and placed between two red-hot braziers, and roasted to death, the infernal Tzar himself stirring the embers with his staff. This murder was followed by many others, in which virtue and sanctity were certain passports to the slaughter-house. Meanwhile the voivodes continued their struggles for pre-eminence among one another, while, to the astonishment of foreigners, the more cruel the Tzar became the more willingly did they place their necks under the wheels of Juggernaut. However inhuman, he was rather a divinity than a sovereign to them.

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* *Id.*, 307, 308. † *Id.*, 327, 328. ‡ *Id.*, 335.

In our survey of the great colossus which overshadowed Eastern Europe we have overlooked the Krim for some time. We are told that Devlet Girai, having ravaged Moldavia (which it would seem had been devised to Ivan by the hospodar Bogdan, who died at Moscow), died of the plague at Baghchiserai.* This was on the 25th of June, 1577, after a reign of twenty-six years, and when the Khan was sixty-six years old.†

MUHAMMED GIRAI KHAN II.

Devlet Girai was succeeded by his son Muhammed, called Semis or the Fat, who nominated his brother Adil Girai as his kalga. By the advice of his grandees, who urged that he should mark his accession by an attack on his neighbours, he proceeded to ravage Volhynia and the border districts of Lithuania. This policy was grateful enough to the Tzar, who sent him Prince Mossalski as his envoy, bearing the richest presents which had hitherto been sent to the Taurida. The envoy was ordered to show the Tartars great cordiality, and to promise the Khan annual presents if he would accord Ivan the title of Tzar. "If they recall to you," said Ivan, "the old days of Uzbeg Khan and Kalita," reply, "I have no knowledge of the past, which is known only to the good God and you gentlemen." Muhammed, as the price of his friendship, asked for the surrender of Astrakhan, and promised to make over Lithuania and Poland to Russia as an equivalent!!! He also demanded that the Cossacks of the Don and Dnieper should be transplanted elsewhere. To this the Tzar replied, that the Cossacks of the Dnieper were subjects of Stephen Batory, while those of the Don were outlaws, who were punished with death whenever found on Russian territory; Astrakhan, he said, was then partially occupied by Christians, and there were Christian churches and monasteries there, and he could not surrender it. Muhammed replied, he would guarantee the safety of the roads, so that even helpless widows and orphans might travel there richly robed, without danger. He also asked for a present of four thousand roubles. Ivan sent him one thousand roubles, and rich presents for his grandees and the women of his court.‡

Ivan's reign had hitherto been a succession of brilliant conquests. Fortune had smiled on him everywhere. He was now going to feel how fickle that patroness is. The Swedes and Poles were about to have their revenge. Batory, having subdued the Teutonic Knights of Prussia and become master of Dantzic, had his hands free. A terrible war followed, whose details are most revolting, cruelty was answered by cruelty. The murderous policy of Ivan was now repaid on his own people, and neither age nor sex was spared in the common slaughter. The vigour and skill of

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 373. † *Id.* Karamzin, ix. 351. ‡ *Id.*, 353.

Batory animated the Polish nobles with fresh spirit, both of sacrifice and of valour. The Pope sent him a sword which had been blessed, the Elector of Brandenburg some pieces of cannon, his old Transylvanian subjects sent him some regiments, and the Khan's goodwill was bought.* Batory's army probably did not number more than fifty thousand men, while the Russians, who once more collected together at Novgorod, were doubtless much more numerous, and were assisted by contingents of Circassians, Kumuks, Mordvins, Nogais, and by the murzas and princes of the former Golden Horde, and of the hordes of Kazan and Astrakhan.† "Like the army of Hannibal," says Karamzin, "that of Batory was composed of men who did not understand each other's language, Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Malo-Russians, and Lithuanians." Like the Austrians of our day, their one bond of union was a devoted allegiance to the person of their ruler. Instead of marching into Livonia, he proceeded to besiege Polotsk, the capital of White Russia, and the key of Lithuania, which the Russians had captured some years before. This was stormed after a gallant defence, and remained in the hands of the Poles till the days of Catherine II.‡ The fate of Polotsk was followed by that of Sokol and other towns. It is curious that, at Polotsk, &c., the principal means of attack employed was setting fire to the ramparts and stockades, which were made of wood. Meanwhile the craven Tzar remained quietly encamped at Pskof, where he received a jeering letter from Prince Kurbski, who was in Batory's service, and who reminded him that the genius and the worth of Russia were in the tomb, whither he had sent them, and that he himself was a poltroon. Ivan bore these reproaches without answer, like most cowards when bearded; made humble advances to Batory to secure a treaty of peace, and even humbled himself so far as to ask for aid from the Emperor and the Pope. Batory was not slow to utilise his opportunity, and, as before, to attack where attack was least expected. He determined to march straight upon Novgorod through marsh and forest, a terrible route which had not been followed since Vitut used it in 1428. He attacked Veliki Luki, the key of Novgorod, and as usual fired its wooden walls, and captured it, with other minor positions. He also took Kholm and burnt Staraia Russa, and carried off a rich booty. On the other side, the Swedes marched from one success to another. The Tzar continued his course of indecision and feebleness, and now proceeded to solemnise his own seventh marriage, and that of his son Feodor with Irene, the sister of Boris Godunof, a famous person, who became a thorn in Russia's side in after days. Karamzin says that at the marriage feast, under the garb of courtiers, there were hidden two future Tzars and a miserable traitor, namely, Godunof, Prince Basil Shuiski, and Michael Soltikof.§ Ivan became more humble every day before the bold front showed by Batory,

* *Id.*, 366, 367. † *Id.*, 368. ‡ *Id.*, 380. § *Id.*, 402, 403.

although he had three hundred thousand men under arms, a tremendous force in the sixteenth century, and larger than any seen in Europe since the days of the first Tartar invasion.* The army of Batory, which proceeded to lay siege to Pskof, was about one hundred thousand strong.† The siege of Pskof is one of the most famous in history, and the citizens behaved with great intrepidity. After a terrible assault, which was repelled, Batory wrote a summons to the inhabitants to surrender, which he shot into the town. They replied that they were not Jews, and would not sell Christ, or the Tzar, or their country, and bade him come and conquer them.‡ The siege had eventually to be raised. But meanwhile the Swedes were more successful. They captured Narva, which for more than twenty years had been the great entrepôt of Russian trade with Denmark, Germany, and Holland, and was consequently well stored with merchandise, and then proceeded to secure the Russian towns of Ivan Gorod, Yama, and Koporia.

Ivan became very uneasy at these conquests, and at a council of his boyards it was resolved to submit to Batory's terms and to surrender Russian Livonia to the Poles.§ On the basis of this surrender and that of Polotsk and Velige a treaty was accordingly signed, and Livonia did not again pass under the Russian sceptre till the days of Peter the Great.‖

Ivan's craven heart was not shared by his eldest son, whom he made the associate of his crimes and debaucheries; and that young prince having expressed a wish to march against the Poles, his father struck him down with a mace and killed him, and then spent many dreary weeks in remorse. He had his crown and sceptre put away, he dressed in robes of mourning, and sent a large sum of money to the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, bidding them pray for the repose of his murdered son,¶ while he continued at home that brutal cruelty towards his officers which was his second nature. It is curious to read, amidst the sickening details of the massacres, his discussion with the Pope's envoy, the Jesuit Possevin, on the subject of the reunion of the Russian church with Rome. To Ivan's reproaches that the Pope did not walk on his feet, but was carried about on men's shoulders in a throne, as if a cloud borne by angels, and that he presented his slipper, on which was the sign of the cross, to be kissed, while he ought to be humble and meek; the Jesuit retorted that the Russians bathed their eyes in the water in which the metropolitan washed his hands. The Tzar had in fact no intention of carrying out the decrees of the council of Florence, and would only promise tolerance for Roman Catholics and Lutherans within his dominions so long as they abstained from proselytising. We now reach a period when Russia

* *Id.*, 412. † *Id.*, 418. ‡ *Id.*, 426. § *Id.*, 434. ‖ *Id.*, 440-446. ¶ *Id.*, 451.

made another great acquisition of territory by the conquest of Siberia. This will occupy us in another chapter. Meanwhile let us turn to the Krim Khan.

For some time he had not molested his northern and western neighbours. This was because, at the instance of the Porte, he had been engaged in a serious struggle with Persia. The contingent of troops supplied was commanded by the kalga Adil Gazi Girai, Saadet Girai, and Mubarek Girai. The Ottoman troops under Osman Pasha had been engaged for four days against Ares Khan, of Shirvan, when the Tartar contingent arrived. They turned the tide of the struggle and captured Ares Khan, who was put to death by the Pasha. Artugdi Khan and several sultans escaped, and retired with the *débris* of the army and with their families beyond the Kur to the country of the Helo, where they entrenched themselves, and were guarded by the picked cavalry of the Persians, called kizil-bashis or red-heads, a name which was afterwards applied generally to the Persians by the Turks. Osman Pasha sent Adil Girai against them, who captured the treasures, harem, and natural son of Ares Khan, together with two thousand laden camels and many herds, while a large number of the kizil-bashis were killed. These successes were followed by a reverse elsewhere, for we next read that Osman Pasha was besieged at Shamakhi by an army of thirty or forty thousand Persians. They beleagured the town for ten days, and on retiring were waylaid near Mahmudabad by the Tartars, who had been summoned from their pursuit of Artugdi by Osman. The action was apparently indecisive, and the Persians continued their retreat, while the Tartars went to Timur capu or the iron gate (*i.e.*, the Bab ul abwab of the Arabs, well known to us under the name of Derbend), where they were joined by Osman. The Persians again advanced, and entered the provinces of Kara bagh and Moghan, and when Adil Girai marched against them they surrounded and captured him, and then put him to death. The remaining Tartars returned again to the Krim.*

Muhammed Girai now nominated Alp Sultan, Adil Girai's son, to the dignity of kalga. He also created a new dignity, that of second heir to the throne, to which he nominated Saadet Girai. As his atalik or governor was called Nur ed din Mirza, the name of Nur ed din, which means the light of the faith, was thenceforth attached to the new dignity.†

The war with Persia still continued, and the Khan again went to the assistance of his suzerain. He sent his son Murad Girai with a contingent, and himself set out in 1579, giving Muhammed the sanjak of Azof the command of an advance guard of ten thousand men. The latter reached Osman Pasha after a march of seventy-four days, and was soon joined by the Khan in person, whose Tartars severely defeated the

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* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 373-375. † *Id.* Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 59.

Persians who were attacking Shamakhi. The Khan's son also exacted punishment from the inhabitants of Baku and its neighbourhood, and the adjoining Persian provinces. Thinking he had done enough, and not wishing to winter in Shirvan, he left his son Gazi Girai behind, and himself went back to the Krim. This exasperated the Sultan against him, and a correspondence seems to have ensued; when the latter issued an order he refused to obey it, saying he was not one of the Sultan's begs but an independent prince. The people of Kaffa also turned against him, and Osman Pasha, who was then there, was ordered to punish the contumacious Khan. The latter, who lived at Eski Krim, invited the Pasha to go and see him, and on his neglecting to do so he besieged the town of Kaffa, but he was abandoned by the kalga Alp Girai. After the siege had lasted for forty days, there arrived from Constantinople Kilij Ali Pasha, with authority to nominate Islam, Muhammed's brother to the throne. When the Ottoman fleet arrived in the port, Alibeg, of the Mansur tribe, went over to the new Khan. Muhammed now determined to escape to the Nogais of the Volga, by way of Ferhkerman, and went accordingly to Fekeljik, where he was overtaken by the late kalga Alp Girai, who put him and his son Safa Girai to death. This was in the year 992 (*i.e.*, 1584). He was then fifty-two years old, and had reigned seven years and three months.*

In order to complete and round off my story, I must diverge for a while to describe the end of Muhammed's great contemporary Ivan the Terrible. I shall not relate here the conquest of Siberia, which will occupy us later, but pass on to the other events of his life. In 1583 the Cheremisses rose in rebellion, apparently incited by the Krim Khan. This rebellion lasted until the close of Ivan's reign, and was marked by considerable barbarity, probably by way of reprisal for Russian cruelty. Ivan kept up a friendly communication with the Shah of Persia, the chiefs of Bokhara and Khiva, and the Sultan. The subjects of the latter freely repaired to Moscow to interchange the eastern tissues of gold for sables, &c.,† but it was with the English that his communications were the most frequent and friendly, and the English merchants reaped a golden harvest in consequence. He wished for an English wife, and his ambassador received orders to report on the graces and looks of Mary Hastings, the daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon, who had been named to him as a suitable partner. His envoy, with the consent of the young lady, was permitted to have a full view of her, and his report seems to confirm the opinion of Elizabeth, that she was remarkable rather for her moral qualities than her beauty. Envoys on either side were received with becoming dignity, but neither the marriage nor the alliance which Ivan wished to make against Poland progressed, nor did

* Karamzin, ix. 530.

the English claims for exclusive right of trading in the Arctic ports of Russia succeed either. But Nero was reaching the term of his days. "He died," says Karamzin, "as he had lived, exterminating his people." A comet which appeared in the year 1584, and whose tail was in the shape of a cross, was pointed out by the Tzar himself as the presage of his death.* Being attacked with a loathsome internal complaint, he summoned astrologers from various parts, who told him he had but a few days to live, whereupon he threatened to burn them alive if they disclosed the fact. Sensuous to the last, his own daughter-in-law, who had gone to see how he was, was forced to fly from his deathbed, terrified by his lasciviousness.† He died somewhat suddenly on the 18th of March, 1584. His courtiers seemed afraid of publishing the news for fear the corpse itself should turn upon them, while the people who attended the funeral wept tears, whose singular flow makes the wondering Russian historian question whether love, fear, or mere caprice drew them forth. For twenty-four years had his subjects sought refuge in prayer and patience from the iron mace which this Avatar of destruction wielded. He was clever, had a good memory, and a facile rhetoric, and like Louis XI. he combined religion and gross behaviour in a curious compound. He was perfectly impartial in striking down all of whom he was jealous or suspicious, and we are told that even an elephant, which the Shah of Persia sent him, was hacked in pieces because in refusing to kneel it offended his dignity.‡ While thus capricious, his external policy was often sagacious, and he insisted upon a certain purity of justice in his courts of law. He patronised learning and the arts, and was tolerant in religious matters, save to the Jews. It is not strange, perhaps, that in popular tradition the crimes of Ivan were for the most part forgotten, as their records were buried in the archives of the State, while the popular instinct retained the great fact in its memory that Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberia were added to the Russian crown by the keen sword of John the Terrible. If, on the other hand, we view his reign apart from the morals of individuals as a mere tableau in human history, we shall confess, perhaps, that when a disintegrated State becomes consolidated, by one means or another, oftener by foul means than fair, it seems inevitable that the taller poppies, which have been almost the rivals of the throne, and which do not easily bend to altered circumstances, have to be decapitated. In England the Wars of the Roses did the work, in France Louis XI. did one portion of it and Richelieu another, and in Russia it was the merciless hand of Ivan. Where there was no one to do it, as in Poland, and consequently an oligarchy of rival families controlled the helm of State, it was inevitable that it should sail upon the breakers, and that perpetual anarchy should have invited the interference of interested and in some respects justified neighbours. As a fire on the moorside is

* *Id.*, 551. † *Id.*, 554. ‡ *Id.*, 559.

necessary sometimes, to allow the young heath to grow, as the tornado which overturns the forest gives breathing room to the undergrowth of timber, so perhaps Ivan and his like have their appointed work in history.

ISLAM GIRAI KHAN.

In the preceding pages we have tried to unfold the story typified so well in the famous allegorical picture painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds for Catherine II., in which the young Hercules Russia is seen tearing off the serpents which hold him in their grip. The remaining part of our work will not carry us so far a-field. Russia was no longer a *protegé* of the Tartar Khans. It had a substantive history of its own, while Krim became more and more dependent on Constantinople, until it was gradually overwhelmed by its former dependent the ruler of Moscow. There is another good reason why we should now limit our view, and that is that the history of Russia for many succeeding decades is dreary and uninteresting in the extreme. We can follow with patience the gradual development of the giant, but we turn away with disgust from the constant internal broils and revolutions which form the second stage in his history. Ivan the Terrible was the last of the conquering Tzars, and until the time of Peter the Great the condition of Russia was largely that of stagnation, and even of decay. Its bounds were scarcely enlarged at all, save among the useless deserts of Eastern Siberia. The Tartars in the south, and the Swedes in the north, held the outlets of its trade, and shut it off from communion with the outside world, and thus kept the country in a state of feudal barbarism from which the rest of Europe escaped centuries before. Strong to strike, it was the rude strength of a young community, where the people was backward and rude and required a centralised despotism in its government which would have been unendurable anywhere else.

The reasons why it was so are well summarised by Kelly. "Extension and want of population," he says, "are hostile to the compactness of the mass; in conjunction with the climate they hinder large and continuous assemblages, they render men conscious of the weakness caused by being insulated, they perpetuate blind and credulous ignorance, by cutting off the communication of ideas; they confine observation within narrow limits, and thus the judgment cannot be exercised for want of objects of comparison, and the result is the existence of only a scanty number of ideas, which, however, have a stronger hold on the mind from the habit of constant recurrence to them. Thus the Russians of that period having none of those connections which enlighten, were unable to form for themselves a public opinion, they were obliged to take it from

the court of the Grand Prince. There was their oracle, their despot."* The bounds of Russia at this time on the south were still the same as of old, the Oka formed the limit between them and the Tartars; but while the whole course of the Volga was theirs they had also begun to plant their foot on the Terek, and what was more important, the Dnieper and the Don had become the haunts of two predatory associations of Cossacks. The former an out-post of Poland, and for the most part of Polish origin; the latter formed of outlaws and fugitives from Russia. Semi-nomadic and with an organisation based on military principles, they formed a very useful buttress to Russia, as they were a perpetual menace to the Tartars, whose independence again was but nominal, and who were in fact but an out-post of the Ottoman empire.

The death of Ivan allowed the Russians to breathe more freely. As Tacitus says, the most happy times for a people are those which immediately succeed the death of a tyrant, and to cease to suffer is one of the sweetest pleasures of life. A cruel reign, however, is generally the preparation for a weak one. Feodor, Ivan's successor, was a singular contrast to his father. "Feeble and sickly in body, pliant, timid, and superstitiously devout, he would have been a sexton, not a sovereign, had he been free to follow his natural bent, for his greatest pleasure was to haunt the churches and ring the bells."† Ivan, who knew his character, left the government in the hands of a council of five, but this was speedily superseded by the strongest and ablest of its members, Feodor's brother-in-law Boris Godunof, who became "the mayor of the palace" to this *roi fainéant*. "Active, indefatigable, more enlightened than any of his countrymen, versed in affairs and knowledge of men, he possessed all the qualities requisite to constitute a great minister."‡ Karamzin and other historians re-echo his praises, and the external and internal condition of the country greatly improved under his hands.

We will now continue our story. Islam Girai was introduced with his brother Dervish to the Divan, and was presented by the Sultan with a sword, a horse, and a red banner with an inscription in golden letters on it. On the day of Khisr or St. George, the patron of Osmanli sailors, the vizier accompanied the Khan and his companion the Capitan Pasha as far as the tomb of Shaireddin (Barbarossa) on the Bosphorus, where a banquet was given, after which at midnight they set sail. The eagerness and desire of the people of Krim to see their new Khan was so great that they rushed out into the sea on horseback to meet him. This was in 1584. Islam Girai was the son of Devlet Girai. He nominated Alp Girai as kalga and Mubarek Girai as nureddin. Four months after his accession Saadet Girai, the son of Muhammed Girai, marched against him at the head of the Nogais, and captured Baghchi-

* Op. cit., i. 147. † Kelly, i. 156. ‡ *Id.*

Serai. The Krim Khan took refuge at Kaffa, and sent to inform his patron the Sultan. Osman Pasha, who was then Grand Vizier, was ordered to march to his relief. Ten thousand janissaries, six thousand spahis, and one thousand chuashis were sent to Sinope, and wintered there and at Kastermuni, en route for the Krim.* But meanwhile Islam Girai, with the assistance of the begs of Kaffa and the greater part of the people of Krim, fought against the invader in the plains of Andal. Esni beg and some other chiefs of the Nogais were killed, and Saadet Girai took flight.† Thereupon the Ottoman troops who had assembled to aid him marched against Persia. As the Nogais had also plundered Bessarabia and Moldavia, Islam Girai was ordered to go there and try and recover the booty they had carried off.‡

On his accession Islam wrote to the Tzar Feodor, reminding him that Ivan had sent the late Khan presents of furs and also ten thousand roubles to secure peace. He asked for a renewal of these presents, and promised in concert with the Turks, the Nogais, and the Russians themselves to overwhelm the Lithuanians. Meanwhile his people and those of Azof, with the Nogais, plundered the border districts of Bielef, Koselsk, Vorotinsk, Meschofsk, and Massalsk. The marauders were defeated on the Oka by Michael Besnin, who recovered the plunder they had taken. But they twice again invaded the Ukraine with bodies of thirty or forty thousand men. In June, 1587, they captured Krapivna. Although growing weaker daily, the Krim was still a perpetual menace to Russia, and Karamzin compares it to a pestilent reptile which, even when dying, shoots out venom at its enemies.§

Fletcher describes the tactics of the Krim Tartars on these occasions. He says that being very numerous, they made feints in various directions, pushing their attack where the land was left without defence, and adds that they did not use firearms, but each man had a bow, a sheaf of arrows, and a falchion sword, after the Turkish fashion. Expert horsemen, they could shoot as well backwards as forwards. Some of the horsemen carried a lance like a boar spear. The common soldiers had no armour but their dress, which consisted of a black sheep's skin, worn with the wool outside in the daytime and inside at night, with a cap of the same. The murzas were dressed like the Turks. In crossing rivers with their army, they tied three or four horses together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, bound them fast to the tails of their horses, and sitting on them drove the horses over.|| He says they were well versed in stratagems. In besieging a town they were very lavish in promises to the garrison, but having gained their end, behaved afterwards with great cruelty. His description of their pertinacity in fighting is very like that given by Herberstein. He adds that the chief booty they sought was

* Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 64, 65.
† Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 379.
‡ Krim Khans, 65
§ Op. cit., x. 77.
|| Fletcher's Russe Commonwealth, 87, 88.

prisoners, especially young boys and girls, whom they sold to the Turks and their neighbours. "For which purpose they provided great baskets made like bakers' panniers to carry them tenderly, and when any of them happened to tire or get sick on the way, they dashed them against the ground or some tree, and thus left them for dead." The people on the Russian frontier, who were accustomed to their raids, kept few other cattle than swine, which as good Mussulmans the Tartars would not touch.* Let us now revert to our history.

Saadet Girai had not been crushed by his former reverse, but again called in the Nogais and the Don Cossacks. The Krim Khan sent an army against him, and in the battle which ensued Mubarek, the brother of Saadet, with several Nogai chiefs, fell. Saadet himself went to live with the Nogais,† while his brother Murad went to Russia, where he was well received by Feodor, who sent him, accompanied by two voivodes, to Astrakhan. There he was welcomed as a sovereign prince, amidst the rattling of drums and blowing of trumpets. Murad affected a Royal splendour in his surroundings, and holding Feodor's diploma with its golden seal in his hand, he received the neighbouring princes and their envoys in that great mart of eastern trade. He styled himself the ruler of the four rivers, the Yaik, the Volga, the Don, and the Terek, as well as of all the independent tribes, and of the Cossacks; and boasted how he would triumph over Islam Girai and humble the Sultan, that he would be Tzar of Astrakhan and his brother of Krim.‡ Meanwhile the Russians kept a sharp eye upon him; he was not allowed to see anyone without witnesses being present, and the strelitzes formed a guard of honour when he went to the mosque. On his part he conciliated the Nogais, and prepared with their assistance and those of the Cossacks and the Circassians to make a descent on the Krim. He awaited the Tzar's commands, and also the cannon and a body of ten thousand strelitzes he had promised him, but Feodor temporised. He feared to have the Krim Khan and the King of Poland on his hands together. In 1587 he wrote to Murad bidding him march towards Vilna, and there await the Russians, for he intended first to crush the Polish king, and then he wrote to Islam Girai telling him how he was being urged on by his relatives, and informing him, if he wanted to have his countenance, he must also march against Poland, and bade him attack Kief by way of Putivle, where he could join the troops of Seversk.§ This had its proper effect. Islam repudiated the recent raids on Russia as the work of certain wanton murzas, who had been punished, and he promised to enter into a treaty, while he told his own people it was better they should make raids on Poland than on Russia.‖

Feodor kept up his father's formal intercourse with the Sultan, and his

* *Id.*, 89, 90. † Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 380. ‡ Karamzin, x. 78, 79. § *Id.*, 81. ‖ *Id.*, 83.

envoy was honoured with the present of a State kaftan. The Sultan, who styled the Tzar "King of Moscow," complained of the inroads of the Cossacks on his territory, and of the treatment of Muhammedans in Russia, and the Tzar replied by courteous phrases. A step which Feodor took about this time brought the two powers more face to face. Georgia, a Christian kingdom on the borders of two Muhammedan powers, Persia and Turkey, had always had a critical history. It was now divided between Alexander, who ruled in Kakheti, and his relative Simeon, who ruled in Karthli. The latter was dependent on the Turks. Afraid of his position, Alexander in 1586 offered to put himself under the Russian sceptre, and Feodor accepting the offer, took the title of Ruler of Georgia, a country to which he did not even know the way.* Fealty was duly sworn by the Georgian sovereign and his three sons, and they promised to send annually to Russia fifty pieces of golden tissue and ten embroidered in gold or silver, in exchange for the Tzar's protection.† An army was sent to subdue the Shamkhal or sovereign of the Kumuks, and an officer to receive the submission of the princes of Kabarda and Circassia. Feodor sent priests to restore the orthodox faith among the somewhat lax Georgians, and also pictures for their churches. Among the presents he sent to Alexander were forty sable skins, two black fox skins, one thousand ermines, ten narwhal's teeth, a coat of mail, a cuirass, and a helmet.‡ From this time Feodor styled himself ruler of Iberia, of the Tzars of Georgia and Kabarda, and of the Circassian princes.§ The internal progress of Russia was also well marked. In 1584 was founded the city of Archangel on the Dwina, Astrakhan was protected by a wall, and a new town built on the Yaik called Uralsk. We also find the Cossacks of the Volga sending off swarms from the parent hive, one of which settled on the Terek and another on the Ural. Boris Godunof concentrated more and more power in his own hands. This caused much discontent, and a powerful conspiracy, headed by the brave and famous Prince Shuisky and the metropolitan, was formed against him. He defeated its machinations, and the leaders of the plot were exiled or put to death, Shuisky himself being among the latter. Meanwhile Feodor divided his time between religious exercises and childish amusements. He was apparently more than half imbecile.‖

Stephen Batory, King of Poland and Lithuania, and one of the most distinguished men in Europe, died on the 12th December, 1586, and his death was the signal for fresh intrigues at the Polish diet, where his successor was elected. The Tzar Feodor was a candidate for the vacant throne, as his father had been. But the Poles insisted upon impossible conditions, Russia was to become a province of Poland, the Tzar was to adopt the Roman Catholic faith, to be crowned in a Latin church at

* *Id.*, 88, 89. † *Id.*, 90. ‡ *Id.*, 396. Note, 59. § *Id.*, 94. ‖ *Id.*, 99-114.

Cracow by the Archbishop of Gniesen, and to put the title of King of Poland before that of Tzar of Moscow. These terms were of course inadmissible, and the answer of the Russian boyards to one of them is interesting. "The crown of Yagellon must be put below that of Monomachos, and Feodor will style himself Tzar and Grand Duke of all Russia, of Vladimir, and Moscow, King of Poland, and Grand Duke of Lithuania. *In case the Old and the New Rome, in case Byzantium shall become subject to us*, the Tzar will put its names alone above that of Russia."* Negotiations were continued for a while, but at length the diet elected Sigismund III. Vasa (the son of the King of Sweden, whose mother was descended from Yagellon),† much to the chagrin of the Tzar and the Emperor of Germany. This was in 1587.

Let us turn once more to the Krim. We read how Islam Girai undertook an expedition against Circassia, whence he returned laden with booty. Afterwards, hearing that the voivode of Moldavia had maligned him, he entered his territory without the Sultan's permission and ravaged it. He was ordered by the latter to make restitution, which he did, and shortly after died.‡ This was in the year 996 (*i.e.*, 1588). He was buried in the great mosque at Akkerman.

He is described as goodnatured, intelligent, and tractable. Under his rule a notable change was made in the feudal relations of the Khan to the Sultan. Hitherto the name of the Khan, as that of the ruler of the land, had been recited first in the Friday prayer, and afterwards that of the suzerain the Sultan; but towards the end of Islam's reign, by an order of the Porte, this was reversed, and the Sultan's name thenceforward preceded that of the Khan in the Khutbé.§

GAZI GIRAI KHAN II.

Islam Girai was succeeded by his brother Gazi Girai, who nominated Feth Girai as kalga, and Bakht Girai, the son of Adil Girai, as nureddin.‖ Gazi Girai had been taken prisoner in the Persian war, had escaped to Erzerum, and thence to Constantinople, where he was now nominated to the throne of Krim, to the prejudice of the kalga Alp Girai.¶ Persia was then to Turkey what Athens was to Greece, the home of culture and letters, and we accordingly find that Gazi's imprisonment there had its fruits. He is described as the best of the Krim Khans. His bravery won for him the soubriquet of Bora, which both in Turkish and Italian means the North wind. He also won his title of Gazi from his zeal as a warrior of Islam. His seven years' imprisonment in Persia he spent in

* *Id.*, x. 129. † *Id.*, 138. Lelewel Histoire de Pologne, i. 146.
‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 380. § Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 67.
‖ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 428. ¶ Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 67.

the strong fortress of Kahkaha, which was built in 1383. Soon after his accession Alp Girai and Muhammed Girai, Islam Girai's second son, seem to have rebelled. The former submitted at the instance of the Sultan, and repaired with a following of one hundred and sixty people to Constantinople, and ended his days at Yamboli, near Adrianople; the latter fled to Circassia. Gazi Girai introduced a new official into the Krim, namely, the khanaga, who on his installation was styled Bashaga (*i.e.*, the chief of the agas), and filled the post of chief law adviser to the crown.* On his accession he wrote to the Tzar to tell him he had persuaded the Sultan to renounce his claims on Astrakhan, and asking for an alliance with Russia.† He also made an incursion into Poland, and ravaged the chief towns of Lithuania and Galicia. The Poles bought peace by the payment of a number of sable skins.‡

Fletcher tells us that in these wars every man went with two horses at least, the one to ride on, the other to kill when it came to his turn to have his horse eaten, "for their chief victuals," he says, "is horseflesh, which they eat without bread or any other thing with it. So that if a Tartar be captured by a Russian he will be sure to find a horse leg or some other part of him at his saddle bow." He also adds that when he was at Moscow a nephew of the Krim Khan arrived there with three hundred attendants, and that they were entertained "in very good sort after the Russe manner, two very large and fat horses, ready flayed, being sent them on a sledge for their supper. They preferred horseflesh to beef, mutton, &c., deeming it stronger; and yet, although this was their chief food, they annually sent thirty or forty thousand horses to be bartered at Moscow. They also bred a large number of cattle and black sheep, chiefly for their skins and milk. They ate also occasionally rice, figs, and other fruit, and drank milk and warm blood, which they sometimes mixed together, and sometimes when travelling would open a horse's vein and drink the blood warm as it came from the body."§

Let us turn once more to Russia. The growing power of Godunof was not sufficient for his ambition. The feeble Tzar had no children, and his death was clearly not far off. There only remained his brother Dimitri, who was but a child, for Godunof had secured the assistance of the clergy by his submission to them, and had exiled or put away all other rivals. He determined to put Dimitri away also. "A Russian chronicler," says Kelly, "who was certainly not acquainted with the legends of Scotland, depicts Godunof as another Macbeth, urged to crime by the predictions of soothsayers. He assembled several soothsayers or astrologers in the dead of night, and desired them to cast his horoscope. Their answer to him was, 'The crown is thy destiny.' But then they were suddenly mute, as if dismayed with what they foresaw besides. Boris insisted on

* *Id.*, 75. † Karamzin, x. 144. ‡ *Id.* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 428.
§ Op. cit., 91, 92.

their completing their prediction, and they told him he should reign, but only for seven years. He embraced them in a transport of joy, exclaiming, 'Though it be but for seven days, no matter so I reign.'"* He tried to arouse odium against the young prince by reporting that he was cruel like his father, and although but ten years old, was in the habit of making manikins to represent various grandees about the court, which he hacked with his sword, saying it was thus he would act when he was Tzar. At length, on the 15th of May, 1591, the boy being but ten years old and playing in the court-yard of the palace cutting wood with a knife, he was seen suddenly writhing with a cut in his throat. A packed court was assembled to hold an inquest, which decided that the boy had stabbed himself in a fit of apoplexy, a verdict supported by the decision of the clergy; but the popular voice came to another conclusion, namely, that he had been murdered by Godunof's creatures. They wreaked their wrath on several of them, and thenceforth he was looked upon by the people as the assassin of their sacred prince, and they would see nothing but crimes in his most laudable acts.†

The public attention was meanwhile diverted by another invasion of the Tartars. The Khan was aggrieved that the Russians should have informed the Lithuanians of his intention to attack them, and he entered into an alliance with the Swedish King John against them. Murad Girai, who continued to live at Astrakhan, now died suddenly. It was supposed by poison administered by some agent of the Krim Khan, who, however, accused the Russians of the act, and swore to avenge him. He was also urged by his murzas that it was necessary for a good Khan, at least once in his life, to advance as far as the Oka. They wanted in fact an excuse for plundering. The spies which Russia kept in the Taurida informed the authorities of the Khan's preparations for war, which were ostensibly made, however, against the Poles. The various clans of Krim were mustered, and were joined by the Nogais and by Ottoman troops from Azof and Bielogorod with artillery, and on the 26th of June, 1591, news arrived that the steppe was covered with Tartars, and that more than one hundred and fifty thousand of them were marching directly on Tula, without stopping to take the fortresses on the way. Godunof showed great vigour; orders were issued for the border commanders to muster at Serpukhof, and to meet the Khan in the open country, but unfortunately the principal Russian forces were then at Novgorod and Pskof watching the Swedish king. The rapid advance of the enemy compelled a change of plan. The troops were ordered to withdraw from the Oka towards Moscow, and the popular clamour was stilled by the Fabian move being explained as intended to draw the Tartars into a net. The camp was fixed at two versts from Moscow, on the route to Kaluga and Tula. A wooden fortress on wheels and a

* Op. cit., i. 157. † *Id.*, 158-162.

moveable church were placed there, and the monasteries and other large buildings were fortified. The Tartar army meanwhile advanced rapidly, and swept away a small detachment which had been left on the Oka. Feodor displayed no fear, and devoted himself to religious duties, while he handed over his body guard to Godunof, who inspected the troops and animated them with a portion of his own courage.

The Tartars proceeded to attack the camp, and were met by a murderous fire. Karamzin tells us they were more skilled than the Russians with their swords, but the latter had the advantage in being armed with portable arquebuses. The fight took place within view of the town, where no one seemed calm but the impassive Tzar, who relied on God's help, and prophesied that the following day the Khan would be gone. The issue was indecisive, and the *élite* of the troops on either side were not engaged; but the Tartars had lost many men, Bachi Girai and several murzas being among the wounded, while many chiefs had been made prisoners. The Khan and his council began to lose heart, and determined to retire before daybreak. The Tartar army, like that of most nomades, was not skilled in retreat, and this speedily became a stampede. Baggage and munitions were abandoned, many of the fugitives were drowned in the Oka, and a number of prisoners were captured in a fight near Tula. The Khan reached Bagchi Serai on the 2nd of August in the night, riding in a cart, with one arm wounded and in a sling, while but a third of his army reached home in a starving condition. Feodor gave Godunof a Russian pelisse with gold buttons of the value of five thousand roubles of our money; he also gave him the gold chain he usually wore, the gold cup of Mamai, which had been captured in the battle of Kulikof, and three towns in the district of Vaga; he also conferred on him the title of "Servant," an honour which had only been thrice given during the century. Other grandees were presented with "Portugueses" (*i.e.*, gold dobras), and others again with Hungarian ducats.* Feodor's gratitude to Godunof was not shared in by the people, who accused him of "calling in the Tartars 'to order' that the country's danger might make them forget the death of Dimitri." They were duly punished, and many populous places in the Ukraine became desert. Presently the tzarina Irene bore a daughter, and Boris was suspected of having substituted a female child for a male, which his sister had borne, and when the infant died in a few days, it was said he had poisoned it.†

It is thus that a Nemesis seems to follow closely on the steps of public crimes. Meanwhile Godunof prosecuted a successful war against Sweden. We are told the Krim Khan sent the Circassian Anthony as an envoy to Sweden, asking for gold in recompense of his recent attack on Russia. "Gold is ready for the victor," said John. "The Khan has

* Karamzin, x. 195-212.

† *Id.*, 212-219. Kelly, i. 162.

indeed seen Moscow, but he has not saved our country from the sword of Russia."* John died in the autumn of 1592, and was succeeded by his son Sigismund, who thus united the crowns of Poland and Sweden,† and this was followed by a treaty by which Kexholm was ceded to Russia.

We now find the Krim Khan sending an envoy to Feodor with a curious message. The Sultan, it seems, was discontented with the result of his campaign against Moscow, and had the intention of deposing him. He therefore wrote to say he intended to transport all his hordes from the Krim, which he meant to devastate, and then to found a new kingdom on the banks of the Dnieper, where he would form a buttress for Russia against the Turks. He asked Feodor for money to enable him to build a fortress near the ford of Koshkin, and undertook to ravage Lithuania. The Tzar's reply was courteous, and with characteristic duplicity, although at peace with Poland, he encouraged the Khan's notion of invading Lithuania.‡ But before his envoy arrived the Tartars under the tzarevitches kalga Feth Girai and nureddin Bakhta overran the districts of Riazan, Kashir, and Tula with fire and sword, and carried off a crowd of distinguished prisoners. The envoy was asked sarcastically by the Khan what had become of the Russian armies since the tzarevitches had not drawn their swords from their scabbards nor their arrows from their quivers, and yet had driven a crowd of prisoners before them with a whip, while the voivodes were hiding away in the forests. He nevertheless disavowed the invasion, and told him it rested with the Russians to secure peace by paying for it in money and furs.§

Envoys also passed between Moscow and Constantinople, by whom the Sultan demanded the restoration of Kazan and Astrakhan, the destruction of the fortresses on the Terek, and the suppression of the raids of the Don Cossacks. The Tzar made similar demands in regard to the turbulent Tartars, but the negotiations came to nothing. Feodor encouraged the Cossacks by presents of lead and saltpetre, and he proceeded to build a line of fortresses from the Donetz to the Oka, such as Bielogorod, Oskol, Valuika, &c., to protect his frontiers. They were peopled with soldiers, strelitzes, and Cossacks, and thus with the sword in one hand and money in the other, he made the issue very plain to the Khan. At length a durable peace was entered into between the two neighbours. Ahmed Pasha on behalf of Gazi Girai, and Prince Feodor Khuarostinin and Bogdan Belski on the part of the Russians, met on the banks of the Sosna, the then frontier of "inhabited Russia." South of which were the steppes. The first conference was held on a bridge, and afterwards Ishi Makhmet went to Moscow and Mercurius Stcherbatof to the Taurida to ratify the arrangement. The widow of Murad, who had died at Astrakhan, was allowed to return to the Krim,

* Karamzin, x. 225. † *Id.* ‡ *Id.*, 232. § *Id.*, 233.

and the Tzar sent the Khan a present of ten thousand roubles, besides pelisses and rich stuffs, and promised to repeat the present annually. Gazi Girai promised to be a faithful friend to Russia, to restrain his people from attacking it, to restore the booty or prisoners they should make, to protect the Russian envoys and merchants, and those strangers who should wish to go to Moscow.* For the next three years the Tartars were too busy elsewhere to molest Russia. We will follow their fortunes.

The Sultan was at this time engaged in a fierce war with the Emperor Rudolph. The latter, as the sovereign of Austria, was the chief bulwark of Christianity against the impending flood of Islam ; he even secured the sympathy of the Russian Tzar, who, although he would not furnish him with any troops, sent him a lordly present to pay for some of the expenses of the war, consisting of 40,360 sable skins, 20,760 marten skins, 120 black foxes, 337,235 squirrels, and 3,000 beavers, of the value of 44,000 roubles of the money of that day.†

In this war the Krim Khan was invited by the Sultan to take a part. Gazi Girai marched at the head of forty thousand men, and was welcomed with much pomp by the Ottoman commanders. The Grand Vizier presented him with golden cups and dishes, with a fine charger, a jewelled sabre and mace, and a sum of fifteen thousand ducats,‡ and he took part in the various struggles in the year 1594.§

The voivode of Moldavia having rebelled against the Sultan, he reduced him once more to obedience.‖ The Grand Vizier's position was a very uncertain one. We now find it filled by the Genoese renegade Cicala, one of whose acts was to quarrel with the Krim Khan, who retired to the Krim, and when he received fresh orders to march against Hungary, instead of going himself, he sent his brother, the kalga Feth Girai, in his place. The Grand Vizier thereupon displaced Gazi Girai from the Khanate, and put Feth Girai in his place. Basht Girai was made kalga and his brother Selamet Girai nureddin. When he heard of this Gazi Girai set sail for Constantinople, but was driven by contrary winds to Sinope.¶

FETH GIRAI KHAN.

The vizier Cicala was soon displaced by Ibrahim Pasha, who fearing that the displacement of Gazi Girai would cause a revolution in the Krim, had two diplomas of investiture made ready, and intrusted them to Cherkes Khendan aga, with orders to instal as Khan the favourite of the Tartars. En route to the Krim he encountered contrary winds, which drove him to Sinope, where he met Gazi Girai, who was a friend of his,

* *Id.*, 242. † Karamzin, x. 248, 249. ‡ *Id.*, 80. § *Id.*, 77-79.
‖ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 428. ¶ *Id.*, 429. Krim Khans, 81.

and to whom he handed over one of the diplomas. With this firman Gazi returned to the Krim, where Feth Girai produced a second one in the Sultan's writing. The Tartars were divided into two parties, and would have come to blows, but it was determined to appeal to the law, and the mufti of Kaffa, Abd ur-rizzak Effendi, issued a fetva stating that only the diploma marked with the toghra (? temgha) was valid. Thereupon Feth Girai's supporters went over to his rival. He himself went to Nakishdan to bid good-bye to the Khan and to kiss the fringe of his robe, when he was killed by one of the chiefs of the Mansur tribe called Kormerdash, who had received corresponding orders. Nine of his children and his kalga Bakht Girai were also put to death. He had only reigned three months.*

GAZI GIRAI KHAN II. (RESTORED).

On his reaccession Gazi Girai nominated Selamet Girai as kalga and Devlet Girai as nureddin, but the latter having shown signs of insubordination, the Khan replaced him by his own son Toktamish Girai. Shahin, brother of Devlet, fled to Circassia, and Muhammed, another brother, to Anatolia. Soon after the kalga Selamet also fled. Toktamish was given his post, and Sefer Girai was made nureddin. Gazi Girai drew an annual tribute of twelve sheep (per head ?) for his kitchen, and money to equip five hundred soldiers from the people of Krim.† The war between the Turks and the Empire was still in progress, and in 1599 we find Gazi Girai joining the Ottoman army and receiving costly presents from the Turks. He was assigned Zombor as winter quarters, while his army wintered at Szegedin. Soon after this a truce was made with Germany, the plenipotentiaries meeting on the island of St. Andrew, near Gran. At this meeting, which was held in June, 1599, the Khan was represented by a Greek named Alexander Palæologos.‡ On the conclusion of peace Gazi Girai asked permission to return home, and all the entreaties of the vizier Ibrahim for him to stay another year were fruitless.

He mistrusted the vizier, and would not enter his tent or meet him unless mounted. Although brave, we are told he preferred peace to war, and the Emperor sent Johannes Bernhardfi to him with a present of ten thousand ducats to win him over.§ Gazi Girai did not take part in the Turkish campaigns of 1601 and 1602, but as his brothers Selamet, Muhammed, and Shahin had settled in Rumelia and Anatolia, he began to fear that if he stayed longer away one of them would be placed on the throne in his stead. He therefore set out with his Tartars in the autumn of 1602, and was well received by the vizier, who quartered his troops for

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 429-431. † *Id.*, 431.
‡ Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 88. Gesh. Osm. Reich., ii. 631. § *Id.* Krim Khans, 90.

the winter in the districts of Szigeth, Koppany, and Mohacz, while the Khan spent that season in Transylvania, and there composed a poem on the strife between coffee and wine, in rivalry with the similar production of the poet Tusuli on the rivalry of opium and wine.* He soon after returned again to the Krim. Let us now take a short glance at what was taking place in Russia.

In 1593-4 a social revolution was initiated there, whose consequences have been very widely felt. Russia was very different in its political organisation to Western Europe. In the latter the feudal nobles were scattered about the country in their own castles, and tyrannised over the peasants in their neighbourhood, and the towns were the chief refuge where the oppressed could find shelter. In Russia, on the other hand, the towns were granted as appanages to the various grandees. These towns, besides being under feudal rulers, were too scattered to support one another. The country also was so flat that, in the words of Kelly, "it afforded few of those positions of difficult access in which liberty delights, while their ramparts of earth and resinous timber were not very secure defences." The military class, the traders, and citizens of these towns were the owners of the country round, which the peasants tilled as their tenants or paid servants. The latter could move to and fro on paying a certain licence tax. Latterly, however, the superior attractions of the southern districts, their greater fertility and advantages had led to a large migration in that direction. The recent troubled times had also caused many to leave their domiciles and to wander forth, thus increasing the class of vagrants and poor. This evil was growing fast, and large districts and towns were getting depopulated. To restrain it, Godunof had a law passed in 1592 or 1593 which forbade the peasants to change their domicile, and made them perpetual serfs to their masters. The law was naturally very distasteful to the peasants. It was equally so to the great proprietors, who found it impossible to get emigrants to till the large part of their heritage, which was waste, and it was pleasing only to the small and generally tyrannical landholders. A register of serfs was also opened, by which the number owned by each proprietor could be ascertained.† Thus was bondage to the soil introduced into Russia, and in a very short time there were no longer even hired servants; commerce fell into the hands of the slaves of the nobles, and the cities were filled with serfs.‡

In 1597, the Tzar Feodor died, thus removing the chief obstacle to Boris Godunof's further ambitious views, for Feodor was the last of the male line of the house of Rurik. The tzarina Irene, Godunof's sister, received the homage of the grandees, but nine days later she took the veil, and there was only one possible candidate for the throne.

The deputies of Russia were assembled. "The election begins; the

* Gesh. Osm. Reich., ii. 654, 655.

† Karamzin, x. 280-283.

‡ Kelly, i. 154.

people look up to the nobles, the nobles to the grandees, the grandees to the patriarch; he speaks, he names Boris, and instantaneously, and as one man, all re-echo that formidable name."

Godunof on his side grasped with so firm a hand all links of power, that he felt a pleasure in obstinately refusing a sceptre he so ardently desired. . . . This political farce which others of his kind have hardly been able to play for a few minutes, he ventured to keep up for more than a month. He knew that a simple breath of his would suffice to impel the multitude as he pleased . . . nor did he yield till for six weeks he had kept all Russia in suspense on its knees in tears (a cynical chronicler says those who had no tears at their command, wetted their eyes with spittle), and with clasped hands holding forth to him the relics of the saints, the image of the Redeemer to whom it compared him and that antique crown, which during fourteen years he had coveted.* Kelly speaks of his many crimes, but Karamzin and others seem to denounce but one, that a mere subject should have dared to seize the throne. Putting aside the death of Dimitri, and the decree about the serfs, which seemed at the time the only means of restoring order and stability to a community which was undergoing desintegration, it is difficult to speak of Boris, at this time, without admiration. Listen to the words of his scornful critic as to what he did for Russia. Smolensk was fortified; Archangel built; the Tartars defeated for the last time under the walls of Moscow, were chased back into their deserts, and even confined in them by strong places constructed around their haunts. Other fortresses arose under the shadow of the Caucasus; Siberia was finally conquered by Russian manners, arts, and arms. The Swedes were driven into Narva, and a diplomatic intercourse was opened with the European powers. Lithuania and Poland itself is said to have momentarily consented to submit to the sceptre which was swayed by Godunof."†

The accession of Boris seems to have been generally grateful to the clergy and the grandees of the empire, but he wished to distract attention from himself, and an opportune rumour soon arrived that Gazi Girai was preparing to attack Russia with his Tartars and a contingent of 7,000 Turks.‡ A general levy was made to repel this rumoured attack, and the troops were sent to the frontier. Boris went to join them, accompanied by a pompous retinue. The frontier towns of Tula, Oskol, Livny, Yeletz, Kursk, and Voronej were put in a state of defence, and abattis were erected in the defiles near Pereimisl, Lishvin, Bielef, Tula, Borosk, and Riazan,§ while a flotilla was established on the Oka. A general enthusiasm pervaded the nation; but the Tartars came not, and the whole matter is described by Karamzin as a ruse on the part of Boris to secure for himself the attachment and regard of the army. The ruse had a double effect; it created in Russia the impression that the

* *Id.*, 164. † *Id.*, 163. ‡ Karamzin, xi. 11. § *Id.*, 13, 14.

Tartars had been frightened by the preparations, while the Khan's envoys, the chief of whom was Murza Ali, who saw everywhere on their route preparations for war, and heard the clash of scimitars and pikes and the roll of musketry were duly impressed. They were received in the camp amidst salvoes of artillery, and passed through files of soldiers. Boris was in his tent, which was richly furnished, and wore a golden helmet on his head; otherwise he was modestly attired. They offered the Khan's friendship and alliance, which was accepted, and returned home accompanied by envoys from Boris.* The latter returned in triumph to Moscow, where he was solemnly crowned.

The Khan delayed the signature of the treaty he had entered into, and we are told that in the year 1600 the Tartars had advanced as far as Kursk, but were driven back by the voivode of Orel, the Prince Boris Tatief; Cheli Beg who seems to have been made prisoner on this occasion remained at Moscow till the days of the False Dimitri. On the other hand, the Don Cossacks made constant raids on the Krim. At length, in June, 1602, after receiving presents from the Russians to the value of 14,000 roubles, the Khan remitted the draft of the treaty, but at the same time made a demand for a further sum of 30,000 roubles, and complained of the towns which the Russians had built on the steppe, which he said looked as if the Russians meant to enclose him with walls.† At the request of his envoy, Boris undertook to be a faithful friend to Gazi Girai, but the book on which he swore, says the casuistical historian, was not the Bible, nor would he lower the cross.‡ Thus the policy of Harold's oath to William was again repeated with the unctuous approval of a great historian. Boris sent the Khan some small presents, but relied on his army for safety. In 1603 the latter dismissed the Russian envoy, Prince Bariatinski, because the Russians had not restrained the Don Cossacks,§ but he was afterwards conciliated. Boris ruled at home exemplarily, and seems to have been very popular. The foreign intercourse of Russia was creditable to its diplomacy, while at home he became the patron of letters, and endeavoured to restrain the national vices of drunkenness, &c. He was sober, industrious and an enemy of frivolous amusements, a good husband and father. His efforts to import western culture into Russia were much opposed by the clergy, who feared the influence of the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics, and this limited the visits of scientific men thither chiefly to those professors of medicine who have a cosmopolitan licence and welcome; but the good days of Boris were reaching their term. He was followed, according to Karamzin, by a Nemesis, in the shade of the murdered Dimitri. He began to grow suspicious, and then to imitate the policy of Ivan III. Prince Belski was the first victim of his doubts.‖ His goods were sequestrated and

* *Id.*, 18, 19. † *Id.*, 32. ‡ *Id.*, 33. § *Id.*, 34. ‖ *Id.*, 125.

his magnificent beard was dragged out hair by hair, a Scotch doctor named Gabriel being the instrument employed for the work. He then turned against the Romanofs, who were related to the late Imperial family, and were apparently deemed by the populace as its heirs. Informers were employed to entrap and denounce the illustrious family. A plot was made by which some poisonous roots were secreted in their house and then produced as evidence of their intentions towards himself. The grandees, says Karamzin, like the Roman senators in the time of Tiberius and Nero, turned furiously against the accused.

The heads of the house with their supporters were confined at Bielogorod. Feodor Romanof was compelled to take orders and under the name of Philaret to enter the convent of St. Anthony, and his wife became a nun; other victims speedily followed, while the peasants were persecuted by a fresh act to restrain them from migrating. "The Russian nation," says Kelly, "was no longer anything but a hierarchy of slaves. Henceforth there was no intercourse; none of those public meetings, in which the youthful part of society at least orally acquired knowledge; no compacts to protect the weak, no asylums for them. Russia became sad and sullen; the minstrels who had been wont to traverse the country now disappeared; their songs of war and the chase, and even of love were heard no longer."* A terrible famine and pestilence, lasting for three years, commenced in 1601. Boris distributed relief with a lavish hand at Moscow. This only drew more mouths there to be fed. At last the State treasury was exhausted, while the famine was still unabated. It is said that half a million of people died in Moscow. The dead lay by thousands in the streets and highways, many with their mouths full of hay, straw, or the filthiest offal, which they had endeavoured to eat. Moscow was become a city of cannibals. In many houses the fattest person was killed to serve as food for the rest. Parents devoured their own children, children their own parents or sold them for bread. Petreius saw a woman in the open street tearing with her teeth the flesh of a living child she carried in her arms; and Margaret relates that four women, having decoyed a peasant into their house under pretence of buying wood from him, killed him and his horse, and dragged the two carcases into their ice pit to serve as food.† Meanwhile, the court indulged in great extravagance and pomp, as usual.‡ With the populace this affliction was said to have been sent from heaven as a punishment for the murder of Dimitri; the distress it caused, and the various restrictive laws, led to a great migration of peasants to the Ukraine, where, under the lead of a chief named Klopko, they organised a kind of Jacquerie, which was put down with a merciless hand. Manners were more brutal and violent than ever; honour and truth became almost unknown among the Russians, and cruelty and debauchery were

* Op. cit., i. 166. † *Id.*, 167. ‡ Karamzin, xi. 148.

chronic.* Miracles, prodigies, and gross superstitions also revived. Amidst this terrible confusion, a rumour spread that Dimitri was not dead—that he still lived. A wandering monk, the son of a poor gentleman of Galitch claimed to be that prince, and under the name of the False Dimitri played an extraordinary part in Russian history. He practised war among the Cossacks of the Dnieper, he learnt Polish and Latin, and at length declared himself in Lithuania, and produced some precious jewels and some marks on his body as the proofs of his identity. He was acknowledged by the Polish grandees, by Sigismund of Poland, and by the Papal Nuncio, to whom he promised to bring over Russia to the Latin Church, and openly joined that communion, while the Polish king determined to take up arms in his favour. The details of this most strange drama form no part of our subject. How one town and fortress after another opened its gates to him, nor how the annalists explain the spread of the delusion by the statement that "people no longer liked Boris," Dimitri won a great victory which was followed by as serious a defeat, but his prestige still survived, and the sympathies of the greater part of the populace were no doubt with him. He acted his part admirably, was courageous and chivalrous, and also dignified and patronising. He wrote to Boris offering him his pardon, if he would abandon the throne, and retire to a monastery, meanwhile Boris died. An impalpable force, says Kelly, had neutralised all the efforts of his strong will and subtle genius, all the resources of his absolute authority, and like a magician undone by his own familiars, he fell himself the victim of the universal perfidy he had spread around him . . . In this awful conflict with destiny, he however won the last prize in his career of ambition, to die as he wished to die as he had lived, a monarch."† He died on the 16th of April 1605, some supposed from poison, but others, doubtless, more probably from apoplexy.

Boris was succeeded by his son Feodor, a boy of sixteen. His reign was a very short one. He had been barely six weeks on the throne, when he was betrayed by prince Basmanof, the commander of the army, who with the princes Galitzin and Soltikof, went over to the False Dimitri. The latter's road was now clear. He speedily became the master of Moscow, and the young Feodor and his mother were strangled. He entered the capital, however, amidst evil omens.‡ And although he was welcomed by the people, they were not pleased that he should have introduced a number of pagans (*i.e.*, those not belonging to the Greek cult) into their churches.

He began his rule by acts of clemency, and *inter alia* he softened the effects of Boris' law about the peasants, and made the lord's right of ownership of the serf inseparable from the latter's right to maintenance; he enfranchised all peasants who had been abandoned by their lords in

* *Id.*, 156. † Op. cit., i. 179. ‡ Kelly, op. cit., i. 180-182. Karamzin, xi. 239-270.

the recent famine, and enacted that in future the right of ownership in serfs should be authenticated by enrolment.

Dimitri, like a worthy successor of our day, gained over his putative mother, the widow of Ivan, who after due preparation publicly acknowledged him, and he treated her with every courtesy and consideration.* But presently the impostor's imprudence began to undo him. He jeered at the boyards for their ignorance, adopted Polish manners, and even boasted of the superiority of the Poles.

He was seen to have other anti-national tendencies, leaped on his horse's back, which was a spirited charger, like a Cossack, instead of being lifted into the saddle, and riding slowly and gravely. He neglected to salute the sacred images, ate veal which was unclean, rose from table without washing his hands, had music at meals, did not indulge in the siesta. Spoke to the clergy of the Greek faith "as their religion, their ritual," &c., and generally shocked those petty prejudices which so often hedge round the loyalty of an ignorant race.

He surrounded himself with objects of luxury. On placing a bronze figure of Cerberus at his gate, the annalists report that he merely presaged the home he would occupy in the other world, namely, hell.†

Murmurs began to spread that he was an impostor, and those who had known him in former days began to divulge their knowledge, and were duly executed; he surrounded himself with a German guard, and distributed largess freely. He allowed the boyards to choose their own wives, and to marry as they wished, which was a new privilege to them. Meanwhile he engaged himself to the daughter of a Polish gentleman who was a Roman Catholic, and he drew nearer his ties with Rome and with the Jesuits. A feeling of hatred towards the foreigners about the Court began to spread, while by his persecution of the Russian clergy he set against himself the strongest social influence in the country.

The priests began to call him Julian the Apostate, "and all the truly royal virtues they could not but recognise in him, they turned to his vilification as so many points of resemblance to the persecutor of the Christians." ‡ He sustained the honour of Russia abroad, and we are told he carried on a peaceable intercourse with Gazi Girai of Krim.§

Dimitri's engagement was followed by his marriage with Marina, the hated Polish lady who still retained her old faith, and belonged to a race especially hated in Russia. The gathering storm now came to a head. A conspiracy was started headed by prince Schuisky. The army turned against him having been gained over by Schuisky. Moscow was speedily aroused. "The great bell was rung and was answered by the 3,000 bells of Moscow. The whole populace flocked with axes and clubs to the Kremlin, or to the houses marked with chalk, as to those of the Poles

* Kelly, i. 185, 186. Karamzin, ix. 270-290. † Karamzin, xi. 297. ‡ Kelly, i. 189. § Karamzin, xi. 335.

where breaking down the doors they began to massacre the sleeping inmates."* The rest of the story has been condensed from Karamzin, in graphic language, by Kelly. It is so picturesque in its tragic details that I am tempted to extract it.

"When he found that resistance was hopeless, Dimitri threw down his sword and ran to a room in that part of the palace which was farthest from that assailed by the rebels. He opened a window which looked out on the site of the palace of Boris, which he had caused to be demolished. The window was thirty feet from the ground, but there was no one in sight, and he leaped down. In his fall he broke his leg, and fainted with the pain. His groans were heard by some strelitz who were there on guard and were not in the plot. They gave him water to drink, and laid him on one of the foundation-stones of the ruined palace, and when he revived a little and spoke they swore they would defend him with their lives. The first rebels who came to claim their prey were answered with volleys of musketry, but the news that Dimitri was found brought multitudes to the spot; the strelitz were surrounded, and, being threatened that unless they gave up the impostor their wives and children should be all massacred by the mob, they laid down their arms and abandoned the victim to the fury of the rebels who dragged him away to his sacked palace. As he passed the spot where his guards were held captive, he stretched out his hand to them in silence in token of adieu ; one of them, a Livonian gentleman named Furstenburgh, though unarmed, rushed forward to shield his gallant master with his own body from the blows of his ruffianly captors, but the faithful servant was instantly massacred. Dimitri's agony was prolonged by the ingenious malice of his assassins. They tore off his royal garments, dressed him in a pastrycook's, and hurried him into a room in the palace to undergo the mockery of a trial. 'Bastard dog,' said a Russian nobleman, 'tell us who thou art, and whence thou art come.' Exerting all the strength left him to raise his voice, Dimitri replied, 'You all know that I am your Tzar, the legitimate son of Ivan Vassilivitch. Ask my mother. If you desire my death, give me time to collect my senses.' Thereupon, a Russian gentleman named Valuief, forcing his way through the crowd, cried out, 'What is the use of so much talk with the heretic dog? This is the way I confess this Polish fifer.' And shooting Dimitri through the breast he put an end to his agony. The mob then wreaked their fury on the lifeless corpse, and, after hacking it and slashing it with axes and sabres, rolled it down the palace steps, and threw it on that of Basmanof. 'You were friends in life ; go along to hell together,' cried the murderers in their savage exultation. The bodies were afterwards dragged to the place of execution, where that of Dimitri was exposed on a table, and that of Basmanof on a bench below, so that the Czar's feet rested on his favourite's breast. A gentle-

* Kelly, i. 196.

man threw on Dimitri's body a masque which he said he had found in the heretic's bedchamber, in the place reserved in Russian houses for the images of the saints. Another threw a set of bag-pipes on his breast and thrust the pipes into his mouth, saying 'You played *upon* us long enough, now play *for* us.' Others lashed the corpse with their whips, crying 'Look at the Tzar! the hero of the Germans.' The women surpassed the men in their obscene fury, for in scenes of mob violence, the weakest are invariably the most inhuman."

Thus terminated a most extraordinary chapter in Russian history, one having an exceedingly epic character and well deserving of a detailed history, but we must on with our story. Shuiski was rewarded for his recent acts by being placed on the vacant throne, which he speedily had to defend against fresh impostors, who claimed that Dimitri had not in fact been killed, but that another had been mistaken for him on the night when the slaughter took place. These impostors were encouraged by the crafty Poles. The story of these pretenders is interesting in its way, but it was a dismal time for the Russians, who saw their land traversed by hostile armies on various sides, while the Krim Tartars naturally fished in the troubled waters, crossed the Oka, and under pretence of encouraging Shuiski plundered the villages, and carried off many captives. A terrible defeat sustained at the hands of the Poles led to the deposition of Shuiski, and he was forced to turn monk; was handed over to Sigismund, of Poland, and ended his days in a Polish prison. This was in the year 1610. Meanwhile other events had happened in the Krim, to which we must turn.

We are told that Gazi Girai having been summoned by the Sultan to take part in a new expedition, excused himself, and to escape punishment desired to retire to the fortress of Gazikerman, which he had built in Circassia, but he died en route of the plague at Tembug, and was buried at Baghchi Serai. Von Hammer dates his death in November, 1607,* but Abdullah ben Rizvan and Abdul Ghaffar in the year 1017 of the hej. (*i.e.*, 1608-9).† He was the greatest of the Krim Khans, and renowned both for his learning and his powers; and his death followed quickly on the peace of Situatorok, which marked the acme of Turkish fortunes in Europe.‡

During the latter portion of Gazi's reign there was peace with Russia, save the raids of Cossacks upon the lands of the Tartars, and the corresponding raids of the disorderly Nogais, &c., in the country of Bielogorod.§ These led to some recriminations, as did the building of certain forts in the steppes by the Russians. The false Dimitri seems to have carried on an amicable intercourse with the Tartars, and to have sent them the usual presents.‖ Here we part with the great Russian historian Karamzin, whose

* Krim Khans, 93. † Langles, 411. ‡ Krim Khans, 93.
§ Karamzin, xi. 32. ‖ *Id.*, 335.

work concludes so abruptly, and for the future are dependent on the history of the Krim Khans, and on the notices in Von Hammer's history of the Turks. The loss is perhaps not so much to be regretted, as the days of the martial supremacy of the Tartars over the Russians were rapidly passing away, and the Khans became more and more dependent on Constantinople, and little more than satraps to the Sultan.

SELAMET GIRAI KHAN.

Gazi Girai had long asked from the Sultan that the Khanate should remain in his family, and Sultan Murad had promised that this should be so. On his death, the people of Krim put his eldest son, Toktamish, who had been kalga, on the throne, and sent to Constantinople to obtain a confirmation of the election; but Sultan Murad had long been dead, and the court of Constantinople, which seems to have treated his election merely as a usurpation, refused to confirm it. Toktamish, who heard of this, determined to go and plead his cause in person, and set out on his journey overland. While he was on the way, Selamet Girai, the son of Devlet Girai, who was a favourite of the Kapitan Pasha, Hafiz Ahmed, was nominated as Khan, his brother Muhammed as kalga, and another brother, Shahin, as nureddin. All three had formerly been rebellious against the Porte. Selamet went to the Krim in his own ship by sea, while Muhammed marched overland. The latter encountered Toktamish and his brother, Sefer Girai, near Aksu, and killed them. The following year, 1608, Muhammed and his brother, Shahin Girai, revolted. They were defeated in several fights, and fled to Circassia. Selamet Girai then made Janibeg Girai his kalga, and Devlet Girai, nureddin, but he shortly after died. This was in the year 1019 (*i.e.*, 1610), after a reign of a year and four months, and at the age of fifty-four.*

JANIBEG GIRAI KHAN.

Janibeg, according to Von Hammer, was the son of Mubarek Girai.† Blau makes him the son of Muhammed Girai.‡ Langles makes him the brother of Selamet, which is improbable. He had been his kalga, and now became ruler of the Krim. He nominated his brother Devlet as kalga, and Azemet, the son of Selamet Girai, as nureddin.§ Shahin and Muhammed Girai above named felt aggrieved at his elevation, and having assembled a body of troops besieged Janibeg, first at Subak Baghri, and

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 432, 433. Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 94-96.
† Krim Khans, 95. Osm. Gesh., ii. 723, 724. ‡ Op. cit., 65. § Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 96.

then at Baghchi Serai, but, being deserted by some of their men, Shahin fled to Persia and Muhammed to Constantinople.* We are told that one day when Sultan Ahmed was out hawking, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, he had let fly his falcon, when another one fell upon it and robbed it of its prey. On asking whose this bird was, they found it belonged to Muhammed Girai, who with a party of Circassians had gone to Adrianople, at the instance of the Grand Vizier, Nahsuh, to try and secure the khanate for himself; but some of the courtiers who hated the vizier reported to the Sultan that the latter's real object was to put a descendant of Jingis Khan on the throne of the Osmanli. This suggestion, as Von Hammer says, proves what a potent name that of Jingis was in Asia. The Sultan accordingly imprisoned Muhammed Girai in the fortress of the Seven Towers, whence he escaped three years later at the accession of Sultan Osman.†

According to another authority Muhammed lived as a prisoner of the Sultan, at Gallipoli.‡ Soon after his accession and in the year 1618, we find Janibeg taking part in the Turkish campaign against Persia. He sailed from Kaffa and landed at Trebizond with 30,000 Tartars. He ravaged the country of Nakhshivan, in Armenia, and captured 15,000 prisoners and a quantity of cattle, and other booty, and then rejoined the Ottoman army in the plains of Chulbek, but he was afterwards badly beaten by the governor of Tebris, in a struggle at Sarav, where the begler begs of Rumelia, Diarbeker, and Van and many others fell. The Khan's kadiasker and mufti fell at his side, and his life was only saved by the bravery of the janissaries.§

In 1621, the Khan took part in Sultan Osman's campaign against Poland, where although the combined forces were beaten at Khotin, on the Dniester, he gained much renown by his actions. In this war the Nogay chief Khan Kantemir Mursa, also distinguished himself, and was rewarded with the government of Otchakof.‖ The next year Janibeg was deposed without any apparent motive, and was given the Sanjak of Chermen, in Rhodes, as an appanage.¶

Meanwhile let us turn shortly to Russia; on the deposition of Shuiski, the land was the scene of terrible anarchy. If the Poles whose feet were on its neck had behaved with prudence, they might probably have appropriated the country, but they were tyrannical and bigoted, and presently there arose a popular movement which spreading from Nijni Novgorod overwhelmed them and the various impostors whom they had supported. A great assembly was then summoned in the Kremlin. The solemn meeting took place in Lent, 1613, and led to the election of Michael Romanof, a boy of sixteen, the son of an ecclesiastic, the Philaret,

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 434. † Krim Khans, 98. ‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 434
§ *Id.* Von Hammer, Gesh. Osm. Reich., &c., ii. 772. Krim Khans, 98.
‖ Von Hammer, Osm. Reich., &c., 791. ¶ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 435.

already named, who afterwards became patriarch, and by his mother Anastasia a grandson of Ivan the Terrible.* The young Tzar swore to protect religion, to pardon and forget what had been done to his father, to make no new laws nor alter old ones, unless absolutely necessary, &c. The state of Russia was indeed deplorable. Ustrialof thus describes it, "The strongholds on the frontiers which should have served to defend his dominions, were in the hands of external or internal enemies. The Swedes possessed Kexholm, Oreshek, Koporie, and even Novgorod. The Poles ruled in Smolensk, Dorogobuye, Putivli, and Chernigof. The country around Pskof was in the hands of the Lisofskis. Raisin, Kashira, and Tula struggled feebly against the Tartars of the Crimea and the Nogais. Zarnoki was established at Astrakhan. Kazan was in open revolt. At home, bands of Cossacks from the Don and the Zaporogue, and whole divisions of Poles and Tartars ravaged the villages and the convents that were still entire; when there were hopes of finding booty. The country was wasted, soldiers were dying of hunger, the land-tax was no longer collected, and not a kopeck was in the treasury. The State jewels, crowns of great price, sceptres, precious stones, vases, all had been plundered and carried into Poland."† It was surely a good opportunity for the Tartars to recover their domains, but fortunately, their hands were full elsewhere.

De Bohucz has preserved a curious incident of the reign of Janibeg. He tells us that in 1612, he sent a Genoese of Kaffa as an envoy to Poland. At Kamenetz he met some Jesuits, and described to them the low state of Christianity in the Krim. Father Zgoda offered his services to go and revive matters. He had first to get the permission of the Porte, and we are told he ingratiated himself with the authorities at Constantinople, and followed the Prince of Wallachia, as his almoner. By a treaty with the Porte, no Christian priest was allowed in the Krim, unless sent by the Turks, or unless he had been taken prisoner. Zgoda contrived to be captured in a skirmish, made his way to his Genoese friend, lodged in a house at Kaffa, and installed himself as curé.‡

MUHAMMED GIRAI KHAN III.

Janibeg was supplanted by Muhammed, the brother of the Khan Selamet Girai, who had been imprisoned in the Seven Towers, as I have mentioned, and who nominated as kalga his brother Shahin Girai. Shahin was then a refugee at the court of Shah Abbas. Ahmed Girai was appointed nureddin. The latter was a notable character. We are told that Feth Girai, the kalga of Gazi Girai, having received as a present the daughter of a Polish grandee, whom Von Hammer identifies with Maria Potoska, intrusted her to an old man named Haji Ahmed, to

* Wahl's Land of the Tzars, 282. † Kelly, op. cit., i. 214, 215. ‡ De Bohucz, op. cit., 377.

restore her to her father. One evening a friend of Feth Girai told him that the Polish captive had had a son, and congratulated him on its birth in an ironical phrase. He paid for his untimely joke with a bloody mouth, for Feth Girai struck him with his slipper on the face, and then sent orders that the slave, the boy, and its father should be put to death. They, however, fled, and the boy was brought up in obscurity as a herdsman, and named Mustapha. When he had grown up, Muhammed and Shahin Girai, who were childless, adopted him; gave him the name of Ahmed Girai, and nominated him as nureddin, which aroused great opposition among the other members of the Royal family, who naturally looked upon him as illegitimate. He was the founder of a new line of the Girais, who were known as the Choban Girais or Girai herdsmen.* One of the first events of the new Khan's reign was an attack made on two Russian envoys who were returning home from Constantinople by way of the Krim with presents, and who were killed by Shahin Girai, and the gifts appropriated. According to Von Hammer,† it was the alleged intention of the brothers to invade the Turkish empire. An astrologer had foretold that the empire of the world would fall to a man whose name was that of a bird. Shahin means falcon; the prophecy was accordingly interpreted, as referring to Shahin Girai, and the two brothers prepared to march upon Adrianople, and collected a large army. The Porte thereupon decreed the deposition of Muhammed Girai, and reappointed Janibeg in his place. He was escorted to Kaffa by four galleys. The Kapitan Pasha and other Ottoman grandees wrote to acquaint the two brothers with the decision of the Sultan, demanded their departure, and also their acceptance of the government of the Morea and of the Herzegovina. Shahin Girai thus replied to this summons, "What is the reason that when we have hardly occupied the throne for five days it is taken from us and given to Janibeg, and that thousands of poor people are to be trampled under the hoofs of horses. Think what will happen. All the people have their waggons ready, and are prepared to emigrate. Is it right to drive us from the land which our fathers conquered, into the wilderness. When we have left, and the Krim is occupied by the unbelievers, do you think Kaffa and the other fortresses will remain in your power. We hope you will not destroy the mosques, and that you will reinstate us." Rejeb, the Kapitan Pasha, replied that he must obey his orders.‡ War thereupon broke out between the Porte and its vassals. The two brothers marched against Kaffa. Hardly had the siege lasted two months when the Kapitan Pasha began to dread a want of water, and was compelled to bring matters to an issue. He found himself opposed by more than 100,000 Nogais and 800 Cossacks, and being terribly outnumbered, his people sustained a severe

* Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 101-103. † Von Hammer, Osm. Gesh., 37.
‡ Krim Khans, 105.

defeat. They would have erected barricades during the night, but had neither axes nor spades, and the only escape from the situation was by the Kapitan Pasha granting a diploma to Muhammed, constituting him Khan. This was sent to him with a State kaftan, and Janibeg Girai and his brother Devlet returned to Kaffa, and thence to take charge again of the Sanjak of Chermen.

When the news of what had happened reached the camp of the Nogais, they were far from satisfied. They again attacked the Turks, who were completely beaten, the Tartars being spurred on especially by the wish to avenge Choban Girai, who had fallen in the fight. A great number of the Turks were killed. Others, including a thousand sailors, were captured, together with a large booty and seventeen pieces of artillery.* The Tartars now rushed into Kaffa, and Shahin Girai put up at the house of the magistrate Ali. The inhabitants were ordered to clear out in three days, and during that time a stream of them poured towards the fleet. Presently the Kapitan Pasha sent a subashi to treat for the restoration of Kaffa. To him Muhammed disclosed his grievances against the Porte, and he sent an answer by the Egyptian Kislaraga, who had twice received 100,000 piastres from Janibeg. "My pasha," he said to the khan on his return, "you are again Khan, and Shahin is again kalga.. Be at peace once more with the Osmanli, restore the cannons, and order the Cossacks and Tartars to quit Kaffa." Shahin insisted that the begs of the Nogais must be summoned, and thereupon followed an uncommon sight, Nogay begs and Tartar mursas sitting together in solemn divan. The messengers went to and fro, and took State kaftans for Muhammed, Shahin, and the mursas. The diploma was conferred with State, and eight days later the Tartars left Kaffa, and the Kapitan Pasha sailed for Constantinople.† This was the first struggle between the Porte and its vassal, and we may believe how grateful it must have been to the neighbouring powers. At all events, it probably saved Russia from being molested during the period of its prostrate fortunes. The two brothers, or rather Shahin Girai, now behaved in a very tyrannical way. Kiafa, a renowned chief of the Nogais, was killed because he was found in possession of a letter from Janibeg. The whole family of his enemy, Kantemir, a powerful mursa of the Nogai tribe, Mansur, who were living in the Krim, were put to death in a most cruel manner, *inter alia,* his pregnant wife was roasted over a slow fire on a spit so that her womb burnt open, and the unborn child was ejected into the flames. Kantemir and his people apparently occupied Bessarabia. Shahin Girai accordingly ravaged the districts of Akkerman, Kilia, Ismail, and Guirgevo. He wished also to capture Babadagh, but was attacked by Kantemir with thirty thousand Tartars from the Dobruja, and so badly beaten that the Danube ran red with the blood of his men. The Porte made the best of

* *Id.*, 107, 108.

† *Id.*, 109, 110.

a bad business, for it could not dispense with the aid of the Tartars in its Polish struggle. The khan and his kalga were accordingly presented with a kaftan and sword of honour, and were ordered to invade Poland. This was in 1628. They were overtaken by a storm in crossing the Dniester while *en route*, and we are told lost more than forty thousand men. Muhammed Girai and his brother protested by an envoy against being included in the peace with Poland, and claimed an annual sum of 40,000 thalers, which the Poles would not submit to pay.*

In the year 1627, Kantemir, who had a grievous personal wrong to revenge, as I have shown, with his cousin Selman Murza, laid siege to Baghchi Serai. Muhammed Girai kept a body of stipendiary Cossacks, to pay whom he made many exactions on his people, while he allowed them the right to pillage.† The people were, doubtless, weary of him, yet Kantemir was obliged to withdraw from Baghchi Serai, after a siege of twenty days, and had to seek refuge at Kaffa, where he recruited his forces. A second venture was as unfortunate as the first, and he lost 2,000 men. But the Porte had decreed the deposition of Muhammed, and nominated Janibeg once more to the throne; on the approach of the Turkish fleet he retired to the Don, where he persuaded the Cossacks to side with him, and told them the people of Krim would support him. The following year he marched with the Cossacks to Ferhkerman. Janibeg met him there, and defeated him. The Cossacks were very indignant with Muhammed for having deceived them, and shot him.‡ Shahin fled to Circassia and thence to Constantinople, to seek pardon, but he was exiled to Rhodes.§ The head of the hetman of the Cossacks, who was killed in the struggle, was exposed on the battlements of Kaffa.

JANIBEG KHAN (RESTORED).

Janibeg nominated his brother Devlet as kalga, and Azamet Girai as nureddin. Having made peace with the beg of the tribe Mansur, he sent Devlet and Islam Girai to ravage Poland. His people were defeated, and Islam captured. Janibeg was afterwards deposed, and sent to Rhodes, which was the place of exile chiefly used by the Turks for their political prisoners. One author says he was eighty years old, and had become childish.‖ This was in 1635.¶

INAYET GIRAI KHAN.

Janibeg was succeeded by Inayet, the eldest son of Gazi Girai, who appointed his brother Hassan, kalga, and Saadet Girai, nureddin. After

* *Id.*, 111-113. † De Bohucz, 380. ‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 436, 437.
§ Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 115. ‖ Langles, 412, 413. ¶ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii., 437, 438.

his arrival in the Krim he was ordered by the Sultan to march against Persia. He was joined by Kantemir, chief of the Nogais, but when they arrived at Sutud, the latter abandoned him and returned with his suite and baggage to Akkerman. The Khan was very angry and determined to punish him. We are told he transported the tribe Orak (Orak Oghlu) with its herds, from the Don, and thus increased his forces. At the same time he put to death the begler beg Bejagji zadé, Ibrahim Pasha, governor of Kaffa, and the kadhi Hamid Effendi, on account of a difference they had with the people of Kaffa. He then marched towards Akkerman.* Opposed to the Beni Mansur or tribe of Mansur, were the Shirin begs who were related to the Khan, and who disposed of from 20,000 to 30,000 men, they allied themselves with the Inayet Girai.† Khan Timur repaired to Constantinople to complain of the Krim Khan, and the latter taking advantage of his absence, ordered the kalga and nureddin to seize his harem and treasuries, which he had left behind at Kili, while having a suspicion that he was about himself to be displaced, he prepared vigorously to oppose his successor. The two princes endeavoured to acquit themselves of their task, but two of the Mansur begs named Devlet Shah and Suleiman Shah won over the murza of the Orak Oghlu and thereupon captured the kalga and nureddin, and put them to death with all their families. This was in 1636.‡ The Nogais then besieged Kaffa, put to death the begler beg Bejagje, and the magistrate Hamid Effendi, and plundered the town. They then entered the Krim where they planted themselves, and announced that in future they meant to obey only the Khan. He unwisely tried to insist on the surrender of Kantemir, and the withdrawal of the Ottoman troops, and was accordingly deposed.§ He went to the coast, while his brothers Kalga Hassan Girai and Saadet Girai planted themselves near Otchakof, to oppose the landing of the new Khan. They were attacked by Suliman and Orak, the brothers of Kantemir, with 7,000 or 8,000 Nogais, who killed them both, and made a great massacre. Inayet repaired to Constantinople where he and Kantemir set out their complaints at great length before Murad IV., who after listening to the former for some time, ordered him to be strangled. This decree was in distinct contravention of the famous treaty made by his ancestor with Menghi Girai. The corpse was accompanied to its resting place by the viziers and kadiaskers. As Kantemir's son soon after killed a man when drunk he was put to death, and his body was sent to his father, and directly after orders were given that the latter should be executed also, as a dangerous spirit. This caused great grief to the Nogais who once more submitted to the Krim Khan. The confusion then reigning in the Krim, tempted the Cossacks to make an important conquest,

* *Id.*, 438. † Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 116, 117.
‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 439. § Krim Khans, 118.

6,000 Zaporogues who were on their way to offer their services to the Shah of Persia, met 2,000 Don Cossacks on the Don. The latter persuaded them to stay and endeavour to capture Azof or Azak. Although they had neither money, victuals, cannons nor powder, and it was garrisoned with 3,000 or 4,000 Turks, they determined to blockade it. The Russian Tzar Michael deemed it a good opportunity to make war furtively, and without incurring the resentment of the Porte, and accordingly sent them some munitions, and a German engineer who understood the art of making mines. He was very successful. A mine he made was sprung under the wall and caused a breach through which the Cossacks rushed, and after a terrible struggle with the Turks on the ramparts, the latter were beaten; some fled to the steppes, others to the towers on the walls, the town was pillaged and their wives and children became the prey of the conquerors. The Cossacks now spread over the borders of the Black Sea, causing great terror, while Sultan Murad had to postpone his vengeance till he had concluded his Persian war.*

BEHADUR GIRAI KHAN.

Behadur Girai was the son of Selamet Girai Khan. He nominated his elder brother, Islam Girai, as kalga, and the younger one, Safa Girai, as nureddin. On his accession, like his two predecessors, he sent envoys to announce the fact to the Emperor Ferdinand II., to the King of Poland, and the Tzar of Russia.† As usual, the accession of the new khan was marked by an invasion of the southern provinces of Russia, which was followed by the subjection of the Mansur tribe of Nogais. The following year, namely in 1639, the Khan sent his younger brother, Krim Girai, also called the Little Sultan, with a contingent of troops to assist the Turks in their campaign against Baghdad; afterwards he was sent to ravage Poland. On the return from Poland, the Tartar army crossed the Dniester on the ice, which proved treacherous and broke in, and many soldiers were drowned, while the pursuing Poles attacked the remainder, and secured much of the booty.‡

The Cossacks had now been for some time in possession of Azof, and the Turks naturally felt much aggrieved that a fortress which was deemed the key of the Black Sea should be in the hands of a body of vagabonds. They sent off a force of 20,000 janissaries, and ordered 50,000 Krim Tartars and 10,000 Circassians to join them under the walls of the town. This was in 1641. It had now a considerable population, partially consisting of its old inhabitants and partly of Cossacks, and was well supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Besides its male defenders, it also boasted a force of eight hundred amazons. It resisted all the

* Lesur, Hist, des Kosaques, i. 315.
† Krim Khans, 122.
‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 440.

efforts of the Turks, who suffered from hunger and pestilence, while a portion of their fleet was wrecked on the shoals at the mouth of the Don, where they fell a prey to the enemy. The rest of the besiegers took to their ships and returned home.* The Turks lost a thousand janissaries, besides eight hundred other soldiers, without reckoning the Vlakhs, Moldavians and Tartars.† The Khan Behadur died in the year 1642, soon after his return from the siege of Azof. Like Gazi Girai he was a poet, as is proved by several extant examples of his skill.‡

MUHAMMED GIRAI KHAN IV.

Behadur Girai was succeeded by his brother Muhammed, who nominated Feth Girai as kalga, and Gazi Girai as nureddin. At this time the truculent Shahin Girai, who had been for some time a prisoner in Rhodes, was executed by order of the Sultan. The latter also sent the Krim Khan a subsidy of 12,000 ducats, in return for which the Krim Khan furnished a large contingent of men for the expedition which was sent in 1642 to retrieve the previous year's disaster at Azof. The armament sent by the Turks was put under the command of the Egyptian Sultan. The Cossacks, who had been severely tried in the former campaign, now abandoned the town after partially flooding and partially burning it, and carried off its treasures. The Egyptian Pasha was accompanied by the greatest of Turkish travellers, named Evlia, who has left us a list of the Tartar and Circassian tribes. After rebuilding the town the Turks garrisoned it with twenty regiments of janissaries, six of cannoniers, ten of artillery, and seven thousand Tartars, in all twenty-six thousand men.§ Muhammed had an elder brother, Islam, who had been kalga in Behadur's reign, and was now living at Sultania, on the European shore of the Dardanelles. He urged his superior claims at the Imperial court. On the other hand the Krim was threatened by the Kalmuks, who now began to molest the Eastern frontiers of Europe. This was in 1644. They were attacked and defeated by Alaik, the chief of the Kabardians. The Krim Khan sent Selanash Murza with a contingent to the assistance of the latter, but he was killed in the fight. At this time there was a struggle for the chieftainship of the Circassians between two brothers named Hakashmak beg and Antonak beg, whose strife had broken out in the days of Behadur Girai Khan. The Krim Khan supported the latter, and Hakash took refuge with the governor of Azof, Siawush Pasha, whence he went to Constantinople, where he obtained the renewal of the diploma of Sultan Ahmed, constituting him Prince of the Circassians.

* Lesur, op. cit., 315, 316. † Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 123. ‡ Krim Khans, 123-125.
§ Von Hammer, Gesh. Osm. Reich., iii. 224. Krim Khans, 127.

Islam Pasha, the Governor of Kaffa, complained that Muhammed Girai had ravaged the country of the Circassians (doubtless in support of Antonak), and without due excuse he was deposed, and his brother Islam Girai was made Khan. This was in 1644.*

ISLAM GIRAI KHAN III.

When Islam went to Constantinople to have his audience with the Sultan, he found him on the banks of a stream, without his turban, and dressed in a sweating costume. The Khan kissed the earth, and then remained standing for a while. Ibrahim, the Sultan, then addressed him: "Islam, I have made thee Khan. Henceforth be thou the friend of my friends, and the enemy of my enemies." The Khan kissed the ground and answered that he hoped God would preserve the padishah from all dangers; "so that God wills it, I will do nought to hinder the wishes of my emperor and king," &c. The Sultan was much pleased with him, and had him girded with a robe of golden tissue, bordered with sables, and a jewelled sabre. He was then forty years old.† On taking leave of the vizier, he seems to have addressed him in somewhat arrogant terms, and bade him not to interfere in the government of Krim, which he knew very well how to manage, nor to prevent him from wreaking his vengeance on the neighbouring Christians. On his way home he put to death the governor of Gosleve. He also supported Antonak, the Circassian prince, against his brother, whom he put to death, and bestowed the government of the Circassians on his protegé. He nominated Krim Girai as kalga, and confirmed Gazi Girai as nureddin. The soul of all his undertakings, however, was Seferaga, who was nominated bashaga or commander of the troops. On the death of Krim Girai, Gazi Girai was promoted to the rank of kalga.‡

Islam Girai's reign was a prosperous one for the Krim. We are told he was at war all his life with the Poles. He had been a prisoner for seven years in Poland, in his young days. The ostensible cause of the war was the ill-treatment which the famous hetman of the Cossacks, Sinovi Bogdan Kmielnitski, had received from the Poles. He had been a slave among the Tartars when young, and had been released in 1622, through the influence of the Polish king, who made him an officer of his guard.§ He now settled on a small property called Subotof. Czaplinski, Podstarosti of Chigrin, envying his good fortune, declared that a Cossack should not hold land, and proceeded to dispossess him, outraged his wife, beat his son and cast him into prison. Vowing vengeance, he appealed to the Polish Diet, which awarded him a compensation of fifty

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* Von Hammer, Gesh. Osm. Reich, iii. 245. † Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 129, 130.
‡ Gesh. Osm. Reich., iii. 246. § Scherer, Annales de la Petite Russie, ii. 16.

florins. Furious at this insult, he repaired to the Dnieper, where he was well known, and having stated his grievances he was elected hetman of the Zaporogran Cossacks, and proceeded to kill all the Poles within the setsche or encampment.* He demanded assistance also from the Don Cossacks, and from the Krim Khan, whose annual subsidy, Vladislaf, the Polish king, had recently failed to pay, and issued a proclamation to the Cossacks of the Ukraine, inviting them to defend their rights, and to the peasants to break the bonds of their servitude. The Poles marched against him, but the advance guard of their army, consisting of a detachment of Cossacks went over to the enemy. The rest, a small body of fifteen hundred men, was surrounded on the banks of the Sheskoi, near Sheldawoda, by the combined Cossacks and Tartars. After a brave resistance of some days, they were overpowered. Those who were not killed were carried off as slaves to the Krim, while a vast booty in gold, silver, and jewels fell to the victors.

Kmielnitski determined to push matters home at once, and having a contingent of 6,000 Tartars with him he marched against the main army of the Poles. This consisted of 5,000 men and was surrounded in a marshy position by the Tartars, and compelled to surrender.†

Overtures were now made for peace on either side, but they came to nothing, and the Cossacks and Tartars again overran the Polish borders. They suddenly appeared at Poliaska (where one of the greatest of the Polish noblemen was being married), surprised the town and captured all the works of art which had been collected there. Khmielnitski marched from one success to another, and his vast army is said to have comprised 300,000 Tartars, Cossacks, and peasants, he captured Lemberg and the fortress of Barasa, and levied heavy contributions on other towns. He then repaired to Kief where he received the homage of a great crowd of notables, and was styled the liberator of the Ukraine, and the "hetman generalissimo" of the Cossacks. The hands of Poland were now paralysed by an interregnum, Vladislaf having died. Presently the Diet elected in his place the famous John Casimir who had passed through a strange apprenticeship, having been successively a diplomatist, a French prisoner, a Jesuit, and a Cardinal, and now became king of Poland. On his accession he sent an envoy to try and arrange matters with the Cossacks, and presented Khmielnitski with a pelisse of fur, an official *baton*, a standard made of a horse's tail, an official seal, &c., being the insigna of his office as hetman.‡ Meanwhile we read that the Russians and the Poles complained at Constantinople of the ravages made by the Tartars. Michael Romanof after a long reign in which he healed many of the wounds caused by the terrible internal disturbances of the empire, had died in 1646, and been succeeded by his son Alexis. The Sultan sent an envoy to congratulate the young Tzar, and to bid him restrain the depreda-

* *Id.*, 24, 25. Lesur, op. cit., i. 322. † Lesur, op. cit., 322-326. ‡ Scherer, op. cit., ii. 32.

tions of the Cossacks of Azof, and to continue to pay the Khan the tribute the Russian princes were accustomed to pay. He also sent the Chaush Jemshid to the Krim Khan, ordering him to forward the 8,000 prisoners he had captured (who were apparently chiefly Russians) to Constantinople, where he meant to release them. To this the Khan replied, "We are the servants of the padishah; the Russians only desire peace when they are hard pressed, when fortune turns they will march with their Chaiks against the borders of Anatolia. They have occupied two empty fortresses which we have urged should have been garrisoned by ourselves, and have fortified more than twenty outposts. If we had remained quiet this year, they would have captured Akkerman, and become masters of Moldavia; they have also burnt 3,000 Cossacks' boats, and have declared war against us, we have as allies 40,000 Cossacks, and if God wills it, I mean to make the Tzar, like the ruler of Moldavia, a subject of the Porte."*

While the Sultan was exchanging envoys with the Russians, he was apparently encouraging the Cossack revolt. We are told that Khmielnitski, having received envoys from the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Nogais of Bessarabia, received one also from the Sultan, who presented him with a kaftan or pelisse, a sword, and a baton, and ordered the Pasha of Silistria and the Krim Khan to assist him.† The latter, accordingly, marched in 1649, with 100,000 troops, and was joined by a formidable army of 200,000 Cossacks and peasants. The allies proceeded to beleaguer Zbaras, and fought a battle with an uncertain issue, against the Poles. The town held out bravely, but matters were growing serious and the Poles endeavoured to negotiate with the Khan, and persuade him to desert his allies. At length after some further manœuvring, all three parties to the struggle agreed to a truce. A separate treaty was made with the Krim Khan and his family. The Poles styled him the Khan of the great hordes of the Circassian, Nogai, Petiorian, Perekopian, and Crimean Tartars.‡

By this treaty the Polish king undertook to pay the Tartars an annual subsidy, and also a fixed sum of 300,000 florins, of which 100,000 was to be paid down at once. He also promised to grant an amnesty to the Cossacks, and to restore them all their privileges. The Khan undertook to defend the Polish king against his enemies, and from the depredations of his own people, and to retire at once from Poland. It is a curious proof of the robber-like training of the Tartars that they demanded permission to ravage the country through which they were to retire.§ The Cossacks secured the free exercise of the Greek faith, and the promise that no one should be nominated palatine of Kief who did not belong to the same religion. Their metropolitan was to have the ninth place in the

* Von Hammer, Krim Khans, 134. Gesh. Osm. Reich., iii. 308, 309. † Scherer, ii. 33. ‡ *Id.*, ii. 232. § Lesur, op. cit., i. 350.

Polish diet. They were permitted to elect their own hetman, to make brandy for their own use, to register 40,000 "Cossacks," *i.e.*, soldiers, and lastly, the Polish king granted to each Cossack an annual present of ten florins, besides cloth for their uniforms.*

The Poles released from their danger were not disposed to carry out the terms of this treaty, and we now find the Cossacks having recourse again to the Tartars. They had sent a contingent to assist their Khan in a war in Circassia. The latter having returned successful had a grievance against Russia, and asked for aid from the Cossacks. Their hetman assented, but when he had collected an army, and joined 4,000 Tartars to it, he turned it against the Hospodar of Moldavia, who had refused to ally himself by marriage with him, and against whom he had other grievances. He forced him to accept his terms, and to give 20,000 ducats to the Tartars. This aroused the jealousy of the Poles, who always deemed the Cossacks subjects, and Casimir prepared a large army to punish them. He was joined by contingents sent by his feudatory, the Duke of Courland, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, and found himself at the head of 300,000 men, with whom he marched towards Berestez on the Stira.† The united Cossacks and Tartars, also mustered an immense force, which we are told amounted to 300,000 men. Their army when in battle-array, had at intervals bodies of janissaries and spahis. The famous Cossack "tabort," composed of several rows of carts, and defended by their picked troops, was in the centre, while the flanks were guarded by numerous Tartars. The two armies faced one another for a while, and then joined issue. The struggle was terrible, and ended in the defeat of the allies. The Khan and Khmielnitski took to flight, and one of the principal Tartars was killed. The greater part of their arms and baggage, their carts, the Khan's tent and standard, and the little silver drum with which he used to summon his immediate attendants, were captured. Many of the Polish prisoners he had made, escaped, while the Tartar dead and wounded were abandoned to the Christians, an usual circumstance, which was deemed a special infamy among Mussulmans.‡ The hetman, who had fought very bravely, seeing the rout of the Tartars, went after them to try and bring them back to their duty, but the Khan covered him with reproaches for having deceived him as to the strength of the Polish army. He even threatened to detain him and to send him to the King of Poland in exchange for the Tartar murzas the latter had captured.

Meanwhile the Cossacks and their peasant allies gathered round "the tabort," where they were protected by marshes, by a deep ditch, and by forty cannons. There they were besieged by the Poles, but the absence of Khmielnitski disheartened them, and they were constrained to offer their submission to the king. Pardon was offered them on condition

* *Id.*, 351.

† Scherer, op. cit., ii. 42-44.

‡ Lesur, op. cit., i. 374.

that they surrendered twelve of their chief men as hostages, gave up the standards they had captured, and especially their great standard, reduced the number of their warriors to twelve thousand, and otherwise had their privileges curtailed. The Cossacks refused these terms, and broke away in a large body, leaving but two thousand of their companions behind, who were destroyed to a man. A large booty, including thirty thousand rix-thalers, meant for the Tartars, was captured in the Cossack camp, and the Poles on their return had the grim satisfaction of marching among deserted fields and smouldering villages, and of having crushed the rebellion of their vassals. The result was not quite, however, what they expected.* Khmielnitski, having paid the Khan a handsome ransom, returned to the Ukraine, where he soon regained his influence, and where the scattered Cossacks once more assembled, and he soon extorted a fresh treaty from Poland, by which the Cossacks were to be allowed an army of twenty thousand, and were to have the palatinates of Kief, Braklaf, and Chernigof for camping grounds. The Cossacks were to be allowed to retain their Greek faith, Jews were to be tolerated, &c., while the Tartars were to be sent home.

The recent war had caused a large migration of Cossacks into the steppes east of the Dnieper, which, although uninhabited since the Tartar conquest, were claimed by the Russians as theirs. These colonists pushed on as far as the Donetz, retaining meanwhile their military organisation, and in 1652 there were formed out of them the five Slobodian regiments known as Aktirka, Karkof, Izium, Sumi, and Ostrogoisk.

The peace between Poland and the Cossacks was really but an armed truce. Matters at length came once more to an issue, and the Polish king, having ventured upon a battle near Schwanez, was defeated, and only escaped captivity by paying a large ransom to the Tartar Khan, who, as formerly, was in alliance with the Cossacks.†

These events are otherwise described by Von Hammer. He says that in 1653 Islam Girai, having heard that the King of Poland was encamped at Bar with a large and threatening army, in which there were twenty thousand Germans, determined to march into his country. In five days after leaving his capital Baghchi Serai he reached the frontier of the Khanate at Frengkerman, he crossed the Dnieper (called the water of Usu or the river of the Uzes by the Tartars), and marched to the Bug. There he was invested by Bekiraga, the Sultan's deputy, with a sword of honour and a kaftan. His Tartars spread over and ravaged the country as far as Bar and Kaminetz. Several skirmishes took place with various success, and at length winter put an end to the fighting. The Khan sent his atalik or vizier to offer terms. A conference took place between the envoy and several of the Polish grandees near Kaminetz. Peace was

* *Id.*, 374-382. † *Id.*, 393. Scherer, i. 197.

ratified on the payment of a considerable sum to the Tartars (De Bohucz says 100,000 ducats), and the giving of two hostages, who were to be renewed annually. The son of the Polish general was one of the first hostages. It is related that the Krim Khan had the mortification of seeing the treaty broken before his eyes by his unruly subjects, who were dissatisfied that their expedition should have brought them no plunder, and who turned aside and sacked the town of Constantinof, and laid waste the country from the Dniester to the Sireth.*

The Polish authorities describe this invasion of Lithuania, and tell us how the Tartars carried off more than five thousand prisoners of both sexes, among them being a whole wedding party, relatives, friends, and even musicians, whom they surprised during their festivities, and how in retiring they ravaged the lands of their former allies the Cossacks. It would seem that one of the conditions of the pact between the Polish King and the Khan was that they should make war upon Russia; that the former should assist the latter to recover possession of Astrakhan, while the Khan undertook to ravage the land of the Slobodian regiments, those fugitive Cossacks who had taken shelter under Russian protection. The alliance was a great menace to Khmielnitski and his people, and he determined to throw himself into the arms of the Russians, who, like the Cossacks, belonged to the Greek faith. He had little difficulty in persuading his people to adopt his policy. An envoy was sent to Russia, where he was well received by the Tzar Alexis, who sent Butturlin, one of his confidential officers, to receive the homage of the Cossacks, and by a treaty signed at Pereislavl on the 6th of January, 1654, they transferred their allegiance, and the Tzar undertook to preserve their privileges, and that the patriarch of Moscow should not exercise authority among them. They were to have free permission to traffic in beer, brandy, and hydromel; they were to have the right of electing their own hetman, who was, however, to receive his baton, banner, and confirmation from the Tzar. He was to have the town and regiment of Chigrin for his maintenance, as well as a sum of one thousand ducats, and he undertook not to receive from or send embassies to other powers, or to have communications with the Krim Khan. The Cossacks also undertook not to give an asylum to fugitive Russians. They promised to furnish a contingent of sixty thousand men to the Tzar, who when on service were to receive three roubles for each foot-soldier and six for each horseman.†

Some months after this important treaty, namely, in July, 1654, Islam Girai sickened and died, and was buried with his fathers.‡

* Von Hammer, Osm. Gesh., iii. 421. † Lesur, op. cit., i, 398-400.
‡ Krim Khans, 136.

MUHAMMED GIRAI KHAN IV. (RESTORED).

On the death of Islam Çirai, his brother Muhammed, who was once more brought from Rhodes, received his appointment as Khan from the Sultan, and was obliged to go to the Krim overland, to avoid being waylaid by the Cossacks, whose boats were on the outlook to intercept him.* He retained the kalga, Gazi Girai, and the nureddin, Adil Girai, in their posts. This did not apparently give satisfaction, and led to a civil strife, in which the important tribe of Mansur was on one side and that of Shirin on the other. The death of Adil Girai, who was killed by a fall from his horse, and the appointment of Murad Girai as nureddin seems to have restored peace. The new Khan sent an envoy to the Emperor to apprise him of his accession.† The Poles and Cossacks also sent to congratulate him. The formers' envoys were well received, but the latters' had their noses and ears cut off, and were thus sent home.‡

Poland was at this time being hard pressed. She was at war with the Prussians and Swedes, as well as the Muscovites; the latter of whom, in alliance with the Cossacks, captured Smolensk and made a cruel raid into Lithuania, where they burned Vilna, captured Vitebsk, and devastated two hundred other towns.§ The Tzar now took the title of Tzar and Autocrat of Great, Little, and White Russia.

The same year the Polish King sent one hundred thousand florins to the Krim Khan, to induce him to invade the Ukraine, which he accordingly did, and killed Tomilenka, the vice-hetman of the Cossacks there.‖ The Polish army, under the Grand-general Potocki, with a large contingent of Tartars, now proceeded to attack Ulman or Human, a fortress surrounded by three ditches, and deemed the stronghold of the Cossacks, Khmielnitski went to the rescue with thirty thousand Cossacks and eighty thousand Russians. A fierce struggle ensued in the plains of Drischipol, in which the Cossacks were defeated, and forced to take refuge behind their barricades of waggons and dead bodies.¶ The Cossack chief now tried the seductive effects of gold, and remembering that he had been on intimate terms with Ahmed mursa, the Krim Khan's nephew, when a boy, he invited him to a conference at night, and offered him ten thousand ducats if he would go over to him. It is probable the nephew also gained over the uncle, for we find that the Tartars returned to the Krim laden with booty.** The Cossacks then made a raid into Poland, advancing as far as Lublin, which they captured. On returning home Khmielnitski found the Krim Khan encamped on the river Oserna. After a doubtful struggle, the latter invited the hetman to a conference, where there were mutual recriminations, the Khan charging

* Von Hammer, Osm. Gesh., ii. 428. † *Id.*, iii. 485, &c.
‡ De Bohucz, Histoire de la Tauride, &c., 382. § Scherer, ii. 66. ‖ *Id.*
¶ *Id.*, 66-69. ** De Bohucz, op. cit., 383.

the Cossacks with allying themselves with Russia, while they retorted that the Tartars had undertaken to ravage Little Russia at the instance of the Polish King. The Cossacks were alternately courted by the Russians, the Swedes, and the Tartars, and their position was a difficult one. At length, in the year 1656, Khmielnitski was poisoned by an emissary of the Turkish Sultan soon after he had made peace with the Poles. During the next few years we find the Tartars busy further west. They sent envoys with presents to attend the coronation of Leopold as King of Hungary and Bohemia, and two years later, on the death of the Emperor Ferdinand III., to the coronation of Leopold as his successor. With this envoy they sent a note to ask the Emperor to give no asylum to Rakoczy, the prince of Transylvania, who in alliance with the voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia and the hetman of the Cossacks, was at war with the Turks, and had desolated Poland. The messenger also took a present of fifteen thousand rix-thalers, with a gold chain and silver ornaments of the value of two thousand and sixty guldens. The Khan of Krim marched with an army of two hundred thousand horsemen against the confederates led by Rakoczy. His forces numbered sixty thousand. In the battle that followed the Christians had twenty thousand of their number killed, and as many more taken prisoners, among whom were seven hundred noblemen of Transylvania. Several thousand carts were laden with booty, among which were one hundred and fifty cannons, while the ransom of Rakoczy's nearest relatives amounted to three hundred thousand piastres. The voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia were deposed and others put in their places. The Khan was given a handsome present, and received orders to post himself at Akkerman with twenty thousand men, while Fasli Pasha made a diversion and attacked Ruschuk, the chief town of Wallachia. The latter delayed and gave Bessaraba, the deposed voivode, time to burn Tergovitch and to escape to Transylvania, which gave rise to a violent quarrel between him and the kalga commanding the troops of the Krim Khan.

The following year the war was prosecuted with vigour, Alba Julia (Weissenburgh), the capital of Rakoczy, was taken and sacked. Two hundred thousand Tartars overran and devastated the country, and fifty thousand victims were made, of whom two-thirds were killed and the other third reduced to slavery. A new ruler was appointed over Transylvania, and a peace upon harsh terms was concluded.*

Khmielnitski had been succeeded as hetman of the Cossacks by his son of the same name, who, however, speedily gave place to Vigofski. The latter deemed it prudent to ally himself with the Poles, and a peace was concluded by which *inter alia* the Cossacks were made absolutely independent of the Polish church; the metropolitan of Kief was given a

* Von Hammer, Osm. Gesh., ii. 485-487.

seat in the diet next to the archbishop of Gnesne; the number of registered Cossacks was raised to sixty thousand men; they were to have the right of choosing their own hetman from among their own people; to have their own schools, printing press, and chancellary, and to elect their own priests; in time of war they were to be allowed to decide whether they would be neutral or not; all the Ukraine was to obey the hetman; he was to have the right of coining money; and a canal was to be cut from their country to the Black Sea.* These terms were very favourable to the Cossacks. It would seem that the Slobodian regiments under Pushkar, the colonel of Pultawa, would not accept the Polish alliance, and remained faithful to Russia, and they seized Vigofski's envoys to the Krim Khan and drowned them under the ice of the Dnieper. Some fresh envoys went in 1658, and Muhammed sent a contingent back with them.† In a first engagement Vigofski was defeated and lost his baton, but the united Poles and Tartars retrieved matters, Pushkar was killed, and Pultawa captured and pillaged. The towns of Liutenka, Sorotschinza, Baranofka, Oburshof, Bogatschka, Ustiviza, Yaresk, Weprik, &c., were taken and ravaged by the Tartars.‡

The Tzar of Russia now sent an army to the assistance of his *protegês*, which in turn plundered the towns of the opposing faction of the Cossacks. In 1559, the Russians under Prince Trubezkoi besieged the town of Konotop.§ Vigofski went to the rescue with his Cossacks and Tartars. The Russians, who numbered forty thousand besides ten thousand friendly Cossacks, were encamped at the confluence of the rivers Desna and Sem, were savagely attacked, and the greater part of them were either killed or drowned. The victors then crossed the Dnieper, and spared neither age nor sex in revenging themselves on the opposing faction.‖ Meanwhile the Krim Khan, Vigofski's ally, seems to have won a great victory over the Russians. He also sent fifteen thousand Tartars and five thousand Cossacks, under the command of Firash, against the fort of Maichli. The Khan also sent a large contingent. The following day this army encountered a large Russian force, which after a three days struggle defeated it, and the five thousand Cossacks were destroyed. When the Khan heard the news he halted his force, collected the prisoners he had captured, and having harangued them, he had them put to death. Some fugitives now came in and said that fifteen thousand Russians were besieging Maichli, and that a similar force was stationed at the ford of the Volga, to prevent the Tartars and Cossacks from crossing. It was determined to attack the latter first. The Khan posted himself on a height to overlook the fight. The result was decisive; not a man of the fifteen thousand escaped alive.

The value of the ransom of the prisoners in the hands of the Tartars

* Scherer, ii. 89, 90. † De Bohucz, 384. ‡ Scherer, ii. 91, 92.
§ *Id.*, 93. ‖ De Bohucz, 384.

was put at one hundred thousand ducats, but at a council of the Tartar elders it was decided that it would not be prudent to keep them alive, and with a creditable regard for their descent from the arch-slaughterer Jingis, a hecatomb was ordered. The officers were first decapitated, then the rest, to the number of thirty thousand. This was in June, 1660. The Tartars then marched against the fortress, and a battle of three days' duration ensued. On the fourth the Russians fled, were pursued, and most of them destroyed. Having halted a day to tend to the wounded, the Tartars continued their march, and attacked the fortress of Rumnia, which surrendered. Notwithstanding this, the commander and five hundred of the garrison were brought before the Khan and killed. The surrounding fortresses fell one by one into the hands of the confederates, and from the sand hills of Poschon far into Russia, the country for fifteen days' journey was laid waste. The loss of the Russians in the war is placed at one hundred and twenty thousand men, besides fifteen thousand prisoners. Messengers were sent to Constantinople with the news, who carried with them a trophy of three hundred heads. At the same time news reached there of the successes of the Turks in Bosnia. The intelligence caused great rejoicings at the Sultan's court, a great feast of seven days was ordained, and for seven days the streets were illuminated.*

Muhammed, the Krim Khan, now made overtures to Charles XII., the king of Sweden and the enemy of Russia, in the hope of drawing some money from him; but Charles complained of his detaining a number of Swedes captured in the Polish war as prisoners, and the alliance ended in an exchange of presents. On news of this intrigue reaching him, the Tzar at once made approaches to Vigofski, and also made a fresh promise of a subsidy, and the payment of arrears for seven years to the Tartar Khan.†

In the year 1661 we find the Tartars once more engaged in Transylvania, supporting the claims of Apafy to that principality against those of Kemény. At the summons of the Sultan the Khan set out with twenty thousand men towards Azof; the kalga remaining with forty thousand at Perekop.

The Turkish commander of the expedition was Ahmed Pasha, the son of Koprili. The allies wasted the valley of Hatzeg with fire and sword, and laid the Saxon towns of Szasvaros and Szassebes in ashes. Kemény was driven from the banks of the Szamos to the foot of the mountain Emberfo and to Negerfalva, while the Tartars pursued as far as Szathmar, and collected several thousand prisoners and cattle at Domahida. His rival Michael Apafy had been a prisoner for a long time among the Tartars, and had acquired the pliability necessary to one who was to bear the Turkish yoke easily. We now read how Ahmed Chaushbashi

* Von Hammer, Osm. Gesh., iii. 515, 516.

† De Bohucz, 385.

was sent with the stipend of ten thousand ducats to the Khan, and a summons for him to march towards Hungary. Muhammed sent his son Ahmed Girai with one hundred thousand men, and soon after another son went at the head of twenty thousand Zaporogian Cossacks. The former was decorated with a sword and dagger, a quiver and sable robe; aud his brother with a kaftan of golden tissue, a red kontush, and a sable cap.* The Tartars fought with great ferocity. In 1663 they appeared twice in Moravia and Silesia. In August of that year we read how six thousand of them devastated the country of Tirnau, Friestadtl, and St. Georgen. They ravished the women, while the children were thrown from the walls and hacked asunder with swords, or smothered in heaps in sacks; men and women were coupled together like dogs, and driven over the March and the Weissenberg to Moravia towards Landshut, the route being pointed out by the hussars, who acted as frontier guards for the Hungarians. In September the Tartars returned and plundered Nikolsburg, Rabensburg, and Brunn, and within three miles of Olmutz. The possessions of the princes of Dietrichstein and Liechtenstein were devastated, and thirty-two villages belonging to the latter were laid waste. The Tartars dragged twelve thousand prisoners to the slave mart at Neuhausel. Again they advanced against Presburgh, burnt St. Georgen and Geiersdorf, crossed the Waag, and fell by the pass of Rosincko, upon the circle of Hradish. Fourteen thousand Tartars, janissaries and hussars, swept by way of Brunau to Kloback, and returned with two thousand prisoners and four huge waggons laden with women into Hungary.† Thus were the scenes of Batu's campaigns in Central Europe re-enacted even so late as the second half of the seventeenth century.

Meanwhile the Tartars were almost continuously employed in the struggles that took place on their frontiers between Russians, Poles, and Cossacks. In 1660 we find them, in alliance with the Poles, compelling a Russian force under Sheremetof to surrender. They plundered their prisoners and kept Sheremetof a prisoner of war for several years.

In 1661 the Poles and Tartars, with some of the Cossacks, were again in the Ukraine, and ravaged the towns of Starodub, Mhlin, &c. This faction of the Cossacks was commanded by Khmielnitski, the son of the famous hetman of the same name. The following year they were defeated by the rival faction under Samko. These mutual raids are very dreary, and were presently complicated by a fresh element in the shape of the Kalmuks, who now began to take part in Cossack politics.‡

In 1665 Muhammed Girai was deposed, on the ground that instead of marching himself to the Hungarian war he had sent his son, and also that he had attacked the Nogais of Bessarabia, who were *protegés* of the Porte, and who had refused to obey him. The real reason was probably

* Krim Khans, 145, 146. † *Id.*, 147-149. ‡ Scherer, ii. 111.

some palace intrigue. He thereupon retired to Komuk, where he died in 1672. He had built some splendid baths at Baghchi Serai, and also some palaces at Tula, not far off. His second reign was twelve years and four months long, and he died at the age of sixty-six.*

ADIL GIRAI KHAN.

Muhammed Girai was succeeded by Adil Girai, who, according to Von Hammer and Langles, was the son of Choban Girai, which is probably right, although the notice translated by Kazimirski makes him a son of Devlet Girai Sultan.† Von Hammer says that, having been brought back from banishment at Rhodes and placed on the throne, he set sail from Constantinople with an escort of eleven galleys, while his kalga Islam Girai went overland. It seems to have been the policy of the Porte at this period to cut down the power of the Khans, for we are told that the Crown lands on the Dniester, which had formerly been an appanage of theirs, were now transferred to the Nogais, who had been settled in Bessarabia for three years. Soon after his accession he sent an embassy to Vienna.‡ His envoy Kantemir mursa went with sixteen attendants and thirty-five horses, with letters from the Khan, the vali, the kalga, the nureddin, and the vizier Seferaga.§

By a treaty made in the early part of 1667, Russia and Poland, which were both weary of and somewhat exhausted by their struggle, entered into a truce for thirteen years, by which the Poles ceded to the Tzar all Severia and that portion of the Ukraine east of the Dnieper, with the Cossacks who lived there; (the Western Cossacks or Zaporognes remained subject to Poland) and a common alliance was entered into against the Krim Khan.‖ The Cossacks at this time were divided into several factions; one of these, under Doroshenko in alliance with the Tartars, mustered a force of sixty thousand men, and enveloped and defeated six thousand Poles, capturing their commander.¶ Meanwhile the Cossacks belonging to a rival faction, under Serko, entered the Krim and compelled the Khan and his people to seek refuge in the mountains, and then retired.** We now find a third hetman, who ruled over the Russian Cossacks, abandoning his patrons and offering to put the Ukraine under the protection of Turkey.†† His policy was apparently distasteful to his people, who drove him away, and he was shortly after killed, and Doroshenko became the hetman on both sides of the Dnieper.‡‡

Afraid of his northern neighbours, who were now friends, he also appealed to the Sultan, who gave him a contingent of six thousand men,

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 442. † *Id.* ‡ Von Hammer, Osm. Gesh., 584, 585. § Krim Khans, 153. ‖ Lesur, ii. 21, 22. ¶ De Bohucz, 385. ** Scherer, op. cit., ii. 118. †† *Id.*, 121. ‡‡ *Id.*, 123.

and promised him the assistance of the Tartars.* Presently a new faction arose against him, headed by Khanenko and other chiefs, who it seems were supported by the Tartars. The latter, whose alliances were dictated by their interests, did not scruple to ravage the villages of Doroshenko, although he was the *protegé* of the Turkish Sultan, their master. This brought about the deposition of the Krim Khan, who it seems befriended his rival Khanenko, and was accordingly displaced. This was in 1670. One author says he was deprived because he had gone out of his mind, and that he retired to Rumelia.† He renewed the treaty of peace with Poland made by the Khans Islam Girai and Muhammed Girai.‡ Adil Girai was buried in the mosque at Karinabad.§ Although Adil in Arabic means just, says the author translated by Langles, he had no virtue worthy of a throne, and was a tyrant.

SELIM GIRAI KHAN.

Adil Girai was succeeded by Selim Girai, the son of the Khan Behadur Girai. He had lived in retirement at Cholmek, near Yamboli. It was near the latter town that the Krim Khans had their appanages. The chief of them was Jingis Serai. The palace was separated from the town by an esplanade, and all the streets radiated from it.‖ A story is told of him that while he was at Cholmek, there lived at the village of Jauli a pious dervish named Sheikh Ibrahim, who it seems was devoted to worldly matters as well as spiritual. He let it be known in the neighbourhood that he would dispose of the Khanate of Krim for a thousand ducats, and that if anyone would send him the money he would secure him the prize. No one was tempted with the offer at Jauli, but when the news reached Cholmek Selim Girai sent the money, and soon after became Khan. The explanation probably is, that a large part of the money went to the vizier Kologli, by whose influence with the dissipated Sultan Muhammed IV. Adil had been deposed. He was presented with the insignia of his office, that is to say, the sable-trimmed robe of honour, the diamond ornament, and the jewel bedecked sword. He appointed his brother Selamet Girai kalga, and his cousin Safa Girai nureddin.¶ He at once set off for Circassia, to settle that disturbed district, but had hardly taken up his winter quarters in the Kabarda when he was summoned to attend his suzerain the Sultan in a campaign against the Poles.

Doroshenko the Cossack continued his Ishmaelitish policy towards his neighbours. He attacked the Cossacks under Russian rule, against whose special hetman he secured the patriarch's excommunication ; this

* *Id.*, ii. 128, 129. † Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii., 442. ‡ Krim Khans, 154. § *Id.*, 155. ‖ De Bohucz, 386. ¶ Krim Khans, 157, 158.

was in 1670. The next year, the Poles having supported his rival Khanenko, he asked assistance from the Pasha of Silistria, with whose aid he punished both the Russian Cossacks and the partisans of Khanenko. The latter having been duly installed as hetman, Doroshenko secured the personal co-operation of the Sultan, who declared war against Poland, and in 1672 marched upon Kaminetz of Podolia. Selim Girai and his two sons marched under the Turkish standard, and contributed to the capture of that fortress; afterwards to that of Luof and other neighbouring villages. He ravaged Pocutia and Volhynia, whence he carried off one thousand prisoners, but as he was crossing the Dniester with an immense booty he was attacked by the Polish King John Sobieski near Kaluz, and had to surrender his prisoners and a large part of the booty.*

The result of the war with the Turks was the cession by the Poles of the Ukraine, Podolia, and the town of Kaminetz, and we are told that this treaty, the last by which the Turks secured fresh territory in Europe, was chiefly due to the skill of Selim. The Polish diet refused to sanction its terms, and the war having recommenced, Selim was forced to retire to the Krim.† The Nogais living near Akkerman having revolted against the Porte, rhe Khan was told to transport them to the Krim. He did so, but they gradually made their way back again.‡ During his reign, and in the year 1672, the Venetians tried to recover their commerce with the Krim. They had long solicited for the right of trading in the Black Sea, and at length bought the concession from the officers of the Porte, who, however, rendered it illusory, for when two vessels, furnished with a firman and bearing rich cargoes, appeared at the custom-house at Constantinople they were stopped. This act of insubordination against the Sultan's firman would have been punished with death but that the divan was in fact in league with the customs' officer, and the two ships were not allowed to pass on.§

Meanwhile the strife continued in the north, in which the Tartars were in close alliance with the hetman Doroshenko against the Russians. In 1674 the later captured the towns of Cherkask and Kanief, while the Cossack chief was himself made prisoner by the hostile garrison of Lisianka. Regaining his liberty, the indefatigable hetman led an army of Cheremisses, Turks and Tartars, which ravaged the Russian borders. The old people were killed, and the women and children sold to the Tartars. A fierce and indecisive battle followed, after which the Russians proceeded to besiege Chigrin, when the Turks marched to the aid of their *protegé*. The Russian commanders thereupon retired, and a cruel vengeance was exacted from the country east of the Dnieper. The town of Uman having been captured, all its inhabitants were slaughtered under the eye of Doroshenko; the Christians found there, were burnt alive or

* De Bohucz, 387. † *Id.* ‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 443. § De Bohucz, 386, 387.

had their skins stuffed with straw, and were sent in hundreds to the Sultan. The towns who submitted had to surrender all their children, who were forthwith circumcised; and in order to pay the Turks the sums they demanded for their assistance, Doroshenko, whose coffers were empty, made a raid upon Little Russia, whence he returned charged with booty.* After this, this successful marauder was abandoned by most of his Cossacks, and turned alternately for aid to Turkey and Russia. The Russians, who knew his distressed condition, besieged him at Chigrin, which they captured, and he was made prisoner. He recovered his liberty at the price of surrendering his hetmanship, and thus ended a long life of rapine. This was in 1675.

The Sultan, who had long kept the younger Khmielnitski prisoner, now produced him and nominated him prince of Little Russia and hetman of the Zaporogian Cossacks. He ordered Ibrahim Pasha and the Krim Khan to advance with him into the Ukraine and to recapture Chigrin. The various contingents arrived before that town in 1675. It was garrisoned by sixty thousand Russians and Cossacks. The Turkish commander Ibrahim had only forty thousand men with him. The citadel was fortified on three sides by morasses, and was inaccessible on the fourth, and the garrison had some boats on the river to aid in the defence. The Pasha of Bosnia, who tried with sixteen thousand Tartars to prevent the Russians crossing the Dnieper, was badly defeated, and the Khan's son, eight murzas, and ten thousand men were left on the field. The siege was at length raised, and the Turks retired in confusion, and lost two thousand waggons of baggage and impedimenta.

The news caused tremendous excitement at Constantinople. A general levy was ordered, the Sultan subscribed 2,000,000 of silver coin, and the Grand Vizier undertook the casting of eight new cannons. Ibrahim was received with indignation by his master, and sent off as a prisoner to the Seven Castles at Constantinople. The Khan of Krim, to whom a portion of the blame was assigned, was deposed. He stayed the winter at Kaffa, and the following spring went to Constantinople, whence he was transported to Rhodes. This was in 1677.

We ought to note in passing that in 1676 the Tzar Alexis, son of Michael Romanof, died. His latter years were disturbed by the terrible revolt of the Ural Cossacks under Stenko Razin. We are told that Alexis established a mounted postal service, silk and linen manufactures, encouraged iron and copper mining, and improved ship building. In his reign Behring's Straits were discovered by the Cossack Deshnef. By his first wife Maria he left two sons, Feodor and Ivan, and by his second wife Natali Narizhkin a third son, Peter the Great. He was succeeded by Feodor.†

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* Scherer, ii. 144, 145.

† Wahl, op. cit., 285, 286.

MURAD GIRAI KHAN.

Selim Girai was succeeded by Murad Girai, the son of Mubarek and the grandson of Selamet Girai Khan. He was the last of the Krim Khans who sent an annual embassy to the Imperial court at Vienna. The last of such embassies which reached Vienna was in 1680.* The Porte probably viewed them with suspicion. They were in themselves a mere pretext for extorting presents, but they might easily be converted into sources of intrigue. The Turks proceeded with their campaign in the Ukraine, and the Tartars meanwhile ravaged the country from Roslaf to Pereislavl. The Turks, under the orders of George Khmielnitski, proceeded to lay siege to Chigrin, defeated its defenders in a pitched battle, and exploded several mines under its walls. The garrison at length succeeded in cutting its way through and withdrawing to the Don, and the place fell into the hands of the Turks on the 21st of August, 1678. They afterwards plundered Kanief and the neighbouring towns with terrible cruelty. Khmielnitski was proclaimed prince of Little Russia and hetman of the Zaporogian Cossacks. The next year Hanenko, another *protegé* of the Turks, was nominated hetman of the Ukraine. The Cossack country was the scene of dismal raids and counter raids on the part of both Russians and Turks, and its inhabitants fled largely to the forests for refuge.†

In 1680 the Tartars, under their Khan, ravaged all the Russian settlements for thirty leagues along the river Merla, and the Turks refounded the towns of Kizikerman and Taman, and restored the fortifications of Chertkof.‡

Feodor, Tzar of Russia, did much to introduce culture into the empire, patronised schools, a superior church music, and the arts and sciences. He put an end to the exorbitant pretensions of the nobility to the hereditary succession to the higher Government offices by burning the genealogical registers, by which act the talents of the lower classes became available for the benefit of the country. He improved the architecture of Russia, and tried to encourage the breeding of horses by introducing better ones from Prussia. Having with the consent of the grandees displaced his brother Ivan, who was an imbecile, from the succession, he nominated his half-brother Peter as his heir. He died in 1682, without issue.

In 1683 Murad Girai took part in the great Turkish campaign against Austria, during which Vienna was besieged. John Sobieski, with an army of Poles and Cossacks, at the same time aided the Emperor. During the siege the Tartar Khan had a quarrel with the Grand Vizier, who probably needed a scapegoat for his want of success. This was followed by his deposition, which took place in October, 1683.

* Von Hammer, Osm. Gesh., iii. 698. † Scherer, op. cit., ii. 152. ‡ *Id.*, 153.

The electors of Brandenburg were at this time enlarging their frontiers rapidly. Some years before, during the general prostration of Poland, they had annexed the province of Prussia and the districts of Lauenburgh and Bytof, with the town of Elbing.*

We are told that Murad Khan was an eye-witness of the strange feat of the Elector Frederick William, who conveyed his troops on sledges against the Swedes who had attacked Prussia. This had such an effect on the Khan and his suzerain that they entered into a treaty with the Elector.†

On his deposition the Sultan gave Murad Girai a residence at Sirajeli, near Yamboli, where he died in 1107 hej. (*i.e.*, 1695). He had reigned five years and six months.‡ We are told that at this time some of their envoys having been ill-used, the Russians ceased to have diplomatic intercourse with the Khans, and communicated in future directly with Constantinople.§

HAJI GIRAI KHAN II.

Murad Girai was succeeded by Haji, the son of Krim Girai Khan, who appointed Devlet Girai and Azemet Girai, the two sons of the deposed Khan Selim, kalga and nureddin. Haji Girai distinguished himself in the disastrous siege of Vienna. When the Turks abandoned their colours and retired, he at the head of his Tartars rescued the Ottoman standard. Later on, when the Poles wished to occupy Bessarabia, the Khan marched against them and fought a battle with them near Ismael. He also defeated the Zaporogian Cossacks in a five days' struggle near the Pruth. He soon after accompanied the Sultan in an expedition against Hungary. He was deposed, however, after having only reigned a year.‖ The cause of the deposition is not very clear, but Von Hammer suggests that it might have something to do with the intrigues of his own kalga and nureddin. At all events their father, the deposed Khan Selim, was again reinstated.

SELIM GIRAI KHAN (RESTORED).

Von Hammer describes with some unction the ceremony with which Selim was escorted when he landed at Constantinople on his return from exile at Rhodes. How the vizier went to meet him with his head covered, not with the kalevi (*i.e.*, the great three-cornered gold-embroidered hat), but in the great round high turban ; how they went to the audience attended by a lordly escort, how the Khan stopped and sat down on the

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* Scherer, ii. 84. † De Bohucz, 388. ‡ Krim Khans, 163. Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 444. § Krim Khans, 163. ‖ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 444. Krim Khans, 162, 163.

stone where the Sultan alighted from his horse, how humbly he knelt in the presence of his suzerain, and how one grandee put on him the kapanidsha (*i.e.*, the robe decked with fur down to the hips), another gave him the jewelled sword, and a third put two diamond ornaments on his head, signifying that the usual gift of one thousand ducats was in his case raised to two thousand. On his departure for Babatagh he was presented with a sword in a golden sheath, a suit of golden scaled armour, a pearl embroidered quiver, and a palfrey.*

The Turks had reached the limit of their wonderful career of conquest, and were now falling on evil times. In the west the Emperor Leopold defeated them very severely, and captured Belgrade, while the Prince of Transylvania put himself under his ægis. In the east their enemies, Russians and Poles, had made a notable peace, by which all the Ukraine and Smolensk were ceded to the former. The Poles had entered into an obligation to pay the Porte tribute, and the Tartars insisted that the Russians should furnish them with an annual sum of sixty thousand roubles. To wipe out this disgrace, and at the same time to fulfil an engagement with their new ally Poland, the Russians under Galitzin advanced against the Krim. After a severe and harassing march across the steppe, and fighting an unsuccessful battle at a place called Carayelg, in which they lost thirteen cannons and one thousand prisoners, they retired and proceeded to build a town on the Samara, to be their head-quarters in a future campaign. This had to be deferred, however, for some time. The Cossacks of the Ukraine were at this time governed by the famous hetman Mazeppa, who was elected in 1687. In 1688 they plundered the neighbourhood of Otchakof, and carried off many Tartar prisoners.

The next year Prince Galitzin, with a Russian army and attended by Mazeppa, advanced as far as Perekop. The Tartars sued for peace. This they bought with sacks made of goatskins, &c., filled with ducats, many of which were false. The Cossacks were much disappointed at not being allowed to plunder the place. The following year they again ravaged the neighbourhood of Otchakof, while the Polish Cossacks made similar raids, released many Christians who were in captivity, and carried off much booty. These attacks took place apparently in the absence of the Khan, who in 1688 had left Akkerman to join the Ottoman army. He was sent against the Germans, who were then in winter quarters. He met them at a place called Kapchak (Von Hammer calls it Uskub), defeated them, and captured one of their chiefs called Hersek. The Khan was summoned to the Ottoman camp, and as a reward for his conduct and at his request, there was created a kind of Prætorian force named Sekban, whose duty it was to attend on the person of the Khan. It was divided into banners of fifty men each, and was paid by the Imperial treasury.

* Von Hammer, Osm. Gesh. iii. 759, 760.

The next year Selim was ordered to accompany Kuprili Zadé Mustapha Pasha in his war, and assisted effectually in driving the Germans from the country about Belgrade. He was once more bidden to ask a favour, and prayed that the Khanate might not pass out of his family. About this time he was greatly affected by the death of his son, who had filled the office of nureddin, and determined to resign his power and to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Permission to do this was granted, and he wended his way by Egypt to the holy city. In memory of this an annual sum called syra was paid by the Sultan's treasury to the stations he visited in his pilgrimage. On his return he settled at an estate called Kazikui, near Silivri.*

SAADET GIRAI KHAN II.

Selim was replaced by Saadet Girai, who is called his son by one author,† Von Hammer‡ makes him a brother of the Khan Haji Girai. This is confirmed by his coins, which show him to have been the son of Krim Girai Khan.§ He nominated Selim's son Devlet Girai as kalga, and Feth Girai as nureddin. He mounted the throne in 1691. The same year he was ordered to march against the Germans, and traversed Wallachia, which was terribly wasted by swarms of locusts, and he had great difficulty in keeping his distressed troops under control. At the same time the inhabitants of the Krim having represented to the Sultan that he was not on good terms with his soldiers, and having failed to arrive in time to assist the Ottoman forces, he was deposed and exiled, first to Chagisgan, near Yamboli, and then to Rhodes, where he shortly after died.

SAFA GIRAI KHAN.

Safa Girai, the successor of Saadet, was the son of Safa Girai Sultan, and belonged to the stock of the Choban Girais. He nominated Devlet Girai as kalga and Shahin Girai as nureddin. The new Khan was on terms of intimate friendship with the King of Poland, a friendship which arose out of the chivalrous treatment that a confidential friend of the Khan's named Ali Aga, who had been captured by the Poles, received at their hands.‖ He was ordered to assist the Turks in their western campaign, and was, like his predecessor, unable to maintain discipline among his Tartars, and being deserted by them near Berkuki, he was also deposed after reigning a few months, and exiled to Kulagosli, near Karinabad, where he some time after died, at the age of sixty-eight.

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 443 and 446. † *Id.*, 446. ‡ iii. 839.
§ Blau, op. cit., 67. ‖ Von Hammer, iii. 854.

SELIM GIRAI KHAN (THIRD REIGN).

Selim Girai, now entitled El haj or the Pilgrim, was recalled from Kasikoi, near Yamboli,* and in 1692 mounted the throne for the third time. He made his eldest son Devlet Girai kalga, and Shahin Girai, the son of his nephew Selamet Girai, nureddin. Soon after his accession he was summoned to attend his suzerain in the war with Transylvania and Hungary. The Imperial forces had laid siege to Belgrade, the Khan, who was then at Akkerman, sent on an advance guard, which was shortly followed by his main army and the Sultan's troops. Several combats ensued, in which the balance of victory was divided, and after which the Tartars ravaged much of the surrounding country.† In September, 1695, he was again summoned to march westwards; he contributed greatly to the capture of the towns of Lugos, Nissa, and Behln, and took an active part in the terrible struggle of Lippa, where the Imperial general Frederick Veterani and so many of his men were killed.‡

The strife between the Cossacks and the Tartars continued without much intermission. In the spring of 1692 the latter made a raid on the district of Domanchof. They retired on the approach of the Cossacks, who proceeded in turn to ravage the district near Otchakof. The following autumn we again find the Tartars plundering in the neighbourhood of Pultava, an expedition which they repeated in 1693, when they were led by the Khan's son.§ In 1694, during the carnival season, they desolated the environs of Pereislavl, and the Cossacks again ravaged the district of Otchakof, and carried off three hundred prisoners. They also made a raid near Perekop, and captured eight cannons;‖ but a more potent enemy was at hand in the shape of the Tzar Peter, afterwards known as Peter the Great, who was determined to gain a sea board for his land-locked empire, to gain a footing in the Black Sea, and especially to capture Azof, where he might plant an arsenal. Azof was well fortified, had a garrison of six thousand men, and a free access to the sea. The Russians advanced under Marshal Sheremetof, with a large army against the town, which Peter himself joined as a volunteer, professing, and no doubt honestly, that he was only a learner in the art of war. On the other side was Murtasa Pasha, the beglerbeg of Kaffa, with the son of the Khan Selim, and the various Tartars of Cherkes, Taman, Sudak, and the Great Nogais. The eastern and western accounts differ somewhat in the causes, while both are agreed as to the main issue of the campaign. According to the Turkish accounts, it was the prowess of the Tartar forces under Kaplan Girai which stormed the Russian entrenchments and compelled them to retreat. The Russian accounts attribute their disaster to the desertion of one of their chiefs of artillery,

* Krim Khans, 172. † Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 448. ‡ *Id.* Osm. Gesh., iii. 882.
§ Scherer, op. cit., ii. 162, 163. ‖ *Id.*, 164.

a Dantziger called Jacob, who had been condemned to corporal punishment, and in revenge spiked the cannon, turned Muhammedan, and assisted in the defence of the town, which resisted effectually. The Russians were compelled to raise the siege.* This was in the autumn of 1695. But they were accustomed to defeat, and their new Tzar Peter was not to be easily dispirited. The break down at Azof was somewhat compensated by the successes of another corps of Russians, assisted by Mazeppa and his Cossacks, who advanced further down the Don, captured four Turkish towns, several pashas, and a body of janissaries, and returned to Great Russia with a large booty and many prisoners. They razed the towns of Kisikerman and Muberbek, and only left standing a small fort on the island of Taman, where they apparently planted a garrison.† The following year, to revenge this disaster, the Khan despatched an army to Little Russia, which wasted the country about Pultava and Mirgorod, but they were fiercely attacked by the Cossacks and Russians, were defeated, and driven beyond the Dnieper and the Vorshla, where many of them were drowned. In their rage they tore open the body of a prisoner named Wechurka, whose heart they tore out while he was still alive.‡

The same year (*i.e.*, 1696) Peter the Great obtained engineers, gunners, and seamen from the Emperor Leopold, the States General of Holland, and the Elector of Brandenburg, and also took some Kalmuks into his pay.§ Having constructed a small flotilla and assembled them at Voronej, he sent them down the Don under the command of Admiral Lefort, Peter again acting as a volunteer.‖ He ordered Mazeppa to furnish fifteen thousand Cossacks, who were planted so as to intercept communication with the Kuban. The Tartars having attacked these Cossacks were badly beaten,¶ while the latter intercepted several Turkish saiks which were going to Azof, and captured them. The Russian army consisted of sixty-four thousand men, besides the contingents of Cossacks and Kalmuks. The siege was carried on regularly though, says Kelly, not entirely after our manner. The trenches were three times deeper than ours, and the ramparts were as high as the walls. The attack began on the 3rd of June, and on the 28th of July the garrison surrendered without any of the honours of war, and were obliged to give up the traitor Jacob to the besiegers.** The Turks with their wives and children retired to Kaganlik. Peter distributed fifteen thousand ducats among the soldiers and Cossacks, and five to each officer. He then proceeded to fortify his new conquest, and ordered a harbour to be dug to hold large vessels, so that he might eventually command the Straits of Kaffa. He left thirty-two armed saiks before Azof, and commanded the building of a fleet to consist of nine sixty-gun ships, and of forty-one carrying

* Kelly, i. 240. † Scherer, ii. 165. ‡ Scherer, op. cit., 166. § Kelly, i. 211.
‖ Lesur, ii, 75, 76. ¶ Scherer, ii. 167. ** Kelly's Russia, i. 241.

from thirty to fifty cannons; and also ordered the Cossacks to build a flotilla of light boats to harass the coasts of Krim. The estates of the nobles, of the rich merchants, and even the clergy were called upon for contributions. A few months later (*i.e.*, 11th of August, 1697) his troops beat the Tartars near Azof.* To efface in some measure the disgrace of this Christian victory, the Tartars now fell upon Poland, where the death of Sobieski had left the country in confusion. They captured Sbaraz, advanced as far as Lemberg, and broke into Stanislaf, where they captured twenty-four nuns.†

Mazeppa and his Cossacks proceeded to fortify Kizikerman and Taman, which commanded the entrance of the Don on either bank, and although the Grand Vizier sent a fleet to repair the disaster at Azof, the Turks only advanced as far as Asaam, and tried in vain to seduce the Russian commanders by bribes. This policy seems to have been more effectual with the officials at Constantinople, who, now that the Sultans were becoming weak and dissolute, were more and more under the influence of such creatures.

Selim Girai in vain warned his master of what would follow, and even repaired to Constantinople to have an interview with the Sultan. Weary of governing, he for the third time laid down his authority, and having been granted an annual stipend of eight hundred thousand aspers, retired to Silivri, near Adrianople.‡ Another authority says he went to Kazekui, near Scutari.§ This was in 1698.

DEVLET GIRAI KHAN II.

Faithful to their pact with Selim, the Turks nominated his son Devlet Girai as Khan, and he was installed with great pomp at the village of Gul Baba, near Adrianople.‖ He appointed his brothers Shahbaz and Gazi Girai respectively kalga and nureddin. The Russians continued to win small successes. In August, 1697, they beat the Tartars near Azof, and a few months later seized Perekop. They at length proposed peace to the Porte, and supported their demand by planting one hundred thousand men at Azof. This peace, which is known as the treaty of Karlovitz, marks the terrible decadence of the Turks since when, but a few years before, they threatened Vienna and appropriated Hungary. They had now to cede all Hungary beyond the Save, with Transylvania and Slavonia to the Emperor, while they only retained Temeswar and Hungary south of the Save; the Russians were granted Azof.

This peace, which was signed on the 13th of June, 1700, was to last for thirteen years, and consisted of fourteen articles. Of these the second

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* Kelly, op. cit., 248. † Von Hammer, Osm. Gesh., iii. 892.
‡ Krim Khans, 175. § Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 448. ‖ Krim Khans, 175.

provided for the demolition of the forts of Toghan, Gazi Kerman, Shahin Kerman, and Nusret Kerman, some of which had been conquered by the Russians in the late war; the fifth created a march of devastated land of five hours extent between Or (*i.e.*, Perekop) and Azof. In the district between Perekop and the castle of Mejush both Russians and Tartars were to have free liberty to hunt, fish, keep bees, cut wood, and obtain salt. In the direction of the Kuban a space of ten hours from the fortress of Azof was marked, where the Nogais and Circassians should not molest the Russians and Cossacks. The eighth article provided very minutely for the peaceful behaviour of the Krim Tartars, the ninth for an exchange of prisoners, the tenth for free trade, the twelfth for a free passage for pilgrims to Jerusalem, and the thirteenth for the immunity of agents and interpreters.

The new Khan Devlet Girai appointed his brother Shahbaz, a brave and skilful man (who had been much employed by the Turks), his kalga. This created considerable jealousy among his other brothers, who contrived to have Shahbaz poisoned. Afraid for his safety, one of these named Gazi Girai fled, and, having collected the Nogais of Akkerman, persuaded them to escape with him to Bessarabia. The commanders of Otchakof and Kaffa, with the Khan, pursued them, and the frightened murzas were obliged to submit and accept their terms. Gazi Girai escaped to Adrianople, whence he was shortly after transported to Rhodes.

Kaplan Girai, another brother, then marched against the Circassians; he wished to revenge himself upon them for what they had done to Shahbaz.* Devlet Girai now nominated another brother named Saadet as kalga, and his cousin Inayet as nureddin. The Porte sent the usual sum of money for the pay of the segbans (*i.e.*, the regular troops), namely, forty thousand piastres for the Khan and four thousand five hundred for the kalga. Soon after Kaplan Girai and Haji Merdan Ali, the Khan's vizier, plotted together at Kaffa. When the kalga attempted to secure them, they had themselves enrolled as common janissaries at Kaffa, and the other janissaries refused to surrender them. They fled, however, to Constantinople. Kaplan Girai was imprisoned in the castle of the Bosphorus, while Merdan Ali was transported to Lemnos.

The aged Selim was a terrible martyr to gout. For a while he lived at the village of Funduklu, near Yamboli. To get a respite from his complaint he moved to Jadirgan, and thence to the brook Karguna, near Yamboli, where a great water-wheel irrigated three gardens and turned a mill, and where he hoped the soft music of the gurgling water, so dear to eastern ears, might bring him surcease. But getting no relief, he moved again, and trying a fresh remedy, had himself dragged to the top of the high mountain Islemije in a waggon drawn by fifty buffaloes.

* Krim Khans, 178.

There he received a present of two thousand ducats from the Grand Vizier Hussein Kuprili, and another thousand from the Sultan, together with a sable cloak. While grateful for this, the Khan begged for the release of his son Kaplan Girai, which was granted. The historian of Krim, Muhammed Girai, visited him there, and spent four days with him. He got no better, and returned again to Funduklu.*

The Krim Khan was apparently not satisfied with the late peace with Russia, and, perhaps with the connivance of the Porte, he built a fortress near Kertch, to bar the Bosphorus against the Russians. We are told that for this fort iron was obtained from Samakof, builders from Moldavia and Wallachia, wood from Circassia and Sinope, and the other requisites from Constantinople. The Khan also complained to his suzerain that the Russians were busy building ships and a fortress, but the envoy of the latter at Adrianople explained that they had only twelve war ships in the sea of Azof, while the fortress was forty leagues from Perekop, and was meant to overawe the Cossacks. These explanations were deemed satisfactory, the meddlesome Khan was displaced, and his decrepit old father once more put on the throne. This was in December, 1702.† Devlet Girai did not submit, but sent troops to occupy Akkerman and Ismael, and allied himself with the ever willing Nogais. They held out for some time, and were apparently secretly abetted by the Grand Vizier, who befriended them. When his support failed they were forced to fly, and escaped to the Kuban and to the Circassians.‡

SELIM GIRAI KHAN (FOR THE FOURTH TIME).

We are told that when summoned by the Porte to occupy the throne for the fourth time, Selim travelled from Adrianople in a cart, and was duly installed with the robes and insignia of office at Constantinople. He nominated his son Gazi as kalga, and the latter's brother Kaplan as nureddin. This was in 1702.§ De Bohucz says his son and predecessor Devlet was captured in Circassia, and taken to the Krim to be executed, but was pardoned by his father.‖ Selim only occupied the throne for a short time, and died in 1705.

The only incident of interest in his fourth reign was the gradual encroachment of the Russians, who made use of Azof as a focus for their arms, and built forts at Taganrog and at Kamienska on the Dnieper.¶ He was perhaps the greatest of the Krim Khans, and occupied the throne during the reigns of five Sultans, namely, Muhammed IV., Suliman II., Ahmed II., Mustapha II., and Ahmed III.,** and in a firman of Mustapha, the Sultan styles him his father.†† His heroic

* *Id.*, 180-182. † Von Hammer, Osm. Ges., iv. 47. ‡ Krim Khans, 184.
§ *Id.*, 183, 184. ‖ Op. cit., 392. ¶ Von Hammer, Osm. Ges. Reich., 75.
** Krim Khans, 185. †† Langles, op. cit., 422.

conduct at the battle of Kossovo and elsewhere, created a wide reputation for him, and his name was commemorated by the construction of many fountains and other useful works, both in the Krim and the neighbourhood of Constantinople. So great was his fame, that after his exploits at the siege of Vienna the janissaries wished to put him on the Ottoman throne, a position he declined. According to Peyssonel, this incident gave rise to the tradition that on the failure of the Ottoman Imperial house the reversion would fall to that of the Krim Khans.* He was a statesman, a soldier, and an historian and (like his father, Behadur Girai) a poet. We are told he also kept a large sheep farm at Kadikoi, near Pyrgos, which with the mill there he devised to his son Kaplan Girai.† He left ten sons and ten daughters.

GAZI GIRAI KHAN III.

Selim was now succeeded by his son Gazi Girai. He appointed Kaplan as kalga and Maksud as nureddin.‡ We are told he was very handsome and unlike a Tartar, so that it was considered that his mother was a European, as many inmates of the seraglios then doubtless were. He favoured the Christians and allowed the Jesuits to have services in the Krim.§ Having given shelter to the Circassian tribe of the Haiduks, who had killed his brother, and failed to restrain the raids of the Nogais of Anapa, which gave rise to Russian complaints, he was deposed. This was in 1707.‖ He died of the plague at Jingiz Serai or Karinabad, near Constantinople.¶

KAPLAN GIRAI KHAN.

Gazi was succeeded by his brother Kaplan Girai. Mengli was appointed kalga and Maksud nureddin, but the latter dying shortly after was replaced by Sahib. The chiefs of the Circassians were nominees of and subservient to the Krim Khans, but had recently been very rebellious. The Kabardian tribe had some time before deserted its stronghold in the Beshtau, and retired to the inaccessible mountains of Balkhanshan. As it resisted the demand of the Khan that it should return, he now marched against it with a large number of troops, including six thousand Nogais from Bessarabia, fifteen thousand of his own segbans, three thousand sipahis from Kaffa, and five thousand Circassians of the tribe Kemurkoi, together with twenty thousand Nogais, known as Yaman sadak. This expedition was very disastrous. Attacked by the Circassians, he lost several of his chief officers, including the Shirin beg and the begs of the tribes Jarik, Yurulshi, and Mansur, with

* Comm. de la mer Noire, ii. 230-233. † Krim Khans, 186. ‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 449. § De Bohucz, 393. ‖ Krim Khans, 187. ¶ De Bohucz, loc. cit.

twenty-three ulemas and the greater portion of his troops. For this misfortune and for having given asylum to a body of Cossacks who were fleeing before Peter the Great,* he was deposed in December, 1707, and was replaced by his brother Devlet Girai, who mounted the throne for the second time. Kaplan Girai was exiled to Rhodes.

DEVLET GIRAI KHAN II. (RESTORED).

Devlet Girai appointed Bakht Girai kalga and Safa Girai nureddin.† De Bohucz has a confused account of him, and gives him a reign too many. He describes him as an arrogant and self-important person, and says that he patronised the Sultan. Having taken leave of the court at Adrianople, he stopped in the presence of his suzerain, and with one foot in the stirrup and another on the platform from which he mounted, said he awaited the head of the Grand Vizier, whom he could not pardon for the peace on the Pruth. It was sent to him, we are told, as well as those of the reis effendi and the janissary aga, of whom he had complained; nor did he leave until he had secured vengeance on his enemies.‡ He seems to have favoured the Christians. The Jesuit father Ban obtained permission to build a chapel at Baghchi Serai, and to have as coadjutor there the father Courbillon. To make his position more sure, the French ambassador at the Porte secured the appointment of Ban as consul in the Krim.§ For some years past Peter the Great of Russia had been pursuing his famous war against Charles XII. of Sweden, which was crowned by the great victory of Pultava in 1709. Charles took refuge in Turkey, and at once began intriguing with the Turks, to whom he showed a copy of a letter from the Emperor Joseph I. to Peter, in which he counselled him to transport the unruly Cossacks elsewhere, to people the Ukraine with Germans and Swedish prisoners, and to build a line of fortresses as far as the Black Sea, which would enable him eventually to subdue the Krim.‖ This and the various encroachments of the Russians in the sea of Azof at length aroused the jealousy of the Turks, who in November, 1710, declared war. Peter the Great wishing to forestal their attack, advanced from the Dniester to the Pruth, and took formal possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, whose hospodars made pretence of favouring him, and he was received with some State at Jassy.

The Turkish forces set out in imposing array, and their vast land army was supplemented by a fleet which was to operate in the Sea of Azof. The Khan of Krim also marched with a contingent of forty thousand men.¶ Another body of them with six thousand Cossacks made a raid on the Ukraine.** Peter marched to assist his general

* Krim Khans, 187-189. † Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 450. ‡ Op. cit., 400.
§ De Bohucz, 394. ‖ *Id.*, 396. ¶ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 450. ** De Bohucz, 396.

Sheremetof, who was encamped in Wallachia, but he was speedily hemmed in between the Pruth and a morass, and we are told that the Krim Khan assisted greatly in the blockade by intercepting convoys. Peter's position was very critical. He was only saved by the vigour of his newly married wife Catherine, who collected jewels and furs, and so worked upon the cupidity of the Grand Vizier that negotiations for peace commenced. This was at length concluded on very advantageous terms for the Turks. Azof was to be restored, Kaminetz, Samara, and Tanganrog razed, while the Russian artillery was surrendered to the Turks.* Notwithstanding this, the peace was not well received by the Porte. The Turkish commanders were accused, not perhaps unjustly, of having sold their cause, and were put to death. Meanwhile Peter, having placed his army in safety, evaded the terms of the treaty.

The Porte had determined to send Charles XII. home again, a journey he was very unwilling to perform. Devlet received orders to pay him nine hundred purses and to escort him with a sufficient force by way of the Ukraine and Poland as far as Sweden. The sum was a large one for the Krim Khan, but not enough to pay the king's debts, who accordingly complained. "I will throw you into the Dniester," was the answer of the discontented Khan. The fact was the latter, who saw small hopes of plunder in the Ukraine now that it was in the strong hands of Peter, did not like his duty. Charles, who was in a similar mood, and was skilled in discovering or manufacturing intercepted letters, produced one, according to which the Tartars were to abandon him on the preconcerted appearance of the Russians. Of this he informed the Turkish authorities, who saw through it, and threatened to send Charles round by Salonica and Marseilles if he did not at once accept the Khan's escort. The king had been abandoned by seven thousand Cossacks and Poles who had hitherto faithfully followed him, and had only one thousand four hundred Swedes with him, while the Turks and Tartars numbered fourteen thousand. He nevertheless determined to resist them, and after a subsequent fight was supported but by fifty companions. He was arrested by Devlet himself. Meanwhile, however, an intercepted letter had reached the Sultan's ears, and the mufti, the Grand Vizier, and the Khan were duly deposed.† This was in 1713. He was exiled to Rhodes.

After the battle of Pultava those Cossacks of the Dnieper who were attached to the Swedish king retired to Bender, where they submitted to the Krim Khan, who presented them with two commanders' batons and suitable ornaments. They settled near Kamenka, but being pressed by the Russians, took shelter in Aleshki, a small town on the Dnieper. Although subjects of the Khan, they continued to be governed by their own chiefs, and after their own fashion, and obeyed the orders of Mazeppa, who remained with Charles at Bender. On the death of Mazeppa the

* Kelly's History of Russia, i. 295.

† De Bohucz, 392-393.

Sultan nominated Orlik as their hetman. We are told he turned Mussulman and married a Turkish woman. He was given the dues for the passage of the Dnieper and the Bug at Kudak, Miketin, Kamenka, and Kisikerman, which were much used by merchants going to the Krim with goods, especially with salt. That of Merdva Woda, on the route from Poland to Russia to Otchakof, was the most frequented. These Cossacks were also allowed to levy dues on carriages and animals at Otchakof, and to take salt from the lakes in the Tartar country for less than the ordinary royalty. Having become very arbitrary and rapacious, their privileges were cancelled, and they were forbidden to trade in the Krim and at Otchakof. In return for the protection offered them they were obliged to accompany the Khan to Sudak when he marched against the Circassians, to furnish him two thousand men under their own chiefs, and thirteen thousand to repair the lines of Perekop. While absent in Circassia with the Khan, the *Russian* Cossacks, whose chief settlement was on the Samara, invaded the borders of these Turkish Cossacks, and cruelly ravaged their setche at Aleshki, a raid which was cruelly punished in a counter attack. The latter also plundered their patrons the Tartars, from whom they carried off many horses cattle, and sheep. These robberies were severely punished by the Khan, but went on notwithstanding. The chief grievance of the Cossacks was that, as guardians of the Tartar frontier, they had to make reparation for all Christian slaves who escaped through their borders. These unruly plunderers also made raids on Poland, but the Khan compelled them to restore the value of what they took thence. It is strange to read that they retained the Greek faith, and prayed regularly for the Tzar, who treated them as deserters and ordered that any of them when caught should be hanged. The Tartars deprived them of their artillery, nor would they allow them to build fortifications within their borders. They also harassed them by sending murzas with large retinues, whose expenses the Cossacks had to defray, and also to give them splendid presents. At length weary of these exactions, they determined to submit to Russia, and sent to ask the authorities to number them among the faithful inhabitants of Little Russia, which the Empress Anne Ivanofna agreed to do.* Let us now revert again to the Krim.

KAPLAN GIRAI KHAN (SECOND REIGN).

Devlet Girai's brother Kaplan, who had already occupied the throne, was nominated his successor. He appointed Mengli Girai kalga and Safa Girai nureddin. Two years later the Turks were engaged in that war in Hungary in which they sustained such a terrible defeat at

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* Scherer, i. 231-243.

Vardin.* As usual, the defeat was followed by the deposition of those upon whose shoulders blame could rightly or wrongly be thrust. The Khan had not attended the war in person, but had sent a contingent under his brother Selamet Girai. He was nevertheless deposed.* The meekness with which these constant depositions were submitted to, is explained by the fact that the grandees of the Krim were for the most part in the pay of the Porte, and that the Sultan being the successor of the Khalifs had enormous influence among a devoted Mussulman population like that of Krim. The deposition took place in 1715.

KARA DEVLET GIRAI KHAN.

Kaplan was replaced by Kara Devlet, a son of Adil Girai, who was not therefore descended from Selim the haj. The Sultan having heard that the Shirin begs and murzas of the Tartars were dissatisfied with the appointment, and were wishful to be governed by some descendant of the famous Pilgrim Khan, in whose family the right of succession had been practically settled, the new Khan was deposed, after reigning only four months. He died shortly after, and was succeeded by Saadet, the son of Selim.

SAADET GIRAI KHAN III.

Saadet nominated Safa and Islam Girai as kalga and nureddin. Though there was peace between the two great empires on the Neva and the Bosphorus, the marauders who inhabited the border lands could not be so easily restrained, and in August, 1718, we hear of an embassy to the Porte complaining of the raids of one Basht Girai, a son of Devlet Girai, who had been a rebel and an outlaw, and whose exploits had gained him the title of Deli Sultan or Mad Sultan.† In 1720 Saadet went on an expedition to Circassia, in which he was taken prisoner. On his return from captivity he was deposed. The cause of his deposition was his quarrel with the begs of the tribe Shirin, the most influential in the Krim. The chief of these, named Haji Jan Timur, had received but a scanty share of the booty in the recent expedition. Saadet had also preferred his son-in-law to him, and banished three of the chief grandees from the Krim. The Shirin begs accordingly met tumultuously at Kialaralti ("under the rocks"), and the Subhan Gazi wrote a letter to the Porte asking for his deposition. His influence was negatived by that of the Grand Vizier, who favoured the Khan. But having returned to the Krim and assembled the chiefs of the tribe Shirin, they attacked him in his palace and drove him away.

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* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii., 457.

† Von Hammer, Osm. Ges. iv. 173.

MENGLI GIRAI KHAN II.

Mengli Girai, the brother of Kaplan Girai, was now (*i.e.*, in 1724) nominated Khan. He appointed Safa Girai kalga and Selamet Girai nureddin. We are told by Father Stephen in the third volume of the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses,* that Mengli was appointed by the Sultan to circumvent the rebellious Shirin begs. He went to the Krim, and, in accordance with his instructions, proceeded to sow discord among the Shirin chiefs. He at length quarrelled openly with the principal beg Jan Timur, whose influence he had previously undermined, forced him to seek safety in flight, put several of his principal supporters to death, and scattered others in the more desert parts of the Krim, and thus finally sapped the power of the Shirin tribe, which now lost its political importance.† In 1725 the Khan sent a contingent of ten thousand men to assist in the war with Persia. They marched round the eastern coast of the Black Sea, thus avoiding the journey by Constantinople, and joined the Turkish army at Begkof. The kalga received a present of five thousand piastres, the nureddin four thousand, and Toktamish, the Khan's son, five thousand, together with richly caparisoned horses.

Soon after the kalga was displaced, and Adil Girai, the son of Selim, was appointed in his place. He was in turn speedily displaced, and Selamet, the nureddin, given the dignity of kalga. Adil then repaired to the Nogais in Bessarabia, whom he incited to return to their old quarters in Moldavia, and to set up Kaplan Girai as Khan. This rebellion was speedily quelled, and the Turkish governors of Otchakof, Bender, Ismail, Kili, and Akkerman joined with the voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia in opposing the Nogais. The Khan and the governor of Otchakof met at Ismail to regulate their affairs. They had an interview with the murzas of the Nogais, Kowais, and of the tribe Karachalk, and the strip of land between the Dniester and the Pruth was once more made over to them. They promised to be peaceful, and undertook to pay the Porte one thousand purses. Hardly were the Bessarabian Nogais settled, when disturbances broke out among those of the Kuban. The latter were incited by Jan Timur, the Shirin beg, and Basht Girai. The Khan set out with his army and the tributary‡ Cossacks under Polkuls from Perekop, while the kalga went at the head of the Bessarabian Tartars.§ Basht Girai ravaged the country as far as Azof. We are told that the Nogais of the tribes Yedisan and Yambolik, who were hard pressed by the Kalmuks, and were on bad terms with the Kasai (?) and Circassians, asked permission to settle in the Krim, which was granted them. They were shortly followed by the Katai-Kipchak. The Mad Sultan obtained pardon on a promise not to molest the Nogais

* 196-206. † Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 452. ‡ *Vide supra.*
§ Krim Khans, 196, 197.

and Circassians.* Mengli was allowed a triumphant entry into Constantinople on the 26th of April, 1729.† We are told that, after arousing much ill-will by the severity he exercised towards his old friends, he tried to win some popularity by remitting the tax of a sheep, payable by each household,‡ but he was deposed. This was in November, 1730. The deposition of Sultan Ahmed by the janissaries the same year had probably something to do with it. We are told Mengli built a new palace in the quarter called Selajik at Baghchi Serai.§

KAPLAN GIRAI KHAN (THIRD REIGN).

Kaplan Girai was now appointed Khan for the third time. He nominated Adil Girai kalga‖ and Haji Girai nureddin.¶ This was in 1730. By the peace of Adrianople, signed in 1713, the Circassians and Kabardians had been acknowledged as subjects of the Krim Khans, who drew thence a valuable tribute in fair maidens and young boys. The Russians were uneasy at this suzerainty, and even invented an extraordinary ethnological paradox to push their views, namely, that the Circassians were a colony of Cossacks, who, it will be remembered, were also called Cherkes or Circassians. These counter claims gave rise to much soreness.

The issue between Russia and Turkey, between the cross and the crescent, was in fact beginning to be fought out in that battlefield which has been sown with so much Russian blood, and where the Russians have won so many costly victories, namely, the Caucasus. The many independent tribes there first leaned on one power and then on the other, the balance being considerably in favour of the Turks, who were co-religionists of most of the mountaineers. Persia, which had been their suzerain for some time, was terribly shattered and in a state of anarchy, and in 1732 we find the Khan Kaplan Girai using considerable diplomatic and other means to strengthen the Turkish influence. Thus he gave the chief of the Kumuks, the most potent of the tribes of Daghestan, who are descended from the mediæval Comans, and are of Turkish race, the title of vizier, and his son Muhammed that of beglerbeg. A large force of Krim Tartars, Nogais, and Circassians, under their own begs, marched with the kalga, Feth Girai, to enforce the authority of the Porte. On the Kuban they received the submission of the Kalmuks, and in Kabarda of the Circassians. The Russians viewed this expedition with great displeasure; protests poured in upon the Khan and his kalga, but the latter continued his march, stating that

* Krim Khans, 198. † Langles, 421. ‡ De Bohucz, 402

§ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 452. ‖ Von Hammer says Feth Girai.

¶ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 453.

he had the orders of the Sultan and the Khan. At Tatartop, the former chief town of the Tartars in these parts,* he received the submission of the princes of the Little Kabarda. At Islaf on the Sunja that of the prince of the Chechents, who took him two thousand horsemen. After crossing four other streams, the prince of the Kumuks went to him, and the prince of the tribe Enderi kissed his stirrup. At Tartargaf the sons of the Usmei of the Kaitaks, and of the Surkhai of the Kazikumuks, submitted to him. Eight leagues from Derbend he was joined by the kadhis of the Akushes and the magnates of the Kubetshis. When the Russians saw he was determined, and that he was being joined by the various tribes of Daghestan, they attempted to prevent his advance with a small force of Cossacks planted at the entrance of the pass, but they were badly beaten, and lost fifty-five in killed and eight hundred wounded.† The Tartars continued their march past Derbend as far as the Samur and Eski Khodad, and only returned on being ordered to do so by a message from the Porte.‡ This was in June, 1733. This expedition brought matters to a crisis. Angry letters began to pass between Constantinople and Moscow, in which rival claims to the allegiance of the tribes of the Caucasus were set out, and mutual complaints of aggressions on the part of the frontier tribes were made. The Russians commenced the aggression. They had long been preparing for war to avenge the defeat of Peter the Great on the Pruth, and opportunity had alone been lacking. In 1735 a body of Russians marched into the territory of the Krim Khan, killed some Tartars, and ravaged a portion of the country, but were forced to retreat by the hardness of the campaign, with a loss of ten thousand men.§ The following year they resumed the attack with greater vigour. Twelve regiments of dragoons, fifteen thousand infantry, ten thousand landwehr, ten squadrons of hussars, five thousand Don Cossacks, four thousand Cossacks of the Ukraine, and three thousand Zaporogues or Cossacks of the Dnieper, in all 54,000 men, with eight thousand provision and other carts, assembled on the Dnieper, under the command of Count Munich. On the 26th of May this army found itself before the celebrated lines of Perekop, probably the oldest fortification in the world which has remained in permanent use, for there can be little doubt that this rampart and ditch follow nearly the same course as the lines mentioned by Herodotus. These lines, upon which the Tartars confidently relied, were stormed. Two days after Perekop (the Or of the Tartars) was captured. Thence a body of troops was despatched to Kilburn, while the main army proceeded to plunder the richest trade mart in the Krim, namely, Gösleve (Koslof). Within a month of storming the lines of Perekop the Russians appeared before Baghchi Serai, the capital of the Krim. This was captured, and two thousand houses and the

* Krim Khans, 202. † *Id.*, 204. ‡ *Id.* § Kelly's Russia, i. 412.

spacious palace of the Khan were burnt. There also perished the rich library which Selim Girai had founded, and also that of the Jesuits.* From here the Russians turned to Akmejid (*i.e.*, the white mosque, now known as Simpheropol), the residence of the kalga and chief murzas, where one thousand eight hundred houses were burnt. Munich would have attacked Kaffa, but was obliged by the breaking out of sickness to retire, after laying waste the greater portion of the Krim, and paying back (no doubt with ample interest) the accumulated wrongs the Russians had suffered at the hands of their troublesome neighbours. The barbarities and cruelties they practised on this occasion are made the subject of comment by Kelly. The unfortunate Khan was made the scapegoat of the misfortune, and was deposed. This was in 1736. One of the beautiful fountains at Baghchi Serai bears an inscription showing that he was its builder.

FETH GIRAI KHAN II.

Feth Girai, the son of Devlet Girai, now became Khan. Arslan Girai was appointed kalga and Mahmud Girai nureddin. While the Crimea was being devastated the Turkish arms received a severe defeat at Azof, where the Russians captured the two forts of Paschet and the fort of the janissaries. They seem to have then withdrawn into the Ukraine, in company with the larger force under Münich, which had ravaged the Krim. Although successful, the recent expedition has cost the Russians very dear. Thirty thousand men had perished, the greater number no doubt harassed by the difficulties of the terrible deserts of the Nogais, which proved so full of peril for the Russians in the Crimean war of 1854. But this campaign completely broke the prestige of the Tartars, who had so long been a terror to their neighbours. The new Khan Feth Girai fixed his residence at Kara-su, now called Kara-su-bazar. He signalised his accession by a fortunate raid upon Russia. This was supplemented by the Turks, whose Sultan sent a large force into the Ukraine to revenge the disaster of the spring. They devastated the country and retired with thirty thousand prisoners. Prince Galitzin meanwhile entered the Krim, and passing by Uchula ravaged the land as far as Kara-su, carrying off many prisoners.† The next year the Russians prepared another great expedition. Some idea of its character, says Kelly, may be formed from the fact that more than ninety thousand waggons were employed to transport the provisions and stores.‡ Their army numbered from sixty to seventy thousand men, with six hundred pieces of artillery. They proceeded along the river Bug to Otchakof, to which they laid siege. After a severe cannonade, in which the town was

* Von Hammer, Osm. Ges., iv. 322, 323. De Bohucz, 403.
† Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 454 Langles, 421. ‡ Kelly, op. cit., i. 413.

fired by the bombs, and the powder magazine blew up, and in which the garrison suffered great loss, Otchakof was captured, and its fall was the signal for the deposition of the Grand Vizier and the Krim Khan. The latter had only reigned about ten months.

MENGLI GIRAI KHAN II. (RESTORED).

Feth Girai was deposed in July, 1737, and was succeeded by Mengli Girai, the son of Selim, who had already been Khan once, and was brought back, like many of his predecessors, from exile in Rhodes. He nominated Selamet Girai as kalga and Saleh Girai as nureddin. While the siege of Otchakof was progressing, the Russian general Lascy advanced against the Krim. The Khan awaited the Russians at Perekop, whose fortifications had been restored, but Lascy cleverly turned the position, by throwing a bridge across the strait of Yenichi, which connects the Sivash or putrid sea with that of Azof. He marched by the narrow tongue which separates those seas, and arrived before Arabat. The Khan by forced marches succeeded in throwing a garrison into the fortress, and planted his men so that it was thought he had effectually cut off the retreat of the Russians, an opinion shared by several officers in Lascy's army. These he had allowed to return home; so confident was he of the success of his plans. One day he launched all the empty tubs and chevaux de frise he could lay hands upon, on the Sivash, made rafts of them, and on them crossed that putrid sea to Karas Bazar. Mengli Girai having attacked his camp was defeated, and the town was captured and burnt, as well as many villages that had escaped the year before from not being on the line of march. Lascy now retired, but not by the way he came as the Khan expected, and where he was preparing a hot reception for him, but by the Shungar, which divides the Sivash in two. The Tartars only overtook him when he had reached the steppe beyond the Krim, where they were beaten. The Russians now withdrew to winter quarters in the Ukraine, and the Tartars to the Krim. In the spring Mengli Girai tried to invade the Ukraine, but was foiled, and Lascy once more entered the Krim, this time crossing over the Sivash, which had been partially laid dry by the heat and by a heavy wind. He crossed without losing a man, and only lost some provision carts. He had been ordered to take Kaffa, but the devastations of the previous year greatly impeded his march. Like the Palatinate in the Thirty Years' War, the Krim had been converted from a garden into a desert, and a ship laden with provisions having been lost, Lascy was obliged to retire, destroying the fortifications of Perekop on his way.* Von Hammer says that in Lascy's campaign Baghchi Serai, Simpheropol, &c., were captured, six

* De Bohucz, 404-406.

thousand houses thirty-eight mosques, two churches, and fifty mills were burnt. After this terrible ravage the Russians retired from the Krim, and went into winter quarters again in the Ukraine.* Munich also withdrew his forces from Otchakof, leaving only a small garrison there. This resisted the attacks of forty thousand Turks and Tartars during the winter. They were at length compelled to raise the siege after losing twenty thousand men before its walls, half of whom died of disease. Thus the war ended gloriously for the Russians.† But such glories are often intermittent and sometimes misinterpreted, and we find the Khan Mengli Girai writing to the Porte in August, 1738, that he had beaten the army of Lascy, who had tried to break through the lines of Perekop, and had lost nearly all his forces. A wild boast which, soberly translated, meant that after beating the Khan, Lascy had prudently retired for some good reason into the Ukraine.‡

The Cossacks of the Dnieper assisted the Russians greatly in their campaign against the Tartars and Turks, and we are specially told that their flotilla harried the coast from Otchakof to Kizirkerman.§ By the treaty of Belgrade, which was signed in 1739, the Russians agreed to evacuate Khotzim and Otchakof. The fortifications of the latter town, however, and of Perekop were to be razed. Azof was retained by the Russians, and a boundary line favourable to them was drawn.‖ Mengli Girai died after a reign of two years (*i.e.*, in 1739). Like other Khans of Krim, he was a poet, and some stanzas are quoted by Von Hammer as specimens of his skill in this art.¶

SELAMET GIRAI KHAN II.

Mengli Girai was succeeded by Selamet Girai, the late kalga, who nominated Azemet Girai as kalga and Toktamish Girai as nureddin.** Azemet was succeeded as kalga by Selim Girai in 1742.†† He rebuilt at Baghchi Serai the palace and mosque ruined by the Russians, both of which works were completed in 1739. Selamet was deposed on the 20th December, 1743,‡‡ apparently in consequence of the complaints of the Russians about his negligence in releasing prisoners,§§ and was replaced by Selim Girai.

SELIM GIRAI KHAN II.

Selim nominated Shahin Girai as kalga and Behadur Girai as nureddin. Two years later we find Selim taking part in the Turkish war against Nadir Shah. He left Balaklava, and proceeding by sea, invaded

* Von Hammer, Osm. Ges., iv. 334. Krim Khans, 206. † Von Hammer, iv. 335.
‡ *Id.*, iv. 348. § Scherer, op. cit., i. 254. ‖ Kelly, op. cit., i. 415.
¶ Krim Khans, 207. ** Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 454. †† Langles, 431. ‡‡ *Id.*, 430.
§§ Osm. Ges., iv. 399.

Persia at the head of ten thousand Tartars. Another ten thousand went by a different route under the kalga and nureddin. For his services in this campaign he seems to have been handsomely rewarded both with money and presents.* Langles tells us that from the beginning of his reign he carried on a fierce struggle with his kalga Shahin Girai, who had rebelled. The young prince Haji Girai, a son of Mahmud Girai and nephew of Arslan Girai Khan, who was only twenty, defeated the rebel, challenged him to single combat, and forced him to take refuge in Poland. We shall hear of Haji Girai again.

In 1743 there was a great famine at Constantinople. Selim hastened to send succour. Corn was also very dear at Trebizond, and the customs' officer at Gözleve, Osa, having tried to make profit out of the circumstance, the Khan had him beheaded. Although Circassia was subject to the Krim Khans, they did not draw a regular revenue thence. The chiefs were accustomed to present the Khan with three hundred slaves on his accession. Selim Girai obtained seven hundred instead, by a curious stratagem. The begs of the various tribes having gone to salute him, he received them graciously and gave them presents. Some time after he again summoned them together. They gladly went to meet him, but were all arrested, nor were they released till they had furnished the contingent of slaves he needed.† It had become the practice for the Krim Khans to repair at least once in their reigns to Constantinople. Selim Girai went there in the beginning of 1747, and his arrival caused great rejoicings, which are described at some length by Von Hammer. *Inter alia* his suzerain the Sultan presented him with a sable-decorated robe, a dagger set with diamonds, a jewelled watch, two purses of ducats. a golden casket worth fifteen thousand piastres, in which were contained two tensus (*i.e.*, sweet-scented pastiles), and a golden bracelet, in which was set a bezoar stone.‡ Selim Girai died on the 29th of May, 1748.

ARSLAN GIRAI KHAN.

Selim was succeeded by Arslan Girai, the son of Devlet Girai, who nominated Selim Girai as kalga and Krim Girai as nureddin. He duly received the diploma conferring upon him the title of Ilkhan and Khan, formerly reserved for very different potentates, and subsidising him with the usual salary of a million aspers. He was also decorated with the six insignia of the Khanship, the sable robe (the mark of a kapidan pasha), the sable kaftan, the double diamond aigrette, the sword, and the bow and quiver.§ He rebuilt the fortifications of Arabat, and built up the ramparts and ditches of Uchuba, Junkar, and Juvash, called Zabash in

* Von Hammer, Osm. Ges., iv. 408, 409.
† Langles, 432.
‡ Osm. Ges., iv. 420.
§ *Id.*, 442.

the Russian maps. He established a school at Baghchi Serai and fountains at Koslef and Akmesjid, and added a western wing to the palace at the capital, but, like many of his predecessors, he was deposed. Langles says this was because of his energy in repressing evil-doers, and because of the very frank way in which he addressed the Porte.* The deposition took place on the 12th of August, 1755, and he was exiled to Chios, Hakim Girai (called Halim by Von Hammer and M. Langles) then mounted the throne.

HAKIM GIRAI KHAN.

Hakim appointed Devlet Girai as his kalga and Muhammed Girai as nureddin.† He aroused the opposition of the Nogais by increasing the tax which they were accustomed to pay to the Krim Khans. Of the four great Bessarabian hordes of Nogais two were always governed by seraskiers or generals of the family of Girai. These offices were filled at this time by two of his brothers, for whom the Nogais had a great affection, but when one of them died in 1757, the Khan ventured to give the appointment to one of his own sons, to the exclusion of another brother, against the laws of succession of the Tartars. This caused great discontent, and the Nogais of Jenjen broke out into several revolts, which the young prince was ordered to repress. The way in which he did his work alienated them still more. He had several of the murzas manacled without discrimination, put some to death, allowed others to die in prison, and their families to be plundered by his people; and on pretence of damages due to the Russians made great exactions. The proceeds, we are told, were divided with the Grand Vizier, and Hakim was praised at the Porte while he was hated by the Nogais.

Meanwhile a famine having occurred at Constantinople, provisions were demanded from the Khan, who applied to the Nogais. Although they had plenty of grain, his former exactions made them resent this request. Krim Girai, a relative of the Khan, also incited them to refuse. Two tribes broke out into revolt, and the young seraskier was obliged to seek shelter with his father at Baghchi Serai. Complaints were also sent to the Porte, but as the Khan sent the much-needed grain, the Grand Vizier, his patron, was able to checkmate them. Hakim had also unjustly appointed his eldest son seraskier of the Kuban and of Circassia. His exactions and tyranny, like those of his brother, aroused the murzas against him, and when he opposed them he was defeated. Hakim thereupon seized a ship coming from Abkhazia, and imprisoned both the crew and the innocent passengers, several of whom were Turks. These abuses gave the Nogais of Bessarabia, of the Kuban, and

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* Op. cit., 433. † Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 455.

Circassia a common ground of hatred against him. He might have kept matters quiet if he had displaced his sons and appointed more experienced rulers in their places, as was advised by his more faithful followers, but he was largely controlled by his wife, who had been originally a Russian slave, who was now fifty years old, and notwithstanding her low extraction had considerable spirit. She was much attached to her two stepsons, the seraskiers, and was accused of magic by the people.

Meanwhile the discontent among the Nogais was fomented by Krim Girai, who was a brother of the late Sultan Arslan Girai. The Nogais of the Bujiak or Bessarabia again revolted. That district was the granary of Constantinople, and the Khan appealed to the Turks for aid. Krim Girai, having put himself at the head of the insurgents, was joined by thousands of Turks from Rumelia, and had collected an army of fifty thousand men, when the Grand Vizier recognised that the most efficacious remedy for the evil was the deposition of Hakim Khan, an order for which arrived on the 21st of October, 1758, and we are told he immediately left for Rumelia.*

KRIM GIRAI KHAN.

Hakim Girai was replaced by Krim Girai, who appointed Haji Girai kalga and Ahmed Girai nureddin.† His accession was in spite of the goodwill of the Porte, who had recalled his brother Arslan Girai from exile, and had nominated him Khan on the 18th of October, 1758; but the choice of the Tartars and the pressure of the neighbouring powers, who it would seem dreaded the energy of Arslan, prevailed with the Porte, and Arslan had only just reached the Dardanelles on his way to the Krim when he was sent back again to Rumelia.‡ Although confirmed by the Porte, Krim Girai knew he was not a favourite there, and he did not leave Bessarabia during the first year of his Khanate. To regain the favour of his suzerain he persuaded the Nogais to restore the booty they had captured from the Turks, and he himself sent back twenty thousand slaves. His lot fell on unlucky times, and he had to struggle against the intrigues of his brother Arslan. A body of Cossacks also attacked the Krim in December, 1760. He marched in person against them, but hardly were they driven away when the plague devastated his territory. He was very energetic and skilful. While he defended his frontiers against the Russians he carried on an active correspondence with Prussia, and notwithstanding the opposition of the Porte, he promised assistance to Frederick the Great.§ The Prussian

* De Bohucz, 407. Langles, 434-437.
† Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 456.
‡ Langles, 438.
§ *Id.*, 438, 439.

writer Theodore Mundt describes him as having a majestic and intelligent countenance and a heroic build, and yet as not wanting in grace and courtesy, and tells us the warrior and the man of the world were combined in him. The famous fountain he built at Baghchi Serai, was called Selsebil (*i.e.*, the Springs of Paradise).*

Having received a summons to attend at the Porte to consult on various matters, he knew it boded no good to him, and the murzas urged him not to go, but on a more pressing invitation, he set out in September, 1764, and a month later was duly deposed.†

SELIM GIRAI KHAN III.

Krim Girai was succeeded by Selim, the son of Feth Girai, who has been confused with the former Khan Selim, the son of Kaplan Girai, by Von Hammer. Selim nominated Muhammed Girai as kalga and Krim Girai as nureddin.‡ He was not on good terms with the Russians, resented their recent policy towards the Krim, and wished to send their consul away from Baghchi Serai, but they conciliated him with presents of splendid furs and roubles. In 1765 he was summoned to the Porte to take the usual oaths and to concert measures with the Divan. He entered Constantinople in great pomp on the 27th of June, 1765, and was well received by the Grand Signior. He tried hard to persuade the Turks to insist upon the Russian forts in the Kabarda being demolished. This policy apparently led to his deposition, which took place in March, 1767.§

ARSLAN GIRAI KHAN (SECOND REIGN).

Selim Girai was succeeded by Arslan Girai, the son of Devlet Girai, who had been Khan twelve years before. He was recalled from exile at Chios, and nominated his son Devlet Girai as kalga, but died two days after at Kaushan, before he was installed at Baghchi Serai.‖ This was on the 30th May, 1767.¶

MAKSUD GIRAI KHAN.

We are told the Tartars now wished to have Bakht Girai, the son of Krim Girai, as Khan, but the Porte nominated Maksud Girai, the son of Selamet Girai, to the post. This was in June, 1767. He appointed Bakht Girai or Islam Girai as kalga** and Muhammed Girai as nureddin. He received at Shumna the insignia of office and a present of fifteen

* Krim Khans, 211. † Langles, 440. ‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 456.
§ Langles, 441, 442. ‖ Krim Khans, 214. Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 456. ¶ Langles, 442.
** Krim Khans, 215. Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii., 456.

thousand piastres, while thirty-five thousand piastres were given him for division among his medley of Tartars. They were so little satisfied that they plundered the neighbouring villages.

It was during his reign that Baron de Tott, who has left us some interesting notices of the Tartars, visited the Krim. He was appointed resident at the Krim court by the French foreign minister Choiseul,* and travelled thither through Germany, Poland, Moldavia, and the Nogai steppe. He tells us the Nogais were discontented with the Khan, who had transferred to the Porte the tax on corn called Ishetirach, paid by the two hordes Yedisan and Jambulek.† At Kishela in Bessarabia he visited the Khan's son, who filled the office of seraskier among the Nogais. He was eighteen or twenty years old, had polished manners, and was surrounded by a small court of murzas. Hawking and greyhound coursing were the chief amusements of the people, the hunting parties going out in great state and remaining away several days. He tells us that only the seraskier's house had glass in the windows, the other houses merely had paper stretched on frames in winter, which was removed in summer.‡ Thence he went on with an escort of forty Tartars. Twelve of them preceded the carriage two hundred paces distant; four rode on each side, two waggons then followed, then a rear guard of eight men two hundred yards behind, while two little platoons of six men each kept watch six hundred paces distant. This shows how vigilant the inhabitants of the steppe were obliged to be. Our traveller passed through Otchakof, then crossing the Dniester, went along the Black Sea to Orkapi or Perekop, and thence to Baghchi Serai. His arrival was immediately announced to the Khan's vizier, who sent him tain (*i.e.*, a gift of necessary provisions). He complains of the want of vegetables, and also of butter, and tells us he introduced seeds for the former from Constantinople. At length he was summoned to an audience, at which he was attended by his own people and a body of Tartars as an escort. "We alighted," he says, "in the last court, and the vizier, who was waiting for me in the vestibule of the palace, conducted me into the audience chamber, where we found the Khan seated on the corner of a sofa. A chair was placed opposite him, where I seated myself, after paying my compliments to the prince and delivering my credentials." After receiving an invitation from the Khan to visit him frequently, he was conducted back to his house.§

He was admitted to the Khan's private parties, composed of the Sultan nureddin his nephew; a murza of the Shirins, called Kaia Murza, who was the husband of a sultana, cousin to the Khan, of the Kadhi Asker, and some other murzas. The prince "received" after the prayer at sunset, and the guests stayed till midnight. The Khan took some interest in literature, while the nureddin, who had been brought up in Circassia,

* De Tott's Memoirs, i. 279. † *Id.*, 322. ‡ *Id.*, 324, 325. § *Id.*, 365.

spoke little, and only talked of the Circassians. The Kadhi Asker was loquacious, Kaia Murza supplied all the news of the day, and the Baron that of Europe. The Sultans sat in the Khan's presence, except his children, who stood. The heads of the law, the ministers of the Divan, and foreign ministers also did so. The rest of the courtiers stood at the foot of the sofa, and withdrew at supper time. This was served on two round tables, one for the Khan, who generally fed alone, and the other for the rest. To amuse the Khan De Tott let off some fireworks, and also engaged in controversy with the judge.* He also greatly astonished the Tartars and Circassians by showing them some experiments in electricity. His feats were deemed miraculous, or rather due to magical influence. He reserved the rudest shocks of the battery, he tells us, for the Circassians, and adds, "they gave a laugh of satisfaction in suffering martyrdom." He accompanied the Khan in his hawking and coursing parties, which were held frequently, and in which Maksud was attended by five or six hundred horsemen. He was very intimate, he says, with Kaia Murza of the family of Shirin. The latter had married a princess of the blood, who filled the post of ulukhani (*i.e.*, governess of the harem). She sent him by the intendant of her household a present of a richly embroidered night shirt, and everything belonging to the most complete and magnificent dishabile. The mystery with which this mission was accompanied was somewhat embarrassing, although the princess was seventy years old. It was explained by the fact that the sultanas generally only gave presents of this kind to their relatives,† and as proof that prudence was necessary, we are told that the governor of Balta, accused of being one of the princess's favourites, was stripped of his wealth and cast into prison. He only saved his head by the prayers of the Baron, seconded by some of the Khan's ministers. Although avaricious, we are told that the Khan was just. The following anecdote is reported of him. The slave of a Jew murdered his master in his vineyard. The relatives having complained, the criminal was arrested. Before his trial some of the people persuaded him to turn Mussulman. Now it was a Tartar law that the criminal must perish by the hand of the injured person or his heirs, and it was urged that a Mussulman could not be handed over to the Jews. "I would deliver up my brother to them if he were guilty," said the Khan. "I leave providence to reward his conversion if it be sincere; it is my duty to do justice." By the intrigues of his friends the execution was now delayed till the Friday. The penalty of death by the law must be paid in twenty-four hours, and the Jewish law compelled them to shut themselves up for their Sabbath at sunset. He was thereupon led out in chains to the place of execution, and although a crier was sent round the town among the most wretched, no Jew could be found to defile his hands with human blood.

* *Id.*, 370, 371. † *Id.*, 378 and 380.

The Khan was not to be foiled, and allowed the Jews to put him to death according to their law, namely, by stoning;* one of the Khan's officers carrying a silver axe preceded the criminal. We are told that the executioner did not do his work until the money offered by the criminal had been refused. Sometimes a wife among the Turks was known to sell her husband's blood. Not so with the Tartars, among whom the wife who had to plunge the knife with her own hand into the criminal never suffered herself to be tempted by any offer, and the law which committed her vengeance to herself rendered her inaccessible to every other sentiment.† De Tott says very few crimes were committed in the Krim, the means of escape being so small; and that there were no police in the capital except the Khan's guards.‡

Maksud Girai was apparently deposed in view of the war which the Porte contemplated against Russia, and which needed that the Krim Khan should be a man of vigour. The date of his deposition was in 1768.

KRIM GIRAI KHAN (RESTORED).

Krim Girai nominated Maksud Girai as kalga and Kaplan Girai as nureddin. The inauguration was fixed to take place at Kaushan in Bessarabia, where Baron de Tott hastened, and where he received a friendly message from the coming Khan, bidding him prepare him a supper for the night of his arrival in the Krim. Having learnt the Khan's taste, he ordered the best fish of the Dniester to be drowned in excellent wine. He arrived attended by a large cavalcade, and the Baron went out to meet him. He tells us he was about sixty, had a noble carriage, easy manners, a majestic countenance, a lively look, and could command the appearance of severity and affability at will. He was accompanied by several Sultans, some of them being his sons. His second son was famous for his strength, and could bend two bows at once. A story was told of him that when barely nine his father, wishing to pique his vanity, told him in a contemptuous tone that "a distaff suited a poltroon like him better than a bow." "Poltroon," replied the child, turning pale. "I fear nothing, not even you," and thereupon he let fly an arrow, which fortunately struck only a basket of wooden ware, into which the iron tip of the arrow went two fingers deep.§ Before entering his capital the Khan dismounted and prepared himself in a tent put up for the purpose. In his cap were two aigrettes of diamonds, and his bow and quiver were slung across his body. He was preceded by his guard, and several led-horses with feathers in their head-stalls. Followed by the Standard of the Prophet, and accompanied by all his court he went to the Divan, where, seated on his throne, he received the homage of his

* *Id.*, 381, 382. † *Id.*, 383. ‡ *Id.*, 384. § *Id.*, 420.

dependants. Besides good living he liked other amusements. He kept a troop of comedians and buffoons. In discussing Moliere's plays with the Baron he confessed that every nation has its Tartuffes or pretenders, even the Tartars, and asked him to translate the play for him.

Kaushan was now the centre of Tartar life, and people flocked there from all parts. Among them was an envoy from the confederates of the Poles to concert common measures against the Russians. The Baron, with a Tartar companion, were sent back to arrange the details, and the former has described the adventures they had on the way, during which they were almost drowned in the Pruth. They found Moldavia terribly ravaged by the Turkish soldiery, who were on the march to join the Tartar Khan, the villages being deserted and the terrified inhabitants suffering great want. The Sipahis, according to de Tott, did little else than devastate their own country.* The condition of the land, which made it so precarious a base for the Turkish operations, was duly reported to the Khan, who seems to have laid the blame on the Grand Vizier, a person of low origin named Amin Pasha, who had raised himself by various ignoble means to his then position. An expedition into New Servia (in Russia), which had been determined upon at Constantinople, was agreed to in a meeting of the great vassals of Tartary, and the tribute of military service was demanded. Three horsemen were summoned from every eight families. Three armies were thus got ready. That of the Khan, numbering one hundred thousand strong, was to march into New Servia; the kalga, with sixty thousand, along the Dniester as far as Orel; and that of the nureddin, forty thousand strong, towards the Donetz. Tombashar was appointed the rendezvous of the main army, to which were attached the Nogai tribes of Yedissan and Bujiak.† The Baron accompanied the Khan, and was presented by him with a superb pelisse made of the neck of the Lapland wolf, lined with light grey fur. On thanking him, the Khan replied laughing, "It is a Tartar house I give you. I have such a one myself, and I wish us to wear the same uniform."‡ He was also supplied with ten hardy Circassian horses, and advised to leave his more tender Arabs at home. He also had three dromedaries provided with two of the well-known Tartar yurts made of leather work and felt.§ The Khan's tent was of the same kind, but large enough to hold sixty persons sitting round the fire. It was decorated inside with crimson stuff, and furnished with a circular carpet and some cushions; twelve smaller tents were planted round it for his officers and pages, and all were contained in an enclosure of felt five feet high.‖ The Khan set out from Kaushan on the 7th of January, 1769. The Dniester was crossed on rafts. To the further side came the brother of the ruler of Lesghistan offering on his behalf a contingent of thirty thousand men and his homage. The offer of troops was declined, as the Khan

* *Id.*, 438. † *d.*, 442. ‡ *Id.*, 443. § *Id.*, 444, 445. ‖ *Id.*, 445, 446.

was afraid of leaving the borders of the Caspian defenceless; but the envoy and his retinue, who are described as very fine men, were allowed to go with the army. The Baron spent much time with his patron, and tells us how the Khan discoursed on politics and social matters with the acumen of a Montesquieu. The troops marched to the frontier town of Balta, which was partly in Poland and partly in Tartary. Ten thousand Turkish sipahis had preceded the Tartars, and although it belonged to their ally, these ill-clothed and disorderly arnauts, the very pink of ruffianism, recruited from the renegade population of European Turkey, and most of them speaking Albanian or Greek, ravaged the town and burned the neighbouring villages.* Leaving Balta the army went on to Olmar, which, although dependent on the Tartars, had been similarly wasted by the sipahis under the Khan's eyes. The cold was very severe and trying, and the horses had to scrape the snow with their feet, in true Tartar fashion, to get at their forage. The Baron describes his own meals as set out on a round trencher of Russian leather, about two feet in diameter, and as consisting of excellent biscuit with smoked horses' rib, partridges, and caviare; two forms of salted fish-roe was their dessert, while Hungarian wine in a golden goblet made it palatable. Crossing the Bug on the ice, they entered the land of the Zaporogian Cossacks. An Arab horse which the Baron still had with him now gave in from exhaustion. As he was dying he was given to the Nogais, who speedily ate him, deeming a white horse a delicacy.† The cold increased, and they clung to the reeds in the "Dead water," a river of New Servia, for shelter and fuel. The Turkish troops, unused to these severities, soon suffered severely, and became more tractable.

The Baron describes how, as they marched across the plain, the army, at the Khan's orders, ranged itself in battle array. "I could not help remarking," he says, "that without any fixed order it had thrown itself naturally into twenty files deep, and in lines tolerably well formed. Each Sultan seraskier with his little court formed an advanced guard before his division. The centre of the line occupied by the sovereign formed of itself a pretty considerable advanced corps, the arrangement of which was a picture no less military than agreeable. Forty companies, each composed of forty horsemen, four abreast, led the van in two columns, and made an avenue lined on each side with twenty pairs of colours. The Grand Equery, followed by twelve horses and a covered sledge, marched immediately after, and preceded the body of horse which surrounded the Khan. The Standard of the Prophet, borne by an emir, as well as the two pair of green colours which accompany it, came next, and were seen blended with the Standard of the Cross, belonging to a troop of Inat Cossacks (so called from Ignatius, the leader under whom they had fled from Russia and settled in the Kuban), attached to the

* *Id.*, 450, 451. † *Id.*, 455.

prince's body guard which closed the march." These Cossacks retained little Christianity except their attachment to the cross on their banner and their love for pork,* a quarter of which each carried on his shoulders like a portmanteau. The rest of the soldiers each had eight or ten pounds of millet, roasted, pounded, and pressed together in a little bag of leather. The horses foraged for themselves. The Khan was a very active person, and slept but for three hours. His army now advanced to the Great Ingul, on the borders of New Servia. A division was told off to cross the river, and then to scatter itself over the country and to lay it waste, carrying off the inhabitants and cattle; the booty was to be shared by all the army. The neutrality of the Zaporogian Cossacks had been meanwhile secured by the kalga.† A thaw had set in. The Tartars, who were accustomed to cross rivers on broken ice, passed safely, but many of the Turks perished. One of them had a large purse in his pocket, which a Cossack undertook to recover for two sequins. He undressed on the spot, dived through the hole in the ice, and recovered the prize. A terrible frost succeeded the thaw, in which most of the sipahis died. The Khan, who said he could not make the weather better, but could inspire his men with courage, rode without any head covering, as did his retinue of Sultans. The losses, however, were terrible. "We met with nothing," says the Baron, "but frozen flocks, and twenty columns of smoke in the horizon completed the horrors of the picture, by proclaiming to us the fires which were already ravaging New Servia." In one day three thousand men and thirty thousand horses perished from cold.‡ News now arrived that the other expedition, was doing its work ruthlessly. One thousand two hundred villagers having taken refuge in a monastery and refused to submit, it was fired by brimstone matches fastened to arrows, and all perished. The arnauts particularly distinguished themselves by their cruelty. They were in the habit of carrying the heads of their slain enemies at their saddle bows to give to their general, a custom loathsome to the Tartars and their Khan, who said he would kill any of his people who thus presented himself before him in the garb of an executioner.§ The army now approached the fortress of Saint Elizabeth. It was in a terrible plight, and a determined sortie of two or three thousand men, according to the Baron, would have cut it in pieces. A small band of three hundred, the only part of the force whose energy was equal to the task, was immediately sent to threaten the place, so as to make-believe that vigour reigned outside. This was successful; a day or two's rest and the abundant supply of cattle driven in by the foragers soon restored spirits and strength to the Tartars. The Baron enlarges on the care, attention, patience, and extreme agility of the Tartars in keeping the booty they captured. "Five or six slaves of different ages, sixty sheep, and twenty oxen, the prize

* *Id.*, 457, 458. † *Id.*, 467. ‡ *Id.*, 468, 469. § *Id.*, 470.

of a single man, do not embarrass him. The children with their heads peeping out of a sack hanging by the pummel of the saddle, a young girl sitting before leaning on her left hand, the mother behind on the crupper, the father on a led horse, the son on another, sheep and oxen before them; nothing goes astray under his vigilant eyes. To collect, to conduct them, to provide for their subsistence; to go on foot to ease his slaves, no trouble is too great for him." The Tartars of each horde and troop had a watchword to which their comrades answered. That of "Ak Serai" (White Palace) was peculiar to the Khan's household.* One hundred and fifty villages were burnt in the raid, extending a cloud of cinders for twenty leagues into Poland, a grim harbinger of the Tartar army. Amidst this smoke a body of Nogais fled with their booty, to avoid surrendering the tithe of it which was due to the Khan. The army went on to Krasnikof, where the Turks proved themselves as cowardly as they were cruel, while the Cossacks of Inat showed conspicuous bravery in a fight with the garrison.† In the general plundering little attention was often paid to the boundary which separated the Polish Ukraine from New Servia, which belonged to the Russians. Twenty thousand prisoners were carried off and cattle innumerable. The army marched in seven columns, and had to regulate its advance by that of the cattle which it escorted. As they neared the Polish frontier the orders against marauding became more stringent, and to strike an example a Nogai who was caught offending was ordered to be tied to a horse's tail and dragged until he was dead. The Nogai offered neither excuse nor resistance. As no cord was to be found and a bow-string was too short, his head was passed through his bow when bent. After a while he fell out of this, when the prince told him to hold the bow with his hands. Crossing his arms the criminal did so, and thus the prisoner became his own executioner. As Baron de Tott says, this extraordinary submission surpasses all the strange stories told of the blind obedience to the orders of the old Man of the Mountain.‡ A Nogai convicted of mutilating a sacred picture was bastinadoed, with the curious judicial comment, "We must teach the Tartars to respect the fine arts and the prophets." They now went on to Savran in the Palatinate of Bruklaf in Poland, where the booty was divided, and the different hordes, except the troops of Bessarabia, were dismissed. The Khan's share was two thousand slaves. These he distributed freely. On the Baron saying he would soon exhaust them in this way, the Khan replied, "There will always be enough left for me, my friend; the age of desire is past; but I have not forgotten you: far from your harem, marching over deserts, and braving the rigour of the climate with us, it is but just that you should have your share. I design for you six beautiful young boys, such in short as I should make choice for myself." The Baron thought

* *Id.*, 474, 475. † *Id.*, 480-482. ‡ *Id.*, 489.

he had escaped the embarrassment by saying he could not accept six Russians, since his master was at peace with Russia. The accommodating Khan substituted six Georgians. He then urged his religion, and added that all his scruples might be overcome perhaps if girls were substituted for boys. "I too have my religion," replied the Khan, "which allows me to give *male* slaves to Christians, but enjoins me to keep the *females* to make proselytes of."* On the Baron twitting him with this distinction, he replied, with some reason and philosophy, "That a man is by nature independent, and even in a state of slavery hardly restrainable by fear, and is governed by his moral sense: God alone," he said, "can influence his mind; in your country, in mine he may be equally enlightened; the conversion of man is at all times a miracle; that of a woman, on the contrary, is the most natural and the most simple affair in the world: women are always of the religion of their lovers. Yes, my friend, love is the great missionary, when he appears, there is an end to every dispute."† The army now returned towards Bender, much encumbered with its plunder. Krim Girai entered the fortress under a salute of artillery.

The Khan was very subject to attacks of hypochondria, to relieve which he had recourse to an empiric, a Greek from Corfu, who was physician to the Prince of Wallachia, and was named Siropolo.

Baron de Tott, who suspected this man, in vain tried to dissuade him from taking the draught he had prepared. It momentarily revived the Khan, who was directly after, however, more prostrate than ever, a condition Siropolo described as a salutary crisis. He never issued from his harem again. The Baron visited him there, and found several of his women, whose grief and the general panic had made them neglect to withdraw. The Khan pointed to some despatches he had finished, and said, "My last work; and my last moments I have reserved for you." When he saw how dejected De Tott was, he bade him withdraw, lest he should melt him; and as he wished to sleep more gaily, he summoned six musicians to his bedside to play for him. An hour later the Khan died, and Siropolo found means in the confusion to withdraw to Wallachia. Symptoms of poison were very visible when the body was embalmed. It was taken to the Krim in a coach hung with mourning, drawn by six horses caparisoned with black cloth. Fifty horsemen, a number of murzas, and a Sultan, who formed the escort, were also in mourning; a custom, says De Tott, nowhere in use in the East except among the Tartars.‡ The death of Krim Girai took place in February, 1770.§

DEVLET GIRAI KHAN III.

Krim Girai was succeeded by Devlet Girai, the son of his brother Arslan Girai. He nominated Shahbaz Girai as kalga and Mubarek

* *Id.*, 494. † *Id.*, 495. ‡ Op. cit., 504-505. § Langles, 446.

Girai as nureddin. Shahbaz was the father of Halim Girai, the author of the poetical history of the Krim Khans, known as "The Rose Path of the Krim Khans." While the Khan, *en route* for the Krim, went to Moldowanji, the residence of the Grand Vizier, the kalga was sent on to the Krim.* He was granted a war subsidy of eighty-six thousand piastres. On the death of his friend Krim Girai, the Baron de Tott set out for Constantinople. He passed through Bessarabia and went on to Ismael; then by the Dobruja and through the Balkans. As he was passing the latter mountains he met the kalga of the new Khan on his way to the Krim, who persuaded him to turn aside out of his way to pay Devlet Girai, who was at Serai in Rumelia, a visit. The Baron determined to go there. "No sooner," he says, "had I reached the patrimony of the Jingis Khan princes (*i.e.*, of the Girais) than I was struck with an appearance as rich as it was different from the rest of the Turkish empire. Variegated productions in great plenty, and well taken care of country houses, gardens beautifully situated, a number of villages, in each of which was to be distinguished the mansion of its lord and his plantations running up to the very summit of the hills, diversified the face of the earth, and formed a general landscape in the European style, the particular beauty of which redoubled my astonishment." He visited Serai and the Khan's palace, which had a long avenue in front of the buildings; several streets, terminating like the radii of a circle, were prolonged into the plain by plantations, and formed a star, of which the first court of the palace was the centre. This was succeeded by a second, where they alighted. He first visited the Selictar in his apartments, who, after giving him some coffee, went to tell his master, and soon returned to conduct him to an audience. He found the new Khan surrounded by his courtiers, and says he was more taken up with the growth of his beard (which he was obliged to let grow from the moment of his elevation to the throne) than with the arduous situation he was about to fill. The Baron says the young prince had no other ambition than to devote himself entirely to the views of the Grand Vizier. From the Selictar he learnt that this appanage of the Krim Khans was divided into separate territories, which secured to each member of the family hereditary possessions independent of the Porte, and in which the right of asylum was inviolable. The latter had grown into a great abuse, and there was not a rascal in the Ottoman empire, says the Baron, who did find impunity there, if he had only enough money to bribe the Sultan. These windfalls, which were frequent, added to the tenths, the poll-tax, and other domainal rights, together with the profits of the various employments it held in the Krim, made up a very considerable income for the family of Girai, and gave it exceptional importance in Turkey.† Having failed to relieve Khotin, as was expected, Devlet Girai

*Krim Khans, 222, 223. † De Tott, i. 525-527.

was deposed, after a reign of only a year.* One author describes him as a mere imbecile, spending a good deal of time before the looking-glass, and says he was in the habit of asking a thousand questions without waiting for a reply. He was naturally surrounded by a number of flatterers, who took care to laugh and sing, in unison with their feeble master.†

KAPLAN GIRAI KHAN II.

Devlet Girai was succeeded by Kaplan Girai, the son of Selim Girai, who appointed Islam Girai as kalga and Bakht Girai as nureddin.‡ He then marched towards Yassy to join the Turkish army, which was fighting with the Russians.§ Kaplan commanded eighty thousand men, whom he posted in an entrenched position on the Pruth, which seemed impregnable. The Russian general Rumanzof planted his men opposite to him, and tried in vain for twenty-five days to tempt him from his vantage, but he was too good a soldier, and distrusted the discipline of his men. Rumanzof now had recourse to a *ruse*. He spread a rumour that his men were in want of provisions, and that he was about to raise the siege. This tempted the Tartars to attack him. His men were ready and repelled the assault. They afterwards attacked the entrenched position of the Tartars, and notwithstanding the courageous conduct of the Khan, who animated his men with a like virtue, they were beaten from one position to another. The Grand Vizier meanwhile had crossed the Danube with one hundred and fifty thousand men, upon whom the fugitive Tartars fell back. While the pursuing victors were taken aback, the Tartars rallied and threw themselves on the Russian left, and Rumanzof found himself hemmed in between the two hostile armies, the Pruth, and the Danube. His enemies were three times as numerous as his own people. Both sides entrenched themselves, the Turks with a triple rampart. It was a repetition of what had occurred almost on the same ground to Peter the Great. The Turks now made a terrible assault, which was not successful, and being attacked in turn, their unwieldy army gave way, and was utterly defeated, with a loss of forty thousand men, one hundred and forty cannons, and a great quantity of munitions and provisions. The victory led also to the submission of the fortresses of Bender, Ismael, and Akkerman.

The author I have followed in this account greatly praises the sagacity and military skill of the Krim Khan.‖ Langles, on the other hand, says he was very old and a mere tool in other peoples' hands. He was accused of holding communications with the enemy, and was deposed in February, 1771.¶

* Krim Khans, 223 Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 457. † Hist. de la Nouv. Russie, ii. 118, 119.
‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat, xii. 457. § Langles, 447. ‖ Hist. dela Nouv. Russie, ii, 121-125.
¶ Langles, loc. cit.

SELIM GIRAI KHAN III. (SECOND REIGN).

Selim Girai, the son of Feth Girai, now re-mounted the throne. He appointed Muhammed Girai his kalga and Krim Girai his nureddin.* Von Hammer says his nureddin was the son of Halim Girai, called Kashikbash.† He at once hastened to the winter quarters of the Turkish army at Babatagh. The Russians in 1771 sent two armies against the Turks, both of which gained laurels. One went to Moldavia under Count Rumanzof, already named, the other against the Krim under Prince Basil Dolgoruki, afterwards called "the Crimean." The latter having separated his army into two divisions, forced with one the lines of Perekop, defended by Selim Girai, while with the other he crossed the Strait of Yeinitshi, and captured the fortress of Arabat.

In the same campaign the Turks lost also Kaffa, Kertch, and Yenikaleh, while Gosleve, Balaklava, and Balbek in the Krim, and Taman were also captured by the Russians, together with the Turkish seraskier Ibrahim. After this Selim consented to submit to the Empress Catherine, and to send his two sons as hostages to St. Petersburg, but having failed to do so, his residence was surrounded by the Russian troops, and he barely found means to escape with his family to Constantinople.‡ He lived ten years longer, until he was seventy-three years old, and was buried in the mosque of Ayas Pasha. None of his predecessors enjoyed the same ease after their retirement, for we are told besides his yearly pension of twenty thousand piastres, he had an extraordinary monthly salary of five hundred piastres, three thousand piastres as a gift at Ramazan, one thousand measures of flour, and one thousand sheep. His court was surrounded by Arabs, Persians, Turks, and Tartars. He was fond of hunting and of arms, and is remembered as the builder of two bridges, one at Kanlijik, the other near the village of Karaborajik.§

MAKSUD GIRAI KHAN.

After the flight of Selim Girai it was some time before a new Khan was definitely appointed. Some of the Tartars supported Bakht Girai, the son of Krim Girai, but the Porte at length nominated Maksud Girai to the post, with Bakht Girai as kalga, and his brother Muhammed Girai as nureddin. This was on the 14th of November, 1771. Meanwhile the Russians continued to hold possession of the Krim and the isle of Taman.‖ Maksud Girai went to the Turkish winter quarters at Batatagh, where he was duly installed, and where he and his four sons received some rich presents. Maksud Girai seems never to have set foot in the

* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 457. † Krim Khans, 224.
‡ De Bohucz, 416, 417. § Krim Khans, 224, 225. ‖ Langlès, 448, 449.

Krim, nor is he enumerated among the Khans in the list published by the "Journal Asiatique," so often quoted, nor by De Bohucz. Having incurred the displeasure of the Sultan, he was banished to Samakof, and thence retired to his private patrimony at Fündüklü.*

SAHIB GIRAI KHAN II.

In March, 1772, a general Kuriltai of Tartars was summoned, which refused to recognise Maksud, and decided that Selim having withdrawn and not having been recognised by the Russians, should be declared deposed. Sahib Girai, the son of Ahmed Girai Sultan, the son of Devlet Girai, the son of Selim Girai Khan, was appointed Khan, who nominated his brother Shahin as kalga, and Behadur Girai, the son of Maksud, as nureddin. Sahib had been brought up in Circassia, and afterwards figured in the Krim as a warrior.† De Bohucz says the Krim was now declared independent of the Porte, as it had been before the time of Muhammed II., while the Khan put himself under the protection of Russia, and ceded to the Empress the towns of Kertch, Yenikaleh, and Kilburn on the Dnieper.‡ The Turkish Sultan Mustapha III. intrigued to detach Sahib Girai from his Russian alliance. In this he was successful, and the Russians accordingly began to patronise his brother Devlet Girai. The Porte was not successful in its diplomacy. Having removed the Nogais from the neighbourhood of the island of Taman, they sought to regain their influence in the Krim by the distribution of liberal largess, but ineffectively. At length the strife between Russia and Turkey was concluded by the famous peace of Kainarji. By this treaty the Khan was virtually made independent of the Porte, save in his spiritual allegiance to the successor of the Khalifs and in the fact of the Sultan having to confirm his appointment. We find the Empress Catherine ceding to him all her conquests in the Krim except the places which the Khan had made over to her, as above mentioned, while the politic Sultan sent him a present of a kaftan and a turban. The sabre, which was the third mark of sovereignty, says Langles, was omitted. The Sultan's name continued to be used in the public prayers, the Kadhiasker of Constantinople continued to appoint the judges, and the coinage of the Krim was assimilated to that of Turkey. We now find Sahib deposing his brother from the post of kalga and putting Bakht Girai in his place. The Krim Khan was at this time little better than a puppet, tossed to and fro by the rival powers of Turkey and Russia, who each supported a candidate in the persons of Sahib Girai and Devlet Girai. In the beginning of 1775 Sahib Girai was forced to fly by a sudden outbreak of the Tartars. He went on board a small boat and sailed for

* Krim Khans, 228. † *Id.*, 229. ‡ Op. cit., 417.

Constantinople, which he reached in forty-eight hours. There he was granted a pension of three thousand piastres and the privilege of choosing a fief for himself.* He went to Chatalche, where he lived for many years, and was buried in the mosque of Ferhad Pasha. We are told he spoke neither Turkish, Tartar, nor Circassian, but a mixture of all three.†

DEVLET GIRAI KHAN III. (RESTORED).

Devlet Girai now mounted the throne. He named Shahbaz Girai kalga and Mubarek Girai nureddin. The deposed kalga Shahin assembled the Nogais to attack him, and he collected his own people to resist. While they stood facing each other, in May, 1776, the Kapitan-pasha arrived with the symbols of investiture for Devlet Girai. Shahin, assisted by a Russian regiment, posted himself at Taman, while Devlet was assisted by troops furtively sent to him by the Turks. Both parties thus secretly broke the famous treaty of Kainarji. Shahin wrote a letter to Devlet, bidding him descend from the throne if he did not wish to be torn thence by force. This frightened some of the murzas, who abandoned him. A severe battle ensued in November, 1776, in which Shahin was victorious, and advanced into the Krim, notwithstanding the ice, with forty thousand Tartars and a body of Circassians, who had been attracted by his success. It was suspected he had become a Christian and joined the Greek church, and the Russians now openly supported him and occupied Perekop. Shahin advanced on Baghchi Serai, accompanied by Russian troops and officers. He marched from Taman by way of Kaffa, and had thirty-five or forty thousand men with him. From Ak Mejid, six leagues from Baghchi Serai, he despatched two bodies of Russian troops, one towards the Khan's palace, the other towards Gosleve. Devlet was informed he would have time given him to communicate with Constantinople, and a message came telling him to repair to Sinope. On the 11th of May, 1777, he reached the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and was received with great distinction.‡

SHAHIN GIRAI KHAN.

Shahin Girai was proclaimed Khan at Baghchi Serai on the 4th of March, 1777, and at once sent envoys to the Porte acknowledging his dependence and asking for investiture. He sent others to St. Petersburg. He had lived long in Russia, and held the commission of a captain in the Imperial Guards. This led him to patronise European customs. He sat at meals, yet disdained the use of spoons or forks, and

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* Langles, 455. † Krim Khans, 230. ‡ Langles, 455 and 460.

his footmen wore turbans. He rode about in a gilt carriage, and although he did not shave he hid the end of his beard in a wide cravat.* He determined to civilise his Tartars, and to introduce European discipline among his troops, and began by abolishing many of the old forms of government. He levied new troops and assigned them regular pay, making the murzas commanders. Before him there was no stationary army in the Krim. Every Tartar was a soldier. He diminished the dues paid by the cultivators to the murzas, and in lieu paid those who entered his service a salary. Although a Mussulman, he was charged with too great affection for Russian and Christian manners. He overspent his income, and introduced a new coinage; an operation confided to a German. This again cost more money, and in consequence his tax-collecting was performed with a rigour hitherto unknown, and increased the general discontent. Of this he took no heed, and projected a corps of artillery and a marine. But most of his projects failed. He had no means, and the Ottomans grew jealous of him, and fancied he aimed at independence. Emissaries, some adroit, others fanatical, were sent from Constantinople to fan the discontent. The Khan grew afraid, and in 1777 asked aid from Russia, which was readily granted. Russian detachments traversed the Krim, and were given command of its fortresses. The Turks did not wait to be asked, but also sent troops there. Before the arrival of the Russians the Turks were already installed at Gosleve, where they beheaded one of the Khan's commanders. In October, 1777, the Tartars, incited by the Turks, attacked the Russians, who were dispersed in the Krim and Kuban, and killed many of them. The Khan, after receiving two wounds, took refuge with his patrons, and the Porte nominated a new Khan, namely, Bakht Girai.†

Bakht Girai was sent to Sebastopol with five ships of war. In December, 1777, a Russian army entered the Krim to assist Shahin Gira, and with their aid he subdued the Tartars. The Russians are accused of great cruelties on this occasion. They captured Kaffa Balaklava, and Gosleve, and Shahin Girai was once more installed in his capital. In January, 1778, Selim Girai, Shahin's great enemy, penetrated into the Krim and gained some advantages, and in March he was granted a firman by the Porte, and was also given the distinctive insignia of sovereignty. But Shahin Girai, at the head of eight thousand of his Russian allies, broke an armistice of twenty-one days, which had been concluded with him, defeated, and compelled him to embark on the Turkish vessels then at Balaklava, for Sinope. Selim made another venture in September, 1778, but was again defeated. The Russians now caused all the Armenian and Greek families in the Krim to migrate to Russia. They were sent for the most part to Ekaterinoslaf,

* De Bohucz, 419. Hist. de la Nouv. Russie, ii., 150. † Langles, 461, &c.

the former Azof, and were replaced by some Russian families. This was very displeasing to the Khan as well as to the emigrants, whose consent was not asked. Messrs. Storch and Tooke say it was voluntary, but it is unlikely that seventy-five thousand people, men and women, should abandon their old land and possessions and settle in the steppe abandoned by the Nogais, and where they perished of cold.* The Tartars became alarmed at this movement, and many of them migrated to Circassia and Turkey. It was carried out successfully by Prince Prosorofski and Suwarof Rimniski. The Khan continued his military measures, equipped a body of three thousand Cossacks (dressed in the Polish way and wearing hussar caps), and duly exercised his cannoniers, who were so well trained that they could fire eight times a minute. The Russians had given him two hundred cannons to defend Baghchi Serai. He also struck money in his own name. On one side was the name of the mint-place, Baghchi Serai or Kaffa, and on the other "Khan Shahin Girai ben Ahmed Girai Sultan."† By a treaty between Russia and Turkey, signed on the 5th of July, 1779, the Russians undertook to evacuate the Krim, and agreed that the Khan, after being duly elected by the Tartars, should receive confirmation from the Sultan,‡ and after some delay investiture was granted to Shahin in November of that year, in tents erected for the purpose near Kaffa, but the Porte was not really reconciled. In October, 1780, Shahin heard from his kaimakhan at Taman that the Divan had sent one Suliman Agha to Sudak to arouse an insurrection among the Nogais, and to impress on the latter and the Circassians that they were not dependent on the Krim but immediately subject to Turkey. This was doubtless to prevent Russia from laying claim in any way to rule those peoples. He was ordered to offer an asylum in Rumelia to all who wished to migrate, and we are told that an aul of one hundred and thirty families, commanded by Suliman Oghlu murza, of the Nogai tribe Kazak, took advantage of the offer. The Abkhassians, on the other hand, attacked Sudak and burnt the magazines there. Suliman's emissaries also persuaded the Kuban Tartars to rise. Two Russian frigates were sent against them, and they were vigorously repelled.

The migration of the Christians had caused much land in the Krim to go out of cultivation, while the exactions of the Khan increased the distress of the people who were left behind. The German whom he had employed to coin his money went to Constantinople and reported that he owed him more than forty thousand roubles. The Khan, instead of courting the alliance of the Sultan, had accepted the rank of captain in the Russian regiment Preobaginski, in which he had formerly been lieutenant. There were not more than one hundred thousand people left in the Krim, and sixty thousand in the Kuban, the rest had either been

* *Id.*, 467, 468. † *Id.*, 467. ‡ *Id.*, 470.

transported to Russia or retired to Turkey. This was in 1781. Next year (*i.e.*, 1782) the people of Krim were reduced to fifty thousand souls, of whom four hundred and fifty were at Kaffa. It is remarkable that in 1777 the Tartar contingent which fought with the Russians had been forty thousand strong, well armed and mounted.

Meanwhile the new town of Cherson, built under the treaty of Kainarji grew very fast. Great magazines were built there, and a new town was projected at Ghibaka.* The Khan's revenue, nevertheless, did not decrease, he still drew $900,000 = £112,500 sterling, or 2,786,000f., from the Krim, without counting the Russian dole. The Porte continued to intrigue against him, and now incited two of his elder brothers, Behadur Girai, who was kalga in the Kuban, and Arslan, who was charged to regulate various matters with the garrison of Sudak, against him. The latter, after several pretended or real grievances, rebelled and joined his brother. Some troops trained in the Russian fashion marched against them and were beaten. Behadur marched on to Kaffa, and the Khan retired to Yenikale to join the Russian commander. The principal Tartars informed Behadur, who set up claims to the throne, that he could not mount it unless he would discharge Shahin's debts. They also advised the latter to summon the chiefs of the nation to proceed to elect a sovereign. He remained at Kertch, which belonged to the Russians, and did not reply. They then sent some adz-mazar or petitions, signed by all the chiefs of the hordes, to Constantinople and St. Petersburg. This was in September, 1782. All the Crimean ports were now blockaded by the Russians, whose operations were supposed to be directed by the Khan. During this confusion Bakht Girai again set up pretensions to the throne. He went to Karasu to await the confirmation which he had asked from the Porte. Shahin Girai also re-entered the Krim at the head of the Russian troops. The people were clearly cowed, and we are told that a single discharge, which killed five or six, dispersed the most mutinous. Kelly, who does not name his authority, says that Prince Paul Potemkin caused above thirty thousand Tartars, of every age and sex, to be massacred in cold blood, and thus gained for his cousin the easily won title of the Taurian, and the post of Grand Admiral of the Black Sea and Governor-General of Tauris.† Shahin made a show of being reconciled with his brothers, but the Porte stood aloof. He was reproached with his friendship for the infidels, and was suspected of having secretly abjured the faith. These continual troubles, which were largely fomented no doubt by Russian intrigues, at length determined the Empress to definitely appropriate the Krim, and her favourite Potemkin made large preparations for carrying out her wishes, and collected three considerable armies; but force was unnecessary.

* *Id.*, 474. † Op. cit., ii. 85.

By a new treaty made with Turkey, which was ratified on the 21st of September, 1783, the Krim, with the island of Taman and the district of Kuban, were definitely ceded to Russia, and the Dardanelles were thrown open to her for a limited number of war ships, and all merchant vessels except those engaged in carrying timber.* Shahin Girai resigned the throne and retired, first to Voronetz and then to Kaluga, where he was to have had a pension of one hundred thousand roubles, and to have been treated as a sovereign prince.† According to Kelly, the Khan Girai never received this salary, which was appropriated by Potemkin, and he seems to have been in actual want.‡ He at length determined to set out for Constantinople, where he was received with distinction, but was afterwards exiled to Rhodes. One day as he was leaving his bath he was strangled by the emissaries of the Porte, and his head was sent to Constantinople.§

Shahin Girai was a man of good figure, with a piercing eye and very fair understanding. He was very pale, and constantly wore a black silk handkerchief on his head, which was carried up on each side of his face from under his chin, and tied above his turban. His laundress, we are told, discovered by the little circles which it left on his shirts that he always wore a coat of mail under his clothes. He was personally brave, and a story was told of him that on one occasion, having taken shelter from his subjects with the Russians, an army of thirty thousand insurgents marched against his defenders, whereupon he stole away from the small Russian army in the night, and rode right into the midst of the rebels, and asked what their grievances were. This so disconcerted them that they confessed that they had no personal enmity towards him, but had been led away by certain murzas. The latter were in turn summoned, and not having any real grievance, the Khan ordered the soldiers to hang them up, which they accordingly did, whereupon he rejoined his Russian friends.

His mode of life was very simple. He never had more than one dish at table, consisting of boiled rice and mutton in the Tartar style, with water for his drink. After which he took some coffee, and seldom smoked except when alone. His State chamber when in Russia had only a low Turkish sofa in it, and at night a high silver candlestick stood in the middle of the room, on the floor, with one candle in it. He generally wore gloves, as he had a custom of throwing a six-pound cannon ball from one hand to another, while he sat conversing. He was very fond of hawking and hunting, and the archbishop of Voronetz having given up to him his country house, he presented him in turn with a large rich cross set with diamonds, such as Russian archbishops wear on their breasts suspended from the neck by a blue ribbon. He put up several

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* Essai sur la Nouv. Russie, ii. 162. † Langles, 479. ‡ Op. cit., ii. 86.
§ Langles, 479.

Chinese kiosks in the garden, where the neighbouring gentry visited him and generally received some present. He was very generous, and on one occasion sent a diamond ring worth two thousand roubles to a much-respected minister at St. Petersburg. The court prevented its delivery, and bade the messenger tell his master that a present to a Russian minister was improper. The Khan replied with ironical severity, "that the Russians did not hold these opinions while he had ministers." Catherine having sent him a ribbon of St. Andrew with a diamond crescent, instead of the cross and saint hanging to it as usual, he remarked that if the usual insignia had been appended to it his religion would have forbidden him to wear it, and without them it was only a piece of ribbon with a trinket which he declined accepting.*

On its absorption by Russia, the Krim was united with the eastern portion of the land of the Nogais, and constituted the province of Taurida, which was administered by a governor-general, and divided into the seven districts or circles of Simpheropol, Levcopol, Eupatoria, Perekop, Dneprovsk, Melitopol, and Tanagoria.† Thus passed away the last fragment of the vast empire which had been founded by Jingis Khan, and which had subsisted so long.

It will not be inappropriate to conclude this chapter with a condensed notice of the form of Government which subsisted in the Krim. This was rather a limited monarchy than such a despotism as is generally met with in the East. The Khan received no tax from the people, nor could he curtail the privileges of the nobles, nor punish one of their order without the concurrence of the begs, and Mengli Girai in vain tried to subordinate the heads of the great houses to his vizier. The Khans were treated with great deference at Constantinople. When one of them went there he was received as a king, the vizier and grandees went out to meet him and to escort him into the city and he sat and took coffee with the Sultan himself. Like him, he wore an aigrette and received the homage of the heads of the janissaries. Whenever he visited a town the pasha or aga of the janissaries would attend him, and walk at his horse's head till he told them to mount.‡ His army was at one time very considerable, and he could put in the field from one hundred and fifty thousand to two hundred thousand men. In this army each grandee went with his retainers, and each soldier provided himself with three months' provisions. His revenue consisted of fifty thousand piastres from the salt-dues and customs of Gosleve, thirty thousand from similar receipts at Orkapi or Perekop, eight thousand from the hetman or governor of Dubossar (a small town on the Dniester), fifteen thousand from the Government of Yali in the Bujiak, four thousand eight hundred from the Government of Kavshan, twelve thousand from the Bal Aktshesi or honey dues paid by the princes of Moldavia and

* Guthrie, Tour in the Taurida, 80-82. * Langles, 479. ‡ Peyssonel, ii. 235-239.

Wallachia (eight thousand by the former and four thousand by the latter), two thousand five hundred from the customs at Kaffa, and six thousand from the appanages in Turkey; altogether only one hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred piastres or four hundred thousand ducats; and out of this he had to pay various sums to different officers and towards the expense of the postal revenue.* The Khan also received a certain income from the estates of those who left no relatives nearer than the eighth degree, and the taxes from the villages of the Chelebis. Each of the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia sent the Khan on his accession a carriage drawn by six horses. The former also sent him two thousand sequins, and the latter one thousand. They were also constrained to make continual presents. Presents were also frequently sent him by the Turkish grandees and by foreign princes. In his intercourse with the latter the Khan styled himself Emperor of the Tartars, Circassians, and of Daghestan, but he wrote more modestly to the Porte. All the Royal princes were styled Sultan. They lived partly in the Krim and in Circassia, and partly on their appanages in Rumelia. The Ottoman Sultan had not the power of decreeing their execution for any cause whatever.† Each of the Sultans had a suite of a certain number of murzas belonging to the principal families, who were fed and clothed by him. When a Sultan became impecunious he would send off a murza to some pasha with a polite note and a present of a Tartar knife, a pair of pistols, &c. This was a hint that he wanted money, which was duly sent him, for such a Sultan might some day become a Khan; and there is a Turkish and Tartar proverb, "That one should fear a Sultan, even if no bigger than the handle of a whip."‡ The wives of the Khans and other princes of the Krim were always slaves, and generally Circassians. They did not marry among their own people. The princesses were not looked upon as such, but merely as instruments for producing Sultans, and were sometimes treated very badly by their sons, who occasionally even put them to death. Their devotion to the Sultans, on the other hand, was just as marked. On the Khan's death they joined the harem of his sons, who did not admit them, however, to their table. They stood while their sons ate, and only sat at table on their invitation.§ As soon as the boys left their mother's knee they were put under charge of governors, and the majority of the Khans did honour to their training. Generosity was a cardinal virtue with them, and they would give everything they had, even their clothes. When bidden to be prudent, they asked if a prince of their house was ever known to die of hunger. The chief part of the Khan's income was spent in providing for the poorer gentry in his suite. Most of the Royal princes were brought up in Circassia, among the tributary begs, who were proud of being the ataliks or tutors of the Sultans, and of teaching them the arts of war.

* *Id.*, 239-242. De Bohucz, 421, 422. † Peyssonel, ii. 242-244. ‡ *Id.*, 245. § *Id.*, 246, 247.

The princesses of the Royal house generally lived in the harems of their nearest relatives. They were only married to murzas of the Shirin tribe or to those of the other leading clans, and occasionally to Turks of eminent position. The hand of a princess was generally conferred upon a poor gentleman, and her dower became his fortune; besides the money of which this consisted there was also the dokus dokusleme or the "nine times nine," *i.e.*, eighty-one pelisses, eighty-one kaftans, eighty-one chemisses, eighty-one mattresses of tissue of gold, silver, and silk, eighty-one rich coverlets, and eighty-one sheets. If the Khan could not afford these presents the princess was not married, and one of the first duties of a Sultan on mounting the throne was to provide handsomely for his female relatives. The husbands of the princesses were often the subjects of much jealousy and ill-will. Peyssonel mentions that a Shirin beg named Haji Chil, who married a daughter of Devlet Girai Khan, had to fly and to be a vagabond to escape from his enraged wife. Whenever a murza went to bed with a princess he had to get into the bed at the foot, to wash her feet, and to ask her permission to enter.*

The six chief officers of the court were the kalga, the nureddin, the orbeg, and three seraskiers or generals, besides two dignitaries for the princesses, the anabeg and the ulughkhani. On these officials I shall have a note at the end of this chapter. Besides these there were several great officers of State, as the mufti or chief judge, who had precedence at the Divan next to the Sultans and the Shirin beg. His fetvas or decisions guided the kadhis or inferior judges. In the Krim he was the custodian of the vakufs or ecclesiastical property, as the mosques, hospitals, colleges, khans, and public fountains. His orders were carried out by the mutevellis or directors.

The Vizier or prime minister differed from the Ottoman Vizier, in that he never commanded the army, and did not read the decrees of the Divan, which were duties of the Khan himself. In the latter's absence from the Krim, however, he was appointed kaimakam or deputy. His income consisted of five thousand piastres from the dues at Gosleve, one thousand five hundred from the Khan, five hundred from the honey-dues of Moldavia, one thousand from the hetman of Dubossar, two thousand from the voivode of Yali, and two thousand four hundred from the Subashi of Kavshan; also the revenues of six villages in the Krim, whose Christian inhabitants had to find him twenty-four purses of besheliks or one thousand five hundred piastres, and when he went on a campaign a certain number of horses and carts and a state tent. The Kadi asker was the Provost Marshal, and also decided causes among the nobles. He had the nomination of a number of kadiliks. The Khasnadar Bashi or grand treasurer had charge of the exchequer. The Defterdar was a kind of controller-general, and kept the State documents and accounts. On the

* Op. cit., 251.

Khan's death he sealed his goods, and they remained sealed for three days. The Ashtagi Beg or grand equerry attended the Khan's person, and held the stirrup for him to mount; the Kilerji Bashi or chief of the household managed his palace; the Kusheji Bashi or grand falconer, a post always filled by a Nogai nobleman, handed the Khan his falcon and received it from him again; the Divan Effendi or secretary of State controlled the correspondence of the Khan and the foreign affairs of the Khanate; the Kapiji Bashi or chamberlain introduced ambassadors, added the Khan's seal to documents, and was present at the Divan with a silver wand; the Kapiji Kiaiassi, whose stave was ornamented with silver, was the grand usher of the Divan. Except the posts of mufti, of Kadi asker, and Divan Effendi, the offices of State were monopolised by the murzas. Among the body officers of the Khan we find the Selictar or sword-bearer, the Kutler agassi, who punished the murzas when culpable; the little Kasnadar or Khan's private treasurer, the Bashi Chiokadar or first foot-servant, the Aghir Kiaiassi or superintendent of the stables, the Serachi Bashi or superintendent of the carriages, the Kasne Kiatibi or clerk of the treasury, the Muassebe Kiatibi or secretary of accounts, the Kiatibs or secretaries of the Divan Effendi, the Sherbechi or cup-bearer, the Chesheniguier (who dressed the Khan's table and tasted the meats before him), the Aschi Bashi or chief cook, forty pages under the orders of the Selictar, twelve Circassian pages under the Sherbechi, eight cooks, four officers, twenty-four footmen, twelve palfrey-men, twenty-four men in charge of the falcons, and six in charge of the dogs. There was also a Mehter Bashi or chief of musicians, who drew a revenue from the gipseys in the Khan's dominions.

In the harem there were two Kislar agas and four eunuchs. The Khan's sons each had his own establishment.*

The people of Krim were divided into freemen, freedmen (called Terkhans), and slaves. The freemen consisted of nobles and plebeians; the slaves consisted entirely of foreigners (*i.e.*, of captives, Circassians, Abkhasians, Georgians, Kalmuks or Europeans, and their descendants. The Tartar polity was a very aristocratic one, and the nobles were held in high esteem. The murzas considered it derogatory to trade, and married only with their own class; their children by concubines, however, were held legitimate, as the Mussulman code provides.

The murzas were of two classes, those descended from the ancient conquerors of Krim and the Kapikulis who became noble by their ancestors having filled some important office in the State. The former class consists of five families, divided into a great number of branches. Each of these families had its own beg, who was always the oldest of its leaders. Each member bore the family name together with that he acquired at his circumcision. Details of these families will be found in

* Peyssonel, ii. 265-267.

a note at the end of this chapter. The utmost etiquette and formality were observed in the intercourse of the nobles; a prescribed order of precedence ruled their several positions, which was broken through, however, by young men of a superior family giving place to old men of an inferior one. Drinking was permitted for three days at marriage feasts. Sultans always ate apart, and when several were present, apart from one another. They were waited on by their host with his cap under his arm. On drinking each other's healths, they saluted by uncovering themselves in the European fashion. Quarrels were exceedingly rare among them, and domestic virtue seems to have been at a high standard. The land in the Krim was divided into fiefs, which were held by the nobles. A certain number of fiefs and villages formed a Kadilik, of which there were forty-eight in the Krim, and of these, those of Yenikale, Kaffa, Sudak, and Mankup belonged to the Turkish Sultan. These fiefs were hereditary and independent. The Khan drew no revenue from them, but whenever he went to war each Kadilik supplied one thousand besheliks, and a cart drawn by two horses, and loaded with biscuit or millet. At first the Khans received a tribute of a sheep from each house. This was remitted by Mengli Girai. One of his successors exacted a sheep from each mosque, but even this was afterwards abolished. The estates of the nobles were tilled by their slaves, and they had power to sell or subinfeudate them, the mesne tenant paying a rent of grain or honey, and five per cent. on his sheep, while his cattle were free. Besides this they also received a tax of twenty-five besheliks or ten French sous a head from each Jew and Christian. They also had the right to a certain quantity of labour annually, and became the heirs of any of their vassals leaving no relatives nearer than the eighth degree. The murzas of the five great families in each Kadilik elected the local judges. Certain fiefs in the Krim were devoted to the support of certain official posts. Another kind of tenure was created when the Khan assigned some uncultivated land to some rich peasants, in order to cultivate it and plant villages there. These people were called Chelebis. These tenants depended directly on the Khan, who received their rents. The Chelebis had no rights over their cultivators. The only regular troops in the Krim were the segbans or, as Peyssonel calls them, the seimans, who acted as the Khan's body guards, and were paid by the Porte. They were divided into bairaks or companies of thirty men, which were commanded by bulukbashis or captains, under a colonel-in-chief called Bashi-bulukbashi. In time of peace the segbans consisted of twenty bairaks and of forty in time of war. The council before each war was attended by the begs of the five chief tribes or their proxies and other grandees, and it decided how many men each fief should furnish, according to the reports of the kadhis.

Every free vassal was liable to serve, and those who remained behind had to equip and mount those who went to the war. Each man served

in the squad formed by his seignior, and each squad made a bairak distinguished by a differently coloured pennon. The oldest noble commanded the bairak, and the other murzas of the same name marched under his orders. In large families each branch formed a separate bairak. Besides the captain there was a bairakdar or ensign in each squad. The Chelebis from different quarters formed one corps under one banner, generally commanded by the Khan's selictar. Peyssonel praises the sobriety of the Tartar soldiers. When a war was undertaken on the Khan's own account, as in the case of some Circassian campaigns, the Khan defrayed the cost. If it was undertaken on behalf of the Porte the latter paid. Marauding in a friendly country was punishable with the bastinado. In regard to looting, each soldier brought his share into hotch-pot, which was duly divided, the seraskier or general getting one-tenth.*

Justice among the Tartars was much more pure than among the Turks. The Kadhis or judges of Baghchi Serai, Akmejid, Gosleve, and Orkapi, and among the Nogais, were appointed by the Khan himself. In other places by the Kadi asker, or by the Porte. The first class had jurisdiction in all cases, criminal and civil, not involving capital punishment. There was an appeal from them to the Divan. The tribunal of the Kadi asker supervised the disputes, &c., among the murzas. The Divan or Grand Council of the Khan was presided over by the latter, assisted by the sultans, the kalga, nureddin, orbeg, the seraskiers of Bujiak, Yedisan, and the Kuban, the Shirin beg, the mufti, the vizier, kaki asker, the khasnadar bashi, the defterdar, the ashtaji beg, the kilerji bashi, the Divan effendi, the naib or lieutenant of the kazi lesker, the sheir kadissi or judge of the town, the kullar agassi, the kapiji bashi, the kapijilar, and the kiaiassi, and the bashi-bulukbashi or colonel of the guards generally acted as chamberlain to the assembly, but had no vote. The decision of the Divan was proclaimed by the kazi lesker.

In the case of public crimes, as robberies and assassinations on the highways, issuing false money, and generally where the Khan's official was the prosecutor, he had the delinquent executed himself; but when the prosecutor was a private person, or when some relative of the victim demanded the punishment of the murderer, the latter was handed over to him when found guilty, and he either executed him himself or employed some one to do it. Such executions took place on a bridge opposite the seraglio. The prosecutor could remit the punishment if he liked, or accept a fine. Peyssonel reports that in 1753 a young girl, having in her hands the life of her brother's murderer, refused to accept a fine and herself cut off his head with a sword.†

Beside its judicial functions, the Divan also had control of the general administration of the kingdom, except in questions of war, in matters

* *Id.*, 283-288.

† Op. cit., 292.

relating to the Porte and to the khan himself. These matters were settled by the Khan's privy council, consisting of the kalga, the nureddin, the orbeg, the seraskiers, the vizier, the kadi asker, the five chief begs, and the deputies of the various branches of the five chief noble families. When the Khan was on a campaign all matters were controlled by the council of war. The kalga and the seraskiers of the Nogais had their special divans. The Khan, like the Sultan, put his seal at the head of State documents. He had a great seal for State documents, and a small seal on his ring. The latter was used when he wrote on very urgent business and "meant to have his way."*

The only coins in use in the Krim were made of base silver, having a large alloy of copper. These coins were called besheliks (*i.e.*, pieces of five) since they were worth five Crimean aspres. Twenty besheliks made a Crimean piastre, which was merely a money of account. The profits of the mint were held conjointly with those of the salt-pans of Orkapi, and were generally farmed by Armenians or Jews. The farmer was decorated with a kaftan, like the other officials. The proportion of silver to alloy when Peyssonel wrote was 15 to 85, and it took one hundred drachms of this mixture to make four hundred and eighty-five besheliks. From the time of Haji Selim Girai Khan to those of Selim Girai Khan the money had been much finer, and contained about one-half of silver.†

The dues received from the grain of the Nogais of Yambolik were devoted to defraying the cost of the posting in the Krim. This was quite free when an order from the Khan had been obtained, which alone authorised travelling in this way. The post stations were at Uloklu-karam, Orkapi, Kajanbak, Gosleve, Baghchi Serai, Akmejid, Karasu, Kaffa, Kertch, Yenikale, Taman, and Kaplu. They did not extend outside the Krim beyond Otchakof. At each post station there were sixty horses.‡

The Tartars were rigid Sunni Muhammedans, like the Turks of Constantinople, Rumelia, and Asia Minor. They were well educated, there being colleges in all the towns. The Nogais, on the other hand, were, like the modern Kazaks, very indifferent Mussulmans, which gave rise to a happy answer by an Armenian coachman of Selamet Girai Khan. Being pressed to become a Mussulman, he replied he would not, but to oblige his master he did not mind becoming a Nogai. There were many Jews in the Krim, who belonged to the Karait sect, and who claimed to have originally come from Bukhara. They had several privileges not enjoyed by the Greeks and Armenians, which were obtained for them by a Jew doctor, who cured a sister of Haji Selim Girai Khan of some disease. The Tartars were very tolerant, and Christians of different denominations abounded in the Krim, the Armenians being the most numerous. The population of the Krim once amounted to at least half a million. Its first serious diminution took place in 1778, when, as I have mentioned, a large

* *Id.*, 292-294. † *Id.*, 294-299. ‡ *Id.*, 299, 300.

number of its Christian inhabitants were transported to Russia. A still larger movement took place in 1785 to 1788, soon after the Russians took possession of the country. Many Tartars then migrated to Anatolia and Rumelia, where almost all the survivors of the Girai family and many nobles also retired. When a census was taken in 1793 there were in the Taurida only 85,805 males and 71,328 females, together 157,125 persons of all ages.* This number afterwards increased, but the Tartars have ever since then been more or less migrating to Turkey, and large numbers of them have settled in the Dobruja.

Note 1.—The highest dignitary in the Krim, next to the Khan, was the kalga. According to the Turkish author Jevdet, the word is derived from kalgai, the Tartar form of the Turkish kalsun or kala. Kalgai means "he remains," and the origin of the title is said to have been that when the Sultan on one occasion sent to ask who would remain in the Krim in Mengli Girai's absence, the latter replied, "My son Muhammed *remains*," whence the Khan's alter ego or vicar came to be called kalga.† M. Vel. Zernof, however, contends that it is not a mere institution of the Krim but existed elsewhere, as among the Sheibanids.‡ On the Khan's death the kalga had authority during the interregnum, and in the Khan's absence he commanded the army. His official residence was at Akmejid, five leagues from Baghchi Serai. Like the Khan, he had his own vizier, defterdar, his divan effendi, his kadhi, &c. His Divan sat daily, and had cognisance of crimes and disputes within the kalga's own district. Although he could try capital offences he could not pronounce sentence, but his verdict or ilham in such cases was sent on to the greater Divan, to which also there was an appeal from his court. His special jurisdiction extended from Akmejid to Kaffa. His income consisted of one thousand piastres from the customs at Karasu, five thousand from the salt-pans of Kers, three thousand from the customs of Kaffa, two thousand five hundred from the honey dues of Moldavia, and one thousand from Wallachia, which those two provinces paid in addition to what they furnished to the Khan. The kalga could not, like the Khan, make general kadiliks or perquisitions when setting out on a campaign, but was limited in doing so to the Christians, from whom he received a certain number of horses, carts, and provisions.§ The kalga's appointment had to be confirmed by the Porte, which thereupon sent him a pelisse of Samur and two thousand sequins.‖ Next to the kalga was the nureddin, the origin of whose name and dignity in the Krim I have already described.¶ M. Vel. Zernof shows that the title had been previously in use among the Nogais, who apparently took it from Nureddin the son of Idiku. It occurs among the Nogais as early as 1555.** The nureddin was the vicar of the kalga, and in the absence of the latter and the Khan took their place. He also had his vizier, defterdar, divan effendi, and kadhi, but neither an ulughani

* Krim Khans, 38, 39. † History of the Khans of Kasimof, ii. 416. ‡ Pallas, ii. 343.
§ Peyssonel, op. cit., 251-255. ‖ *Id.*, 259. ¶ *Ante*, 515. ** Op. cit., 416.

nor an anabeg. He had no Divan, and his kadhi had no jurisdiction except when he was in command of the army, when the kadhi became the kadi asker or army judge. His official residence was at Baghchi Serai; his income consisted of four thousand piastres from the dues at Orkapi, one thousand five hundred from the salt-pans at the same place, one thousand from the mint, five thousand from the Khan's honey-dues of Moldavia, five hundred from Wallachia, and certain black mail paid by the Christians.*

The orbeg was the governor of Orkapi, and was the third dignitary of the State. The office was in some cases conferred on murzas of the Shirin tribe who had distinguished themselves. He received five thousand piastres from the dues at Orkapi, three hundred from the honey-dues of Moldavia, and one hundred and fifty from Wallachia. He could also claim three sheep from each herd that pastured in the steppe of Orkapi.†

After the three dignitaries just named came the seraskiers or generals of the three Nogai hordes of Bujiak, Yedisan, and Kuban, who acted as viceroys in those districts and commanded their contingents of troops. They had their officials and divan like the Khan, and could even try capital offences among the peasants and the murzas. The latter could appeal in civil causes only, to the Khan's Divan. The seraskier of the horde of Bujiak received a piastre from each house and a sheep from each village, and the horde was obliged to give him five hundred head of cattle when entering on his duties. That of Yedisan received a piastre from each house, a sheep from each murza, head of an aul, or from a hamlet, and three hundred cattle on installation. The seraskier of the Kuban received annually a tithe of grain from his horde, and a sheep from each tent, and eight hundred cattle were paid him upon entering upon his duties. He generally lived a nomadic life, but his official residence was at the village of Kaplu on the Kuban. The horde of Yambolik had no seraskier, but was controlled by a kaimakan appointed by the Khan. Besides these six dignitaries there were two female officials; the anabeg, generally held by the Khan's mother, step-mother, or one of his wives; and the ulukhani, generally conferred on the eldest of his sisters or daughters. The latter office had attached to it the revenues of five villages, and a portion of the poll-tax paid by the Christians of Baghchi Serai and of the Jews of the fortress. The former also had a similar revenue. These princesses had a civil jurisdiction in the districts under them. Their kiaias administered justice for them. They held their court at Chukurkapi, the gate of the seraglio leading to the harem. The kasnadar bikeshi or lady treasurer of the harem was another officer. This post was generally held by one of the Khan's wives.

Note 2.—I have postponed to this note a notice of the five chief families or clans of Krim. These were (1) the Shirins. Peyssonel argues that the founder of the house was one of Jingis Khan's generals,‡ but this is utterly improbable, as no such name occurs among his chieftains. On the other hand, we find Mir Shirin and Mir Barin specially named as two of the principal leaders of the Krim Tartars, who invited Ulugh Muhammed to mount the throne, and who were apparently chiefly instrumental in placing

* *Id.*, 255, 256. † *Id.*, 256, 257. ‡ Op. cit., ii. 269.

Haji Girai on the throne.* I have little doubt that the Shirin and Barin clans took their names from these two chiefs, and that we must thus explain the predominance of those families. The eldest chief of the Shirins was called the Shirin beg, and was generally looked upon as a kind of tribune to defend the laws of Krim and the liberties of its people from the encroachments of the Khan. Although inferior in dignity to the kalga and nureddin, he had the first place in the Divan after the sultans. Like the Khan, the Shirin beg had his kalga and nureddin, who succeeded to his position in turn. He was often very powerful. One of them named Haji Shirin beg, as I have shown, was instrumental in deposing the Khan Saadet Girai. The latter's successor Muhammed Girai was also not popular with the Shirin beg and his supporters, and at length Mengli Girai was appointed Khan for the purpose of suppressing the turbulent family. Peyssonel says that on Mengli's arrival he summoned a Divan, which was attended by the Shirin beg. Everything was prepared for the latter's execution, but being warned he had a sudden bleeding at the nose, under cover of which he fled, first to Circassia, and eventually reached his home again, where it was not thought prudent to pursue him. The Khan and his relatives generally married some member of the Shirin family. When a Shirin was tried the Shirin beg sat as joint assessor with the Khan's officer. The Shirin beg was irremovable, and thus contrasted singularly with his suzerain.† The Shirin beg and his kalga both wore beards, in which they differed from the Royal family, in which the Khan alone had a beard. In the four other families the principal beg alone had this ornament.‡ For some years after the Russians conquered the Krim they granted the Shirin beg a pension of two thousand roubles.§ 2. The second family was that of Mansur oghlu, which I believe to have been of Nogai descent, and to have received its name from Mansur, the son of Idiku, the famous Nogai chief. Peyssonel says in effect that a branch of the Mansurs named Karacha lived with the Nogais and intermarried with the Khan's family. This tribe of Mansur was afterwards definitely called Mangut. 3. The third tribe was that of Sijewit. It was not originally one of the principal Krim tribes, but apparently acquired this position in the reign of Sahib Girai. To reward the Mansur chief Baki beg, who had sided with him against Islam Girai, he gave him the clans of Sijewit and Altai Khoja, and raised him above the other chiefs.‖ Pallas says there only remained in his day one youth of this tribe, who lived east of Karasu bazar. 4. The Barin tribe was apparently so named from the Mir Barin, who assisted in putting Haji Girai on the throne, or it may be derived from Baraghon, meaning the right hand or right wing. This family was not divided into branches like the others, and the succession of its chiefs was apparently purely hereditary, and not from brother to brother, as in the East. Its head was called the Barin beg, and his son and heir the Barin murza. The Barins chiefly lived about Karasu bazar.¶ 5. The fifth family was that of the Arghins. The Barins and Arghins did not intermarry with the Khan's family. The Arghins lived between Akmejid and Karasu bazar.

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* Langles, 391, 392. † Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 33. Note.
‡ Peyssonel, ii. 269-272. § Pallas, ii. 352. ‖ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 367-368.
¶ Pallas, ii. 352.

This enumeration is that of Peyssonel, but in the history of the Krim, translated by Kazimirski, we are told that the four original tribes of Krim, called Durt Karju, were the Shirins, Barins, Arghins, and *Kipchaks*, to which Sahib Girai added the Sijewits.

The gentry belonging to the five families disdained all employment except that of arms, and were noted for their chivalry and hospitality. Next to them were the Kapikulis or gentry descended from great officials. They did not intermarry with the Royal family nor with that of the higher nobility. The Kapikuli families were very numerous. Some of them, as those of Avlan, Uzic, Kaia, and Sobla, gave the title of beg to their chief elder, but these begs had no voice in the Government, nor were they clad in the kaftan by the Khan like those of the other clans. The senior beg of Yashelof, who was always the oldest elder of the clan Kudalak, alone had a certain precedence. He derived his style from having an official residence at the village of Yashelof. He acted as marshal of the wedding when one of the Khan's daughters was married, and had the absolute control of the important ceremonial. The chief houses among the Kapikulis, according to Peyssonel, were those of Kudalak, Avlan, Kemal, El, Uzic, Kaia, Sobla, &c. All the gentry of one name formed a kabile or family.*

Pallas mentions the Dairs as another important family who had a beg. They had large estates near Perekop, as well as between the Salgir and the Suya.† He says that besides the seven principal families of the Shirins, the Barins, the Mansurs, the Sijewits, Arghins, Yashelofs, and Dairs, there were those of Kipchak, Uirad, Merkit, Ablan, Burultsha, Bitak-Bulgak, Subanghazi oglu, and Yedei oglu. The two last of which were properly Nogais, and chiefly lived near Perekop. These families he distinguishes from the Kapikulis.

Note 3.—I will now condense an account of the chief towns of the peninsula of Krim during the Tartar domination, reserving those outside the peninsula for the chapter on the Nogais. Perekop (in Tartar Orkapi) was the first inhabited place in the Krim. It was governed by the orbeg, and garrisoned by about one thousand two hundred janissaries under an aga.‡ Perekop is a Russian word meaning an entrenchment, and the name refers to the famous rampart which protects the Crimea on the north. This rampart dates from primæval times, and formerly consisted of a wall strengthened by towers, whence its Greek name Neon Teikhos or the New Wall. At present, says Pallas, there still remains a strong rampart, erected by the Turks, and extending from the Black Sea to the Sivash. It is accompanied by a deep trench, which is still in good condition, being defended by double walls built of freestone. When it is considered, he adds, that the stones for erecting these fortifications could not be obtained from a nearer place than Saribulat-Pristan, which is more than fifty versts distant, the magnitude of the undertaking justly demands our admiration. The fosse is about twelve fathoms wide and twenty-five feet deep, but the height of the rampart has been somewhat reduced by the effects of time.§

* Peyssonel, ii. 275, 276. † Op. cit., ii. 352. ‡ Peyssonel, i. 17.
§ Pallas, Travels in the Southern Provinces of Russia, ii. 4, 5.

The Tartar name of Perekop is Orkapi, meaning the gate of the line or fortification, and in fact the only entrance to the Krim by land is over a bridge and through an arched stone gate, both erected at the side of the fortress. Contiguous to the gate on the east, and within the precincts of the fosse, is situated the fortress of Perekop, a model of irregular fortification, built wholly of freestone, and guarded on three sides by an additional fosse, and at intervals by bastions of different shapes, hexagonal, pentagonal, and square. Over the principal gateway Pallas says he observed "the figure of an owl, hewn in stone, *being the peculiar coat of arms of Jingis Khan !!!* which likewise appears to have originally belonged to the princes who reigned in the Krim !!!" Within the fortress were still remaining a sort of castle built of stone, several barracks of brickwork, but in a ruinous state, and a mosque or mesjid. There was also a well in the castle and another in the outworks.*

The old town of Perekop is situated some five versts from the lines. It consists of some hundreds of houses of one storey, without order or symmetry, in the midst of an open burning plain, the houses being built of clay mixed with seaweed.†

The town of Perekop is mentioned several times by Herberstein, who also calls the Krim Tartars "Precopskii." Muller says that on one Turkish map the lines of Perekop are called Or boghazi, *i.e.*, the opened breach; on another Khad Boghaz, *i.e.*, the thorny breach; and in a map published at Constantinople in 1724 they are styled Or kapu si, *i.e.*, the opened gate, and the fortress Or kalash si, *i.e.*, the fort of Or.‡

The town of Eupatoria, which was so famous in the Crimean war of 1854-5, was called Gosleve by the Tartars, a name derived, according to Pallas, from gus or gos, an eye, and ov, a hut, *i.e.*, a hut with a round window.§ This name was corrupted by the Russians into Koslof. The greater part of it was built in the Tartar fashion, in narrow, crooked streets, with the houses concealed behind the high walls of the court-yards. When Pallas wrote it contained thirteen Tartar mosques and seven medrisses or schools. The great mosque was, after that of Kaffa (on whose model it was built) the largest in the Krim. Its dome was eighteen Russian ells in diameter. On each side of it, it had three cupolas, and two more at the corners of the anterior façade. It was more ornamented than the one at Kaffa, and had two minarets. One of which, according to Pallas, had long before, and the other but recently, been thrown down by violent gusts of wind. There were also two vaulted baths, eleven khans or mercantile inns or halls in private hands, and six belonging to the Crown.||

Mrs. Guthrie describes a kind of felt carpets which were made there by the Tartars. She also visited the mosque, where she witnessed one of the holy wheels made by whirling dervishes; in the centre of which, she says, an aged dervish spun round like a top, muttering meanwhile the following verse from the Koran:—"This life is precarious, but it is here [turning to the earth] that we must take our abode." She also tells us a naîve story about the Tartars of Gosleve, who were so charmed with a beautiful Greek lady, the wife of a

* *Id.* † Guthrie's Tour, 58. ‡ Saml., &c., ii. 56. Note.
§ Op. cit., ii. 489. || Pallas, ii. 489 490.

Russian general who spoke Turkish, that they were convinced she was a Muhammedan kept in bondage by the Christians by the right of war, and secretly opened a subscription for her redemption, one Tartar gentleman offering one thousand ducats as his share, "to open once more the door of paradise to this lovely houri, possibly by way of commending himself to her favour at an after period in the regions above."*

Peyssonel tells us the Town of Gosleve was formerly fortified to protect it from the Cossacks. There were many Christians and Karait Jews among its inhabitants, and it had a large trade with Russia and Turkey.†

Akmejid was the Tartar name of the town now called Simpheropol, which is a revival of its old Greek name. It is beautifully situated on some rising ground on the banks of the Salgir. "The old city of Akmejid," says Pallas, "is built in the manner of all Tartar towns; it exhibits throughout narrow streets crossing each other at irregular angles, being unpaved and extremely filthy. As all the courts or premises are encompassed with high walls, and the dwellings built within these courts are very low on the ground, little of such habitations can be perceived, and a stranger is apt to imagine that he is wandering among half-ruined walls raised with rough limestone. The houses are uniformly built of a white calcareous fossil resembling marl, which is very common in the country; it cannot be split into flags, but breaks up into irregular masses. This is used for the walls, the door and window posts and corners being of a different stone. In all the Tartar towns of the peninsula the mortar is made of clay, more or less mixed with lime and sand; outbuildings or offices are generally made of plastered wickerwork, but the roofs are covered with light hollow tiles, disposed on a stratum of interwoven osiers, and placed upon clay. Formerly there were five mosques at this place; three only remained when Pallas wrote. Akmejid was the residence of the kalga. He lived in a handsome palace, situated above the town on the left bank of the Salgir, but it was entirely demolished when the Krim was conquered. Close by is a small sheet of water where the kalga kept some pleasure boats."‡ We will now turn to the famous capital of the Krim Tartars, Baghchi Serai.

Baghchi Serai means the palace in the garden. It is situated on the Juruk (*i.e.*, the fetid water), a stream whose name points to its being the common sewer of the place. The streets, Pallas says, are built on a gradual ascent above each other, very crooked, narrow, mean, irregular, and in a most filthy state, but they are interspersed with orchards. These are ornamented with Lombardy poplars, which together with the numerous turrets of the mosques and the handsome chimneys of the otherwise mean-looking houses, offer a beautiful prospect.§

"The number of fountains at Baghchi Serai is so great," says Dr. Clarke, "that they are seen in all parts of the city, water flowing from them day and night, cold as ice and clear as crystal." One of them had not less than ten spouts, whence the purest streams fell on slabs of marble.‖

The streets, says Mrs. Guthrie, are only calculated for a man on horseback, or at most a small one-horse vehicle, formed of a common board about a foot

* Tour Through the Taurida, 65, 66. † Op. cit., i. 16.
‡ Pallas, op. cit., ii. 16-19. § Op. cit., 27. ‖ Clarke's Travels, i. 474.

and a half broad and six feet long, mounted on four wheels, the old carriage of the Tartars, from whom the Russians probably derived it in its primitive form of rospusky, and converted it into the more decent modern form of a droshka, by suspending the board on springs and covering it with a long cushion for the ease of the drivers.* Mr. Seymour says the town has completely retained its Oriental character, and in passing down the long street, nearly three-quarters of a mile in length, the little open shops of the tailors, the shoemakers, the bakers, the locksmiths, and the kalpak makers are seen, with their proprietors sitting cross-legged, in eastern fashion, and working and selling at the same time. He also speaks of its fountains, of which he says there are no less than one hundred and nineteen.† When Pallas wrote there were thirty-one mosques in the town, most of them well built with stone, surmounted by lofty minarets; a Greek and an Armenian church, three synagogues, and three Muhammedan schools. There were also baths, khans, and taverns; seventeen Tartar coffee-houses, and several mills turned by the steam. Of the 517 shops, 121 sold silk, stuffs, and other commodities by the yard; forty-one dealt in saddles and leather work, 135 in provisions, twenty-four were shoemakers, twenty-three sold large and small Tartar knives and other cutlery, five were braziers, ten barbers, nineteen tailors, six silversmiths, five gunstock makers, three dealers in ready-made shoes, nine timber-yards, five manufactories of rope, cordage, and hair lines; eight coopers, seven felt and felt cloak dealers, four earthenware dealers, five makers of tubes and mouthpieces for tobacco pipes, twenty bakers, thirteen tanners and morocco leather manufacturers, six blacksmiths, thirteen shops for the sale of busa (a Tartar drink brewed from millet, the origin of the Russian quas), thirteen tallow chandlers, and seven sculptors.‡ This interesting enumeration enables us to picture very fairly the commerce of a Tartar town, for when Pallas wrote the ukaze of Catherine was still in force, by which no Russian was allowed to live in the town. Baghchi Serai was for the greater part of their history the only mint of the Krim Tartars. Its first undoubted occurrence on coins was apparently in the reign of Islam Girai II., 1584-1588.§

The most interesting building at Baghchi Serai is the palace of the Khans. It has been picturesquely described by Madame de Hell in a passage which I will now abstract.

"It is no easy task to describe the charm of this mysterious and splendid abode, in which the voluptuous Khans forgot all the cares of life: it is not to be done, as in the case of one of our palaces, by analysing the style, arrangement, and details of the rich architecture, and reading the artist's thought in the regularity, grace, and noble simplicity of the edifice: all this is easy to understand and to describe: such beauties are more or less appreciable by everyone. But one must be something of a poet to appreciate a Turkish palace; its charms must be sought, not in what one sees, but in what one feels. I have heard persons speak very contemptuously of Baghchi Serai. 'How,' said they, 'can anyone apply the name of palace to that assemblage of wooden houses, daubed with coarse paintings, and furnished only with

* Op. cit., 72. † Russia on the Black Sea, 38. ‡ Pallas, op. cit., ii. 28, 29. § Blau, op. cit., 64.

divans and carpets?' And these people were right in their way. The positive cast of their minds disabling them from seeing beauty in anything but rich materials, well-defined forms, and highly-finished workmanship, Baghchi Serai must be to them only a group of shabby houses adorned with paltry ornaments, and fit only for the habitation of miserable Tartars. Situated in the centre of the town, in a valley enclosed between hills of unequal heights, the palace (Serai) covers a considerable space, and is enclosed within walls and a small stream deeply entrenched. The bridge, which affords admission into the principal court, is guarded by a post of Russian veterans. The spacious court is planted with poplars and lilacs, and adorned with a beautiful Turkish fountain, shaded by willows; its melancholy murmur harmonises well with the loneliness of the place. To the right as you enter are some buildings, one of which is set apart for the use of those travellers who are fortunate enough to gain admittance into the palace. To the left are the mosque, the stables, and the trees of the cemetery, which is divided from the court by a wall. We first visited the palace, properly so called. Its exterior displays the usual irregularity of Eastern dwellings; but its want of symmetry is more than compensated for by its wide galleries, its bright decorations, its pavilions, so lightly fashioned that they seem scarcely attached to the body of the building, and by a profusion of large trees that shade it on all sides. These all invest it with a charm that, in my opinion, greatly surpasses the systematic regularity of our princely abodes. The interior is an embodied page out of the 'Arabian Nights'.' The first hall we entered contains the celebrated Fountain of Tears, the theme of Pushkin's beautiful verses. It derives its melancholy name from the sweet, sad murmur of its slender jets as they fall on the marble of the basin. The sombre and mysterious aspect of the hall further augments the tendency of the spectator's mind to forget reality for the dreams of the imagination. The foot falls noiselessly on fine Egyptian mats; the walls are inscribed with sentences from the Koran, written in gold on a black ground in those odd-looking Turkish characters, that seem more the caprices of an idle fancy than vehicles of thought. From the hall we entered a large reception-room, with a double row of windows of stained glass, representing all sorts of rural scenes. The ceiling and doors are richly gilded, and the workmanship of the latter is very fine. Broad divans covered with crimson velvet run all round the room. In the middle there is a fountain playing in a large porphyry basin. Everything is magnificent in the room, except the whimsical manner in which the walls are painted. All that the most fertile imagination could conceive in the shape of isles, villages, harbours, fabulous castles, and so forth, is huddled together promiscuously on the walls, without any more regard for perspective than for geography. Nor is this all: there are niches over the doors in which are collected all sorts of children's toys, such as wooden houses a few inches high, fruit trees, models of ships, little figures of men twisted into a thousand contortions, &c. Such childishness, common among the Orientals, would lead us to form a very unfavourable opinion of their intelligence, if it was not redeemed by their instinctive love of beauty, and the poetic feeling which they possess in a high degree. For my part I heartily forgave the Khans for having painted their walls so queerly, in consideration

of the charming fountain that plashed on the marble, and the little garden filled with rare flowers adjoining the saloon. The hall of the divan is of royal magnificence; the mouldings of the ceiling, in particular, are of exquisite delicacy. We passed through other rooms adorned with fountains and glowing colours, but that which most interested us was the apartment of the beautiful Countess Potocki. It was her strange fortune to inspire with a violent passion one of the last Khans of the Crimea, who carried her off and made her absolute mistress of his palace, in which she lived ten years, her heart divided between her love for an infidel, and the remorse that brought her prematurely to the grave. The thought of her romantic fate gave a magic charm to everything we beheld. The Russian officer who acted as our cicerone pointed out to us a cross carved on the chimney of the bedroom. The mystic symbol, placed above a crescent, eloquently interpreted the emotions of a life of love and grief. What tears, what inward struggles, and bitter recollections had it not witnessed. We passed through I know not how many gardens and inner yards, surrounded with high walls, to visit the various pavilions, kiosks, and buildings of all sorts comprised within the limits of the palace. The part occupied by the harem contains such a profusion of rose-trees and fountains as to merit the pleasing name of The Little Valley of Roses. Nothing can be more charming than this Tartar building, surrounded by blossoming trees. I felt a secret pleasure in pressing the divans on which had rested the fair forms of Mussulman beauties, as they breathed the fresh air from the fountains in voluptuous repose. No sound from without can reach this enchanted retreat, where nothing is heard but the rippling of the waters, and the song of the nightingale. We counted more than twenty fountains in the courts and gardens; they all derive their supply from the mountains, and the water is of extreme coolness. A tower of considerable height, with a terrace fronted with gratings that can be raised or lowered at pleasure, overlooks the principal court. It was erected to enable the Khan's wives to witness unseen the martial exercises practised in the court. The prospect from the terrace is admirable; immediately below it you have a bird's-eye view of the labyrinth of buildings, gardens, and other enclosures. Further on the town of Baghchi Serai rises gradually on a sloping amphitheatre of hills. The sounds of the whole town, concentrated and reverberated within the narrow space, reach you distinctly. The panorama is peculiarly pleasing at the close of the day, when the voice of the muezzins calling to prayer from the minarets mingles with the bleating of the flocks returning from pasture and the cries of the shepherds. After seeing the palace we repaired to the mosque and to the cemetery in which are the tombs of all the Khans who have reigned in the Crimea. There, as at Constantinople, I admired the wonderful art with which the Orientals disguise the gloomy idea of death under fresh and gladsome images. Who can yield to dismal thoughts as he breathes a perfumed air, listens to the waters of a sparkling fountain, and follows the little paths edged with violets, that lead to lilac groves bending their fragrant blossoms over tombs adorned with rich carpets and gorgeous inscriptions? The Tartar who had charge of this smiling abode of death, prompted by the poetic feeling that is lodged in the bosom of every Oriental, brought me a nosegay plucked from the tomb of

a Georgian, the beloved wife of the last Khan.* Was it not a touching thing for this humble guardian of the cemetery to comprehend instinctively that flowers, associated with the memory of a young woman, could not be indifferent to another of her sex and age? Some isolated pavilions contain the tombs of Khans of most eminent renown. They are much more ornate than the others, and the care with which they are kept up testifies to the pious veneration of the Tartars. Carpets, cashmeres, lamps burning continually, and inscriptions in letters of gold, combine to give grandeur to these monuments, which yet are intended to commemorate only names almost forgotten."†

Pallas describes the mosque adjoining the palace as being very elegant. He says that in the interior there was a superstructure or box furnished with windows, formerly appropriated to the Khan's family, and the ascent to which was from without by a separate staircase.‡ In the cemetery, he says, were buried the Khan and his family, the principal murzas and priests. The tombstones bearing a turban were placed over males. Near this are two vaults filled with the coffins of former Khans, deposited on the ground and covered with black and green stuffs. One of these vaults was built by Haji Girai. A little further upward is the romantic tomb of Mengli Girai. It is surrounded with arches of brickwork, and beneath these it is shaded with vines and other foliage. The tomb of Krim Girai is in the shape of a sarcophagus, that of his Georgian wife in the form of a cupola, with a gilded ball at the top.§

Pallas thus enumerates the epitaphs of the Khans, &c., buried there.

IN THE FIRST VAULT.

Behadur or Batyr Girai,	who died in	1051	hejira.
Islam Girai,	,,	1066	,,
Muhammed or Makhmed Girai,	,,	1075	,,

IN THE SECOND MAUSOLEUM.

Adil Girai,	who died in	1082	,,
Murad Girai,	,,	1093	,,
Safa Girai,	,,	1104	,,
Haji Selim Girai,	,,	1117	,,
Devlet Girai,	,,	1125	,,
Saadet Girai,	,,	1137	,,
Kaplan Girai,	,,	1149	,,
Mengli Girai,	,,	1154	,,
Selamet Girai,	,,	1156	,,

Beside the vaulted tombs are buried:

Selim Girai,	,,	1161	,,
Arslan Girai,	,,	1180	,,
Krim Girai,	,,	1182	,,

It will be noticed that several of these dates are inconsistent with the statements of the historians of Krim, which I have followed in my narrative.

* Really of Dilara Bikeh, the wife of Krim Girai. † De Hell's Travels, 360-363.
‡ Op. cit., ii. 31. § Pallas, op. cit., ii. 31, 32.

Not far from Baghchi Serai is a place called Chufut Kaleh, or the Jews' Citadel, which seems to be the Phulli of the ancients.* Near it is a cemetery which is shaded with beautiful trees, and contains, says Pallas, very decent tombstones disposed in rows, most of them hewn in the shape of a sarcophagus with raised stone tablets at the extremities, in shape not unlike the gables of houses. Some of them are inscribed in Hebrew characters. This little valley of Jehoshaphat was so highly valued by the Jews, that whenever the ancient Khans wished to extort from them a present, or to raise a voluntary contribution, it was sufficient to threaten them with the extermination of these trees, under the plausible pretence of wanting fuel or timber. It is enclosed partly by walls and also by stone buildings. There are two outer gates, which are locked in the night. The streets are crooked, narrow, and have the rocky bottom for their foundation, except the principal street, which is paved with flags. In the centre of the town is a third gate, near which is a mausoleum which, according to tradition, was erected for the daughter of Toktamish Khan. It consists of two sepulchral vaults, raised one above another, with an ornamented arched portico on the west side. The princess is said to have been artfully seduced by a murza, who fled with her to the fortress, then in the hands of the Genoese. The Tartars had many houses and a mosque there.

The synagogue is a fine edifice, embellished with a small garden for the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles. All the court-yards are in the Tartar fashion, encompassed with high walls, and the whole is built of raw limestone plastered with clay. The population did not, in Pallas's day, exceed one thousand two hundred persons. They were exclusively Karaits, or, as they call themselves, Karaim. Their dress was like that of the aged Tartars, whose language they also adopted.† The curious tombstones of these Karaits, with their mediæval legends and Tartar names, have lately exercised the ingenuity of Firkovitch, Chwolson, and Harkavy. The last of these authors, in a very learned memoir, has reduced to just proportions the extravagant claims for an early date which were once made for these tombstones. It is curious that there is one in the British Museum, which was brought home during the Crimean war. The Karaits employ numerous asses for riding and carrying water and provisions. The Khans would not let them use horses, and the Mosaic law forbade them rearing mules. In near proximity to Chufut Kaleh, between the Juruk su and the neighbouring heights, Pallas describes the ancient sepulchral vaults of the Tartars called Eski Yurt or the old habitation, and he mentions how several of them had crumbled to ruin in recent times. The latest and most beautiful of these tombs is vaulted in the form of a cupola. Its doors and windows were once uniformly framed with white marble veined with grey, but most of them had been pillaged and converted into chimney-pieces. Among the vaults were tombstones ornamented with foliage in relief. These remains are all clearly of Tartar origin.‡ The name Chufut, according to Pallas, is a corruption of Cifutti, a term of reproach applied by the Genoese to the Jews.§ The place, he says, is generally identified with the Kirk or Kirkor of the older writers, which, according to Dubois de Montpereux,

* Guthrie, 83. † Pallas, op. cit., ii. 34-37. ‡ *Id.*, ii. 38, 39. § Seymour, op. cit., 46. Note, o.

was the capital of Krim until its removal to Baghchi Serai, but I fancy Kirkor was really Eski Krim. In 1396 we are told of the Khan of Kirkor fighting against Vitut of Lithuania.* The name Kirk first occurs as a mint on a coin of Gazi Girai Khan, the son of Devlet Girai, under the form of Kirker.†

The famous city of Sebastopol was in Tartar times the site of a village called Akhtiar, which was but of secondary importance. Much more famous was the mountain fortress of Mankup, not far off, which was perched on an isolated and almost inaccessible rock. A Jewish cemetery, with many bicornous tombstones, shows that it also was a stronghold of the Karaits. Considerable ruins of the massive walls remain, as well as of dwelling-houses, Christian chapels, and a mosque. Once the stronghold of the Genoese, it was afterwards occupied by Tartars and Jews. Pallas describes its uninteresting ruins in some detail.‡

Mankup was the Tabane of Ptolemy, and the Castron Gothias or Goths' citadel of the middle ages. It was apparently the chief stronghold of the Genoese in the peninsula. "In its acropolis," says Mr. Seymour, "there are the remains of a fine palace of two stories high, resting on a terrace, with a handsome flight of steps.§ On the first floor of the palace are placed in symmetrical order and richly decorated, four windows; three head ornaments surround the two in the middle, which terminate in a flat arch, those at the end being richly charged with ornaments and of larger dimensions. The workmanship of the arabesques, of the roses, the fillets, and the wreaths are in the Eastern style, very like Armenian." This is doubtless a relic of the Genoese occupation. I have described above how Mankup was in 1475 captured by the Turks; eighteen years after which it was almost utterly destroyed by a sudden fire. "Nothing of importance was saved," says Bronovius, "except the acropolis, in which there was a fine gateway and a high palace in stone." It was there the Khans several times imprisoned the Muscovite ambassadors.‖

Another site in the Krim famous in Genoese times was Balaklava. It was called Symbolon, or the Fort of the Symbols, by the Greeks, which was corrupted by the Genoese, who captured it from the Greek dukes in 1365, into Cembalu. In 1475 it fell into the hands of the Turks, who gave it up to the Tartars. Its name of Balaklava is derived by some from the Greek castle of Pallakium, and by others from the beautiful port "Bella clava." It is mentioned by Nicholas Barti, who travelled in the Krim in 1632-39, and whose journal is still in MS., as Baluchlacca, and was then inhabited by Turks, Greeks, and Armenians. When Dr. Clarke visited it the Genoese arms still remained on its walls.¶ It seems to occur as a mint place on a coin of Gazi Girai Khan.**

Directly east of Ak Mejid or Simpheropol, on the road to Kertch, is the town of Karasu bazar, which was a famous Tartar settlement, and which still contains a famous Tash-Khan, or mercantile hall, and several mosques.†† Its streets, like those of all Tartar towns, are narrow, irregularly built, and mostly lined with the walls of enclosed premises. "Some tolerable dwelling-houses, the large mercantile halls built of stones, and the mosques with their

* *Id.* † Blau, op. cit., 65. ‡ Op. cit., ii. 120-125. § Seymour, op. cit., 144, 145. ‖ *Id.* ¶ *Id.*, 189-191. ** Blau, 65. †† Pallas, op. cit., ii. 206.

minarets, give it a picturesque appearance." Pallas says it contained in his day twenty-three Tartar mosques, three churches (one of which belongs to the Armenians), and a synagogue. There were further twenty-three khans or mercantile halls of different sizes, 110 booths or shops, twenty-three coffee-rooms, and 915 dwelling-houses. There were also seven mills turned by water in the town and neighbourhood. There were about fifteen thousand male inhabitants, of whom one thousand were Tartars, two hundred Jews, two hundred Armenians, and one hundred Greeks, besides two thousand females.*

According to Peyssonel, Karasu was, after Kaffa, the most important trade mart in the Krim, leather, butter, wool, corn, and saltpetre being the chief products.† Like Baghchi Serai, Karasu was reserved by the Empress Catherine for the exclusive residence of the Tartars and their clients. The largest of its khans or caravansaries is called the Tashkhan, and was built in 1656 by Sefir Gazi Achiu, minister of Muhammed Girai. It is an immense structure, with four blank walls outside, and containing a large court occupied by rooms for travellers, and a number of shops. Between Karasu and Kertch were the vast domains of the Shirin family, and a mountain near Karasu is called by the Russians Shirinskaia Gora, or the Hill of the Shirins. They used to muster their dependents there.‡ The principal product of Karasu was morocco leather, for whose preparation the Tartars were famous. Mrs. Guthrie has described their method of preparing it in some detail.§ Karasu occurs as a mint place on a coin of Gazi Girai.‖

South of Karasu bazar, on the southern coast of the Krim, are the remains of the once famous city of Soldaia, formerly the chief port of the Krim. It was variously called Sidagios, Sogdaia, Sudagra, and Sugdaia, and was once so prosperous that all the Greek possessions in the Krim were called Sugdania. It is called Sudak by the Tartars, and is referred to by this name by Abulfeda and Maghreby; is called Surdak by Shemseddin Dimeshky, and Sholtadiya by Edrisi,¶ who doubtless adopted the Genoese corruption Soldaia. Sudak, the Sidagios of the Greeks, is probably the more correct form of the name. In regard to this name Dr. Clarke has a curious note. He says that a curious etymology of it occurs in Gale's Court of the Gentiles, Oxon, 1669, who quotes Eusebius and Damascius, to show that the Dioscuri and Cabiri were the sons of Saddik, a Phœnician god answering to the Greek Jupiter, "and no other," says the quaint old writer, "than a Satanic ape of the sacred name of Saddik attributed to the true God of Israel, as in Psalms 119 and 137, and elsewhere. Thus in two instances in Greek cities in the Krim we have appellations derived from the most ancient names of the deity among the Eastern nations: Ardauda or Eptatheos, a name of Theodosia, and Suduk or Sadyk, preserved in the present Sudak."**

It was the see of an archbishop as early as 786, and was governed by a line of Greek princes owning but slight allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor. After the Frank conquest it apparently fell to Trebizond, and was taken by the Mongols in 1222. Some time later the Venetians established a factory there,

* *Id.*, 249, 250. † Op. cit., i. 15: ‡ Seymour, op. cit., 241, 242.
§ Op. cit., 202, 203. ‖ Blau, 65. ¶ Fræhn, Ibn Fozlan, 28. Note.
** Clarke's Travels, 581. Note, 2.

which in 1287 became the seat of a consul.* Rubruquis mentions it as the entrepôt of trade between Turkey and Russia, and tells us he himself landed there on his journey into Tartary. Ibn Batuta calls it one of the four great ports of the world. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Tartars became Muhammedans, they in their new-born zeal drove out the Christians. A curious edifice still remains, dating probably from this period. "It must," says Mr. Seymour, "have been originally built as a mosque, because it does not face east and west, like a Christian church, but north and south, with the altar (*màharab*) of the mosque turned towards Mekka." The style of its ornaments is older than the later Turkish occupation.† In 1323 we find the Khan Uzbeg, in conformity with a bull issued by Pope John XXII., allowing the Christians to return to Soldaia.‡ In 1365 the town was captured by the Genoese, who converted its Greek churches into Latin ones. The town was captured on the 18th of June. "Then it was that, to secure possession of the fertile territory of Sudak and defend it against the Tartars, the enterprising merchant princes erected on the most inaccessible rock at the entrance of the valley that formidable fortress of three stories, crowned by the gigantic Maiden Tower (Kize Kaleh), whence the warders could overlook the fort, the sea, and the adjacent regions."§ It remained in possession of the Genoese until it was captured by the Turks in 1475, after a long siege and an obstinate resistance.‖ The churches were once more converted into mosques, and so remained until the Russian final conquest of the Krim. After its capture by the Turks the town rapidly decayed until it reached the ruined condition described by Pallas. Most of the ruins he mentions have now disappeared. He says that on several of its walls and towers there were formerly numerous inscriptions with raised Gothic letters, elegantly carved in stone, including a bas relief of St. George. He also describes the walls of many buildings in the Gothic style, and a large and handsomely arched cathedral.

Kaffa was situated on the coast, east of Soldaia. It was called Theodosia by the Greeks. The Tartars also named it Kuchuk Stambul or Little Constantinople. It was the principal town in the Krim during the Genoese domination, and it subsequently became, on the conquest of the Krim by the Turks, their chief port north of the Black Sea, whence they watched their *protegés* the Krim Khans. Pallas describes it as a mass of ruins that cannot fail to excite commiseration. The strong and lofty walls, strengthened by towers at distances of twenty, forty, and sixty fathoms apart, which were built by the Genoese, are almost entire.¶ These with the various remains of the outlying forts are described in some detail by Pallas. He adds, "Among the few inhabited, half-ruined houses within the precincts of the city and between the heaps of ruins spread in every direction, we were particularly struck with the large mosque called Beeyuk-Jam, standing almost in the middle of the place. It is a noble specimen of simple architecture, and is kept in a state of complete repair. It is seventeen fathoms long and fourteen broad, and the large dome is upwards of nine fathoms in diameter, and is on three

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* Yule's Marco Polo, 1-4. † Op. cit., 223.
‡ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 292. Seymour, 223. De Hell, 391. § De Hell, 391, 392.
‖ *Id.*, 392. ¶ *Id.*, 265.

sides embellished with eleven small cupolas." Formerly there were attached to the mosque two octagonal minarets sixteen fathoms high, with serpentine staircases leading to the top, but these have been destroyed. Near the mosque was a large Turkish bath with two vaults; one of these was converted into a magazine, and the other into a guard-house. Outside the town, on the shore of the bay, was an unfinished palace and a mint, built by Shahin Girai.*

The history of Kaffa is long and distinguished. It was founded about 600 B.C. by the Milesians, who named it Theodosia. It seems to have been the chief mart during the sway of the kings of the Bosphorus, and from a reference to it in one of the orations of Demosthenes it must have been one of the most important cities in the East. It was destroyed by the Alans in the middle of the first century A.D., and about sixty years after Arrian describes it in his Periplus as entirely deserted. The Romans called it Casum. It passed with the other neighbouring towns under the dominion of the Byzantine Emperors and was captured in 965 by the Russian chief Sviatoslaf.† During the Greek supremacy the Venetians and Genoese seem by turns to have had a settlement here. With the rest of the Crimea, Theodosia was conquered by the Tartars, and about 1266 we find them granting the Genoese the right to trade here.‡ This permission was apparently given by Oreng or Uz Timur, the son of Tuka Timur, who had received the grant of the Krim from Mangu Timur. The Genoese called the town Kaffa, after its name in Roman times. In 1292 the town was destroyed by the Venetians, but it quickly revived, and about twenty years later was made into a bishop's see by Pope John XXII. It now became the most important colony of Genoa, and occurs frequently in the previous pages. Kaffa, as we have shown, sustained a brilliant siege at the hands of Janibeg Khan. After which it was protected by its famous circumvallation. These magnificent works were begun in 1353 and completed in 1386. "The most remarkable tower, that at the southern corner which commands the whole town, was dedicated to the memory of Pope Clement VI., in an inscription relating to the crusade preached by that pontiff at the time when the Tartars were invading the Colony."§ Its brilliant prosperity continued till the year 1475, when, as I have described, it was captured by the Turks, who maintained a garrison there. This was followed by the transportation of its Christian inhabitants and the destruction of its trade. It remained stagnant for nearly two centuries, when, says Madame de Hell, in consequence of the commercial and industrial movement which then took place among the Tartars, it again became the great trading port of the Black Sea. Chardin, on his journey to Persia in 1663, found more than four hundred vessels in the bay of Kaffa, which then contained four thousand houses and eighty thousand inhabitants. Its final decay dates from the Russian conquest, which led to the destruction of nearly all its buildings, and to its reduction to the proportions of a village.‖

Kaffa occurs as a mint place of the Tartars on the coins of Mengli Girai I., of his son Muhammed Girai, and on those of the last Krim Khan, Shahin Girai.

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* Op. cit., 266, 267.

† Guthrie, 139-141.

‡ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 254.

§ De Hell, 394, 395.

‖ *Id.*, 395, 396.

North-west of Kaffa and east of Karasu bazar is Eski or Staroi Krim (*i.e.*, Old Krim), the Cimmerium of the Greeks, which gave its name to the peninsula. It was in early times one of the most important mints of the Golden Horde, and coins struck there occur from the year 683 hej., in the reign of Tuda Mangu, to that of Sahib Girai in the year 937.* New Krim, which occurs on a coin of Toktamish dated in 785, perhaps refers to Baghchi Serai. The ruins of the old town are scanty, and consists of remains of a Tartar bath, of some mosques, of a Greek and Armenian church, and an old empty palace of moderate size, formerly belonging to the Khans, which Pallas describes as being in his day in tolerable condition.† Mr. Seymour tells us the town is almost deserted, and contains scarcely any remains of its ancient grandeur. Traces of the pavements of the streets, he says, may be observed in the fields that now occupy its site. The ruins of five mosques and large vaulted baths remain, and one Greek church and one mosque are still used for service. The Armenians are the only inhabitants who remain.‡ Eski Krim no doubt represents the Cimmerium of the Greeks, which was the capital of the Taurida, to which it gave a name, of which Krim and Crimea are mere corruptions. It was one of the most famous cities of the Golden Horde. A horseman could hardly make its circuit in half a day. It was adorned with mosques and other buildings by Bibars, the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, who had been a Kipchak slave. These were decorated with porphyry and marble.§ Eski Krim was also called Solgat or Solghat, which according to Von Hammer is another form of Sogd.‖

In the extreme east of the peninsula are two sites which will occupy us very shortly. These are Kertch and Yenikaleh.

Kertch was the Panticapæum of the ancients. It is a corruption of Gherséti, a name the Turks gave to the Genoese fortress erected there, and called in mediæval times Bospro, Vospro, and Pandico.¶ It was of some importance as a trade mart during the Tartar domination, and was the principal place given up by the Turks to the Russians by the treaty of Kainarji.**

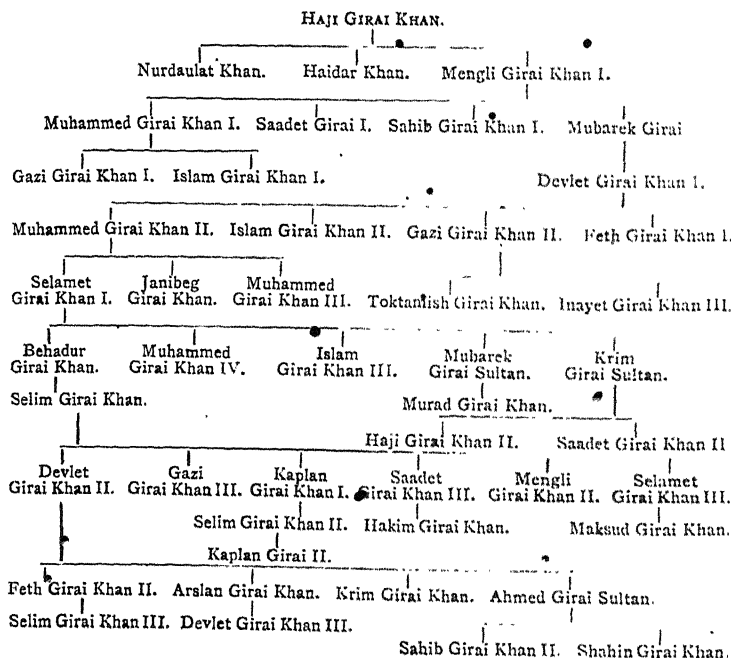
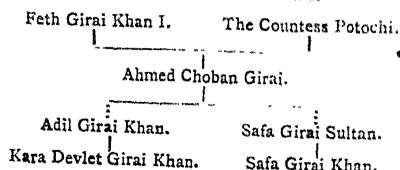
Yenikaleh or the new fortress, to distinguish it from the old one at Kertch, is situated a few miles east of the latter town. The Turks built a fort there in 1705, to prevent the Russians entering the Black Sea. It was governed by a pasha and a body of janissaries.

Since writing the previous chapter I have considered with some care the difficulties surrounding the parentage of Selamet Girai I., Janibeg Girai, and Muhammed Girai III. Blau makes Selamet the son of Adil Girai (I don't know on what evidence), while he makes Janibeg and Muhammed Girai III. brothers, and both of them sons of Muhammed Girai II.†† Kazimirski's authority says nothing as to the parentage of Selâmet Girai and Janibeg Girai, while it makes Muhammed III. the son of Saadet Girai Khan, which seems chronologically impossible. Von Hammer, in his history of the Krim Khans, makes Janibeg and Muhammed brothers,‡‡ and Langles makes Selamet, Janibeg, and Muhammed all three brothers.§§

* Frækn. Fuch's Collection, 36. Blau, op. cit., 63. † Op. cit., 260, 261. ‡ Op. cit., 243.
§ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 255. ‖ Golden Horde, 303. ¶ Seymour, 256.
** Peyssonel, i. 22. †† Op. cit., 65. ‡‡ Op. cit., 98. §§ Op. cit., 412.

In the absence of any direct evidence, I have in the following table made the three Khans brothers in accordance with Langles's view, thus modifying slightly the position taken up on page 538.

I overlooked on page 581 stating that Selamet Girai II. is distinctly called "ben Haj Selim Girai" on his coins.* Similarly Selim Girai II. is called "ben Kaplan" on his coins.†

The table of the Choban Girais is largely conjectural. I have accepted Von Hammer's theory of their origin as before given.‡ The Feth Girai who was kalga to Gazi Girai Khan was no doubt his successor Feth Girai Khan. We are nowhere told who was Adil Girai's father, and I have conjecturally made him a son of Choban. Safa Girai Khan is called Safa ben Safa on his coins,§ and I have made his father a brother of Adil.

Note 4.—Genealogy of the Krim Khans.

* Blau, 73. † *Id.* ‡ *Ante*, 540, 541. § Blau, 68.